

Subjectification of Female Barrel Racers

by

Desirea Weninger

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Human Kinetics with Woman's Studies Specialization

University of Ottawa

March 2015

Abstract

Throughout history women's participation in the male-dominated sporting atmosphere has been fraught with tensions. Many researchers have sought to bring light to the experiences of sportswomen walking the fine line between acceptable gender representation and successful sport performances. Rodeo is one such male dominated sport in which one event of seven is allocated for women's participation. Ladies barrel racing showcases a rider and her horse racing through a cover-leaf pattern attempting to attain the fastest time. This thesis examines how barrel racers make sense of their sporting experiences. Drawing on Foucault's notions of power, discourse, and knowledge a discourse analysis was performed to showcase how barrel racers become subjects. The results showcase two separate, yet interconnected, themes. The first analyzes how the barrel racing subject interacts with discourses of gender. It was found that contextual discursive fragments were (re)produced by the barrel racers that defined a code of professionalism that serves to discipline a barrel racer's body and dress in order to represent an authentic cowgirl image separating her from the deviant, non-authentic 'others': groupies and wannabe's. Further, when examining the inter-species interaction in barrel racing it was found that the racer and horse co-exist between three intertwined subjectivities: the athlete, the team member, and the trainer. Overall, the importance of context is showcased in the results as the specific cultural discourses actively engage with dominant gender discourse to create a nuanced knowledge base through which the barrel racers make sense of their subjectivity.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the people and experiences I encountered throughout my youth growing up a middle-of-nowhere community in Saskatchewan. To the cattle ranch that was built on the backs of my father and grandfather and the western culture that allowed me to use my body and mind in ways that challenged gender norms, and that inspired this research project. To my mother for always challenging me to grow and learn beyond the realm of comfort. Finally, to my partner whose words of encouragement made this possible.

Acknowledgements

I would like to send my sincere thanks to everyone who helped me continue to the completion of this project. Notably, my supervising professor, Christine Dallaire whose support, guidance, trust, and understanding made this project possible. Thank you for allowing me to embark into unknown territory, working with my unorthodox personal experiences, and creating a mentorship that allowed for creativity and has resulted in success. Furthermore, I would like to send my genuine appreciation to the classmates and professors who challenged my thought processes, and encouraged a deeper analytical response. I would also like to thank all of the women who volunteered their time and lives to this project and, ultimately, my Masters. Lastly, I send much love and gratitude to my family who have supported, listened, and exercised patience throughout this process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
SPECIFICS.....	4
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	7
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	8
WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN MASCULINE SPORTS.....	8
RODEO AND RELATED LITERATURE	16
WOMEN IN A COMPETITIVE ROLE.	16
<i>Women in a Non-Competitive Role.....</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>The Canadian Context.....</i>	<i>21</i>
HORSE – RACER RELATIONSHIP.....	24
CONCLUSION	27
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHOD.....	29
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHOD	30
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	30
<i>Discourse.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Power/Knowledge.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Subjectification.....</i>	<i>33</i>
METHOD	36
<i>Intentions and realities.....</i>	<i>36</i>
ANALYSIS	41
<i>Gender theme</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>Horse theme.....</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Challenges.....</i>	<i>45</i>
CHAPTER FOUR: AUTHENTICITY IS KEY: THE DISCOURSE OF PROFESSIONALISM IN BARREL RACERS.....	46
SITUATING THE RESEARCH	48
<i>Contextualizing Barrel Racing</i>	<i>50</i>
THE DISCOURSE OF PROFESSIONALISM	53
<i>Non-professional others</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>Disciplined Attire.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Disciplined bodies.....</i>	<i>67</i>
CONCLUSION	73
CHAPTER FIVE: INTER-SPECIES RELATIONSHIPS IN BARREL RACING.....	76
METHODS AND ANALYSIS.....	81
PRODUCTION OF THE HORSE/HUMAN SUBJECT POSITIONS OF BARREL RACERS.....	82
<i>The athlete.....</i>	<i>83</i>
<i>The team member(s).....</i>	<i>86</i>
<i>The trainer.....</i>	<i>92</i>
DIVIDING PRACTICES REPRODUCING THE <i>FEMALE</i> BARREL RACER	96
CONCLUDING THOUGHTS.....	105

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION	107
REFERENCES	117
APPENDIX	127
MAP 1: QUESTIONING WHY THE DISCOURSE OF PROFESSIONALISM EXISTS.....	127
MAP 2: QUESTIONING HOW THE DISCOURSE OF PROFESSIONALISM WORKS	127
MAP 3: RELATING THEMES.....	128
MAP 4: MAKING SENSE OF HIGHER ORDER STATEMENTS	128
MAP 5: ANALYZING THE CONDITIONS OF POSSIBILITY RE DIVIDING PRACTICES	129

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter 1: Introduction

“[We are] . . . normal girls who fell victim of their environment – rugged daughters of a rugged frontier. In fact . . . any eastern ‘perty’ lass of the lipstick and fluffy female type might have taken to broc bustin if born in the leathery surroundings of a daddy-owned stock ranch, cradled in the saddle, teathed on a cinch buckle, and nourished on cooked cow” (Tad Lucas, as cited in Patton & Schedlock, 2012, p. 35).

Acknowledging that identity is socially constructed in the specific context that frame one’s life, Tad Lucas, a successful early 20th century cowgirl speaks to the social forces that helped mold her into the tough, rugged woman she was. Patton and Schedlock (2012) have suggested that rodeo women of the early 20th century “were built out of a metal that has since softened, rusted, and perhaps, disappeared” (p. xv). This research explores the substance(s) today’s Canadian rodeo cowgirls say they are made of. Barrel racers take on subjectivities sustained by knowledge created and circulated throughout larger society as well as within the specific cultural setting that governs their rodeo life. This research offers a space through which the modern barrel racers’ voice and experiences can be highlighted. It also emphasizes the importance of continually expanding our knowledge to a variety of contexts in sport because the findings here challenge what have become common sense notions of the experiences of sportswomen competing in masculinized sport.

Indeed, in recent years research has underlined pervasive heterosexism and the resultant lesbian/butch stigma that women in male dominated sporting events face (Caudwell, 2002; 2003, Engh, 2011; Kolnes, 1995; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009). Rodeo is a male dominated sport, there is only one event for women of the required six or seven events (depending on the association regulating the competition). Despite this, sportswomen in rodeo do not experience the same stigmatization as other female athletes in

male dominated sports. If barrel racers are not facing the same struggles that seem to have become the ‘norm’ in research on women in male dominated sports, what are they experiencing, and how do they view these experiences? This research seeks to explore this question, I ask how barrel racers view their subjectivity within the multiple and competing discourses that frame their daily lives.

Therefore, the objectives of this research are to first find out what discourses the barrel racers are (re)producing as they discuss their experiences. I wish to explore how contextual discourses about rodeo and the subsequent lifestyle interact with dominant discourses and understandings of women in sport including but not limited to gender, race, class, and sexuality. Furthermore, I seek to uncover the subjectivity(s) put forth by the barrel racers as they discuss and rationalize their experiences. Lastly, the study explores how the women make sense of the multiple and competing discourses they experience by highlighting their use of dividing practices.

This research complicates the discussion of women in sport, as it calls into discussion the importance of contextualizing women’s experiences, and draws us away from an over-generalized view of women competing in masculinized sports. It reminds us of the importance of seeking out under represented populations in research to bring light to their voices, as is the goal of feminist research (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

Specifically this research focuses on three underrepresented populations in sport research. The first is rural populations. It is important to state that not all rodeo athletes are from rural backgrounds, however, all of the participants in this study live in rural locations or have in the past. Living in a rural area complicates issues related to sport experiences including travel, access to equipment, access to health services, access to coaching, etc. Second, in the early years of rodeo Wild West Shows showcased rodeo

events as a travelling performance. These Wild West Shows travelled mostly throughout the eastern United States and Canada, however these 'circus' type events undermined rodeo's sporting legitimacy (Pearson & Haney, 1999). Is it a sport or is it spectacle? As a result rodeo athletes' legitimacy has also been questioned. However, once one moves past this historical context to look at the rodeo athletes of today it becomes clear that they meet the requirements of 'athlete' (Pearson & Haney, 1999). This research explores another little examined area of sport - equine sport. Third, horses and people have been competing alongside each other for centuries (Birke & Brandt, 2009). However, examinations of the human-athlete and horse-athlete interaction have been minimal. Birke et al. (2004), Game (2001), and Savvides (2011) ask us to expand research in this area because it complicates our understandings of subjectivity, and what it means to be an athlete.

Specifics

Rodeo is unlike most modern sport in that it is an outgrowth of the ranching and cow herding traditions where both cowboys and cowgirls labored in, often, harsh conditions (Kelm, 2010). Rodeo as a sport is practiced throughout the world. Interestingly, in some Canadian circuits competitors can come from Australia, the United States and, even, South America. In western Canada rodeos can be found in almost any town or city. The largest rodeo in Canada is the internationally renowned Calgary Stampede. The rodeos discussed in this study refer to the mainstream competitions that have the required six or seven events including bronc riding, bareback riding, steer wrestling, bull riding, team roping, tie down roping, and ladies barrel racing. Other types of rodeos include ranch rodeos and all girls' rodeos, to name a few. The space for women within mainstream rodeo competition is limited. Of the seven events typically open for competition within rodeo,

only one of these is specific to women: Ladies Barrel Racing. Cowgirls participating in Ladies Barrel Racing were sought out for this research. I believe this to be a good place to start because of the large gap that exists in the literature with regards to Canadian women rodeo participants. Women participating in professional Ladies Barrel Racing are the most visible of women competitors within rodeo; however, there are variations to the norm. Some women compete in events traditionally reserved for men, for example Bare Back Riding (referenced above by Tad Lucas as ‘broc bustin’). Also, women competitors can compete in all-girls rodeos in North America. Within all-girls rodeos, women compete in all of the events, but many of the events differ from those seen in mainstream rodeo. For the purposes of this research I have chosen not to examine the experiences of the women competing outside of the mainstream. The reason for this is twofold. First, because there is a lack of research on women in rodeo, I believe the best place to start is with the most popular women’s event as it will allow me to gain an understanding of the norm for women within rodeo. Furthermore, by expanding the research to include the experiences of all women within rodeo I could suffer from over generalizing the diverse subjectivities constructed in differing contexts. Second, women barrel racers offer an interesting case for the consideration of gender discourses because within mainstream rodeo (hereafter referred to as rodeo) women and men compete on the same day, during the same ‘show’, in the same arena, and in front of the same audience. This means that Ladies Barrel Racing follows and precedes the various men’s events. Also, this means that both female and male competitors are socializing in the same space. Therefore, barrel racing in rodeo is both a mixed gender context and a sex-segregated context. Thus, gender issues play out differently than previous research in either context.

In addition, because the barrel racers in this study, like most rodeo competitors (Kelm, 2011), come from a rural working-class or specifically western culture, their subjectivity is highly influenced by the ideal cowboy and cowgirl. If the cowboy embodies the rugged, hardworking, free spirited ideal of the West (Sieler, 2008), then what does the cowgirl embody? This research explores this unknown territory to understand if and how the barrel racer transgresses gender norms. In short, it asks how these cowgirls construct their gender subjectivity in particular classed, sexualized, racialized and cultural ways. Since little has been written about barrel racing in the sport and rodeo literature, I am focusing on their experiences by asking questions, listening to their voices and showcasing their standpoint.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Ultimately, barrel racers embody the conjoined experiences of being woman, being athlete, and being cowgirl. Therefore, the literature reviewed before embarking on the research project entertains research done in these fields. Luckily, there has been a multitude of work that examines the unique experiences of sportswoman as they participate in male dominated sports. Rodeo is arguably one such sport that not only displays masculinity but also reproduces and codifies it. Therefore, the barrel racing women participating in rodeo could experience subjectivities similar to other sportswomen who compete in masculinizing sports, and those findings are detailed below. Furthermore, this review also examines literature devoted to rodeo; specifically, Canadian rodeo history, and women in rodeo in competitive and non-competitive roles. These findings help to highlight any contextual nuances that become necessary in understanding barrel racers subjectivity. Finally, a brief exploration of findings related to human-horse/animal interaction aids the researcher in embarking into the hard-to-define world of interconnection.

Women's Participation in Masculine Sports

Bryson (1990) suggests that some sports are 'flag carriers' of masculinity: hockey, football, baseball, and soccer (in Europe), for example. I would suggest that rodeo is also one of the flag carrier sports within which masculinity is not only celebrated but (re)produced and maintained (Thompson, 2002), if expressed by men. Yet, women participate in all of these sports and have in increasing numbers in recent years. Regardless of this, their position as both female and athlete continues to be constrained by dominant gender norms because the "female sporting body is still primarily valued for its aesthetic and expressive activities" (Mennesson, 2000, p.21). Therefore, women's sports are not

conceived as ‘real’ sports (Helstein, 2010). Theberge (2000), for example, found that, in the case of hockey, the women’s game was promoted for its skill and finesse rather than strength and power, as was the men’s. This resulted in the women’s game being viewed as the inferior, less legitimate version of the men’s game. Engh (2011) also found that women’s soccer in South Africa was devalued and the athletes were not seen as ‘real’ athletes. This delegitimization of athleticism is often confounded with gender socialization in which the female athlete is not seen as a ‘real woman’ (Kolnes, 1995). I examine if this is the case for barrel racing and if, concurrently, the barrel-racing woman is not seen as a ‘real’ woman.

Successful gender socialization occurs when women express emphasized femininity by acting in “emotional, passive, dependent, maternal, compassionate, and gentle” ways (Krane, 2001, p. 117) and when men express hegemonically masculine traits such as “strength, competitiveness, assertiveness, confidence, and independence” (Krane, 2001, p. 117). Because sport is a highly gendered institution (Engh, 2011), the results of this socialization are on display. Thus, when men perform masculinity through sport it is celebrated, and conversely, when women perform masculinity through sport they are often stigmatized as butch or lesbian (Caudwell, 2003). Not only are they subject to such stigma, they are “expected to perform hegemonic femininity while distancing themselves from behavior perceived as masculine” (Krane et al., 2004, p. 316). This forces women to walk a fine line between femininity and athleticism. To be feminine is to be accepted, and to be masculine is to be successful in sport (Krane et al., 2004).

Patton and Schedlock (2012) state, that “cowgirls live in two worlds: they compete in the arena, rough, tough, and ready for action, and, yet, outside the arena they are still required to maintain feminine etiquette” (p. 198). I, like many other scholars, am curious

how female athletes manage these ‘two worlds,’ and the ways in which sportswomen embody the fine line between femininity and athleticism. Scholars have shown that women in sport are aware of the feminine ideal body type (George, 2005; Krane et al. 2004). However the desire to conform to this ideal is different among all sporting women. Some sportswomen actively resist feminine ideals such as the rugby players in Chase (2006) who embraced bodies in a variety of shapes and sizes through a critical examination of feminine norms. Similarly, the senior wrestlers in Sisjord and Kristiansen (2009) disregarded the feminine ideal in an effort to produce strong and capable sporting bodies with large muscles. For the junior athletes, however, the contradiction between a strong athletic body and a toned but thin feminine body was hard to grapple with as was the case for athletes from various studies (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Engh, 2011; George, 2005; Krane et al. 2004) who expressed pride in their athletic bodies, yet did not want to train in such a way that would result in large muscles or ambiguous gender profiling. Some of the soccer players, for example, in George (2005) would adjust their training to low weight, high reps to avoid any excessive muscle growth. These results bring me to question (1) how barrel racers conceive of the idealized feminine body type, (2) whether they are concerned with how they relate to the ideal, and (3) whether they resist this ideal.

The desire to manage muscle growth could be referred to as the feminine apologetic (Felshin, 1974) apparent in women’s sport where the athletes, because of their position in the masculine sporting world, feel the need to act in heterosexually feminine ways to compensate for their masculine actions (Davis-Delano, Pollock, & Vose, 2009). Apologetic behavior can be seen either on or off the field (Davis-Delano et al., 2009) and is the result of compulsory heterosexuality within women’s sport (Kolnes, 1995). As with muscle management, the occurrence of the feminine apologetic varies among athletes.

Davis-Delano et al. (2009) interviewed American collegiate level soccer, basketball, and softball players and found that the majority of the soccer and basketball players did not act in apologetic ways on the field, yet they continued “to apologize by constructing a feminine appearance and conveying a heterosexual image” off the field (p.144). However, other scholars are reporting the absence of the feminine apologetic on or off the field. Marco, Viveiros, and Cipriano’s (2009) study found that women wrestlers were not acting apologetic on or off the field because they viewed wrestling as a suitable sport for women. This exemplifies the importance of examining the sportswoman’s understanding of her own experience as it relates to dominant views of sport. Seeking out the voices of sportswomen and placing value on the discourse they (re)create is an important step in participant focused research such as this study.

However, it is also important to understand the dynamic and multiple discourses circulating at one time. For instance in Davis-Delano et al.’s (2009) study the justification for the apologetic behavior in softball players was that this sport “is considered more masculine by the United States public” (p. 145). Because of this association between baseball and masculinity, the presence of women in softball was fraught with greater tension than in soccer or in basketball. This could be related to the fact that baseball in the United States is closely linked to nationalism (Travers, 2008). Sports closely linked to nationalism are “often used to celebrate and support a certain type of (often hyper-) masculinity that supposedly distinguishes ‘real’ men from gays and women” (Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2003, p. 360). Soccer in the United States, however, is not closely related to the reproduction of masculinity through nationalism. This explains why women soccer players suffer less stigma in the United States than women soccer players in the Netherlands, where soccer is a highly regarded national sport (Knoppers & Anthonissen,

2003). The major significance of Knoppers and Anthonissen's (2003) study comparing the experiences of women soccer players in the United States and the Netherlands was that they found women practicing sports at the center of national imagery/symbolism are seen to transgress the gender order, whereas, women practicing sports that do not play a significant role in nationalism imagery are not seen to threaten the masculine/national ideal. In the Canadian context, hockey is closely tied to nationalism (Helstein, 2010), and rodeo is not. This may result in constructions of gender in rodeo that differ from those of female hockey players (Theberge, 2000). Yet, rodeo is a sport that is closely linked to the imagery/symbolism of the cowboy, and the masculinity he represents (Kelm, 2010). This interaction would suggest that barrel racers, due to their participation in rodeo, would be seen to transgress gender norms.

This collection of research confirms what Wedgewood (2004) and Helstein (2010) state: that the experiences of athletes are far from homogeneous and researchers need to continue to explore the various contexts that create the female athlete. This study does exactly that with barrel racers as I examine their unique space within sporting literature, as both mixed gender and sex segregated athletes in the masculine, and culturally specific realm of rodeo.

For instance, in reference to the feminine apologetic, are some women (not)expressing apologetic behavior because of age? Sisjord & Kristiansen found (2009) that the junior wrestlers were more concerned with adhering to a feminine ideal than the senior wrestlers. Even if age is a relevant factor, could it be that it has nothing to do with sport, as Malcom (2003) suggests of the female softball players she studied? She found that the adolescent age girls were more concerned with appearing feminine, yet it was a coming of age issue and not related to sport. Perhaps this research suggests that adult or

older women may be less concerned with normative societal standards of beauty? Or, perhaps older women are more likely to be involved in a relationship and, as such, are less concerned with their appearance than women who are not in a relationship. These differences have been kept in mind when exploring the lived experiences of barrel racers.

Highlighting nuanced differences is key when studying women in masculine sporting spaces because of the “contradictions and complexities among the various discourses that surround women’s sport” (Cox & Thompson, 2000, p. 6). Thus, Cox and Thompson (2000) suggest using a multiple bodies perspective when researching women in sport. They explored the embodiment of female soccer players in New Zealand by separating their embodiment into four categories: the soccer body, the private body, the feminine body and the heterosexual body. They believed that by doing this they could “appreciate how they [the athletes] both challenge and collude with heterosexual discourses” and how “the women recognize the tensions and continuously deal with them by constituting themselves according to various contexts” (Cox & Thompson, 2000, p. 17). Other scholars have drawn on this idea such as Sisjord and Kristiansen (2009) who found that wrestlers prioritized either their private body or their athletic body depending on skill level. Similarly, George (2005) witnessed athletes negotiating between their performance (gendered) body and their athletic body. Furthermore, Guerandel and Mennesson (2007), while not acknowledging the use of a multiple bodies perspective, consider the ways “players experience their bodies differently in different contexts” (Cox & Thompson, 2000, p. 17). They found that judokas engage differently in the social atmosphere than in a competitive one; and furthermore, that the way a judoka valued his/her sporting body over his/her social body affected the way they participated in practice sessions.

While she recognizes the varied embodiments of athletes, Wedgewood (2004) suggests that a multiple bodied perspective does not account for the ways in which the Australian rules football players in her study actively embodied “complex, coexistent masculine and feminine identities” (p. 155). She coined the term ‘bi-gendered’ to explain the ways in which women simultaneously embody certain aspects of heterosexual femininity and masculinity. A bi-gendered embodiment was explicit in Butler and Charles’ (2012) study on jockeys in the horseracing industry. They found that in order to be accepted in the industry the women had to engage in the ‘tortured masculinity’ that all jockeys engage in, as well as emphasize femininity in order to avoid negative stigma. Furthermore, the women had to develop a physical strength that allowed them to work hard in the stables to care for the animals. I am curious to what end barrel racers experience similarities with female jockeys. Are they also experiencing a bi-gendered embodiment that requires them to exaggerate their femininity while embodying masculine traits in caring for their animals and working outside of the arena?

As the research has shown, some sportswomen embody a gender that results in the expression of masculine traits. This would suggest that many sportswomen embody a resistance to heteronormative ideals of femininity and a freedom from the idealized standard. However, it is sometimes the case that sportswomen reinforce the gender status quo by references to their inability to measure up to male athletes (Engh, 2011) or by asserting themselves as tomboys in their youth (Engh, 2011; Mennesson, 2000). I examine how barrel racers view their position in relation to male athletes, and as such whether they transgress the gender status quo, or whether they reinforce it, or both.

Mennesson (2000) also found that some of the boxers she examined reinforced the gender status quo in their private lives. She suggests that this, however, could be a result of

the economic background of the women. This shows that class is an important consideration when questioning gender constructs because the classed identity and the gendered identity do not form separately: rather they form together at the space of intersection (Mennesson, 2000). Laberge and Sankoff (1997) explore this intersection in sport using Bourdieu's concept of habitus to find that the views of working-class women differ from those of the other classes when considering sport: for example, fitness for health was not as highly regarded by women in the working-class but was by women in the upper-classes. Class could further intersect with gender in sport regarding the acceptable participation of female athletes. Knoppers and Anthonissen (2003) state "when women are permitted to participate in organized competitive sport, they are often encouraged to play sports associated with White middle and upper classes" (p.358). They found this through a comparative analysis of women's soccer in the United States and the Netherlands; the American athletes had greater access to the sport because in the United States soccer is associated with the middle class, whereas, in the Netherlands, soccer is associated with the working class. Their results reinforce the idea that sports associated with the working class are harder to access for women because they fall further from the dominant notions of femininity: White, Occidental and middle class (Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2003). My study is influenced by this research because rodeo is closely linked to its working-class ranching history. Furthermore, the actions of barrel racers when caring for their horses imitate those of the ranchers of rodeo's past. Therefore, this research questions how class relations influence the gendered identity of barrel racers and, further, how barrel racers compare to the athletes from these studies.

One aspect of the recent literature I have yet to touch on is sexuality. As mentioned above, it has been shown that compulsory heterosexuality is an organizing principle in

women's sport (Kolnes, 1995). Inherent in this is the normative discourse of heterosexuality that permeates all institutions in society, especially sport (Engh, 2011). Within sport any female athlete who transgresses too far outside of the gender norms is seen as too masculine, and therefore lesbian because homosexuality is equated with women performing masculinity, and heterosexuality is equated with women performing femininity (Caudwell, 1999). This has resulted in homophobia within women's sport (Cox and Thompson, 2000; Engh, 2011; George, 2005). However, other scholars have shown women's sport to be a space where heteronormativity can be contested (Caudwell, 2002; 2003; Mennesson & Clement, 2003; Ravel & Rail, 2007). I explore how sexuality plays out within the barrel racing context. Do these women experience homophobia? Do they fear being stigmatized as lesbian? Or, is it like the wrestlers in Marco et al. (2009) who view their sport as gender neutral and as such do not consider sexuality to be a relevant issue?

Rodeo and Related Literature

Women in a competitive role. To begin work on rodeo, I had to first understand the historical road on which today's cowgirls walk and two books are key. First, LeCompte's *Cowgirls of the Rodeo: Pioneer Professional Athletes* (1993) is a historical account of the development of the Women's Professional Rodeo Association (WPRA), and "is the story of more than six hundred women who competed in professional rodeo between 1896 and 1992" (1993, p. 2). This book is the result of her seven years of research, detailing the cowgirl's role in rodeo as shifting throughout the years from inclusion, to exclusion, to marginality. While LeCompte made enormous strides by filling a gigantic whole in the literature, there is little discussion of Canada. Her book examines women involved in the WPRA, which sanctions only one competition in Canada today, the Calgary Stampede.

Furthermore, this book does not critically examine the experiences of cowgirls today, it is instead a historical narrative of the WPRA. The second book, Tracey Owens Patton and Sally M. Schedlock's *Gender, Whiteness and Power in Rodeo: Breaking away from the Ties of Sexism and Racism* (2012), offers an analysis of the rodeo cowgirl's image throughout history. They suggest that there are five stages through which cowgirls' identity has developed: the equality cowgirl, the neo-victorian cowgirl, the pin-up cowgirl, the sex kitten cowgirl, and a new version of the equality cowgirl. Attempting to break down binaries between women and men, the authors present a detailed analysis of over six hundred images in an attempt to understand the position of the cowgirl throughout history. As with LeCompte's (1993) work, this book is set in the American context, and again, the Canadian cowgirl is absent. Further, the final chapter covering contemporary cowgirls, focuses on legal and monetary issues of the WPRA rather than on gender construction. These books contribute to this research considerably as they provide a historical context. It is through these historical analyses that I can see the changing relations of power and their effects on rodeo to contextualize the voices of today's Canadian barrel racers.

Women in a Non-Competitive Role. Other American scholars have noted that competition is not the only space for women within rodeo. Historically trick riding was an event open to men and women. It was removed from most rodeos by the nineteen thirties because it was becoming too dangerous (the more risky the trick, the higher the score). In favor of its entertainment value, trick riding became a contracted event (LeCompte, 1993) and now acts as a half-time-like amusement piece. Today, many men and women perform in this non-competitive trick riding.

While women have participated alongside men in many events throughout the past, the rodeo queen competition is (and has always been) specific to women. Laegreid (2006)

discusses the evolution of the beauty queen competition in rodeo in the United States. It began as a community event where only local participants could enter. In the early years contestants often competed simultaneously in both the queen and rodeo competition. It has since grown into a national competition, and it is rare that rodeo athletes participate in this competition.

While the woman is often an active participant in rodeo, she also takes the back seat. Forsyth and Thompson (2007) address women's contribution to rodeo as supporters of the cowboy in their article "Helpmates of the Rodeo: Fans, Wives, and Groupies." Fans and wives often include women who are current or past barrel racers. Statements from research participants reveal that authenticity is valued within western culture. For instance, fans and wives were seen as authentic supporters of the sport since they come from families with rodeo/ranching backgrounds and have grown up in this western culture, whereas groupies were seen as non-authentic because they did not fully embody western ideals. This may indicate that the gendered discourse within rodeo is largely influenced by western culture.

Within western culture the intersection of white, rural, and working class identities likely informs the expressions of gender. Deliovsky (2010) theorizes that whiteness works to create a structural and ideological position of privilege. This privileged space is both created and sustained through the (re)creation of the 'other.' Whiteness acts as an othering mechanism that marks those who do not belong, and simultaneously creates the "un-raced center of the world" (Ramussen, Klinenber, Nexica, & Wray, 2001, p.10). The idea of whiteness as an unmarked norm is problematic in the case of western culture because of its distance from urban, middle class ideals. Rural working class people have been marked as 'redneck' (O'Connell, 2010). This identity has two meanings: first, the term "redneck was

part of a pollution ideology that helped police the boundaries between the white working class and the white middle class” (O’Connell, 2010, p. 545). Derogatory language was used to describe the redneck such as, “backward, a breed apart, inbred, lazy, dirty, uneducated, coarse, uncouth, racist” (Jarosz & Lawson, 2002, p.9). Feeling the marginalization, people of the ‘redneck’ community are now choosing to re-appropriate the word into one of pride. People who self identify as redneck consider themselves, “honest, hardworking, resilient, tough, enduring, patriotic, proud, religious manual laborers” (Jarosz & Lawson, 2002, p. 9). While this definition has masculine undertones, the redneck woman has also been reestablished as someone with a purportedly higher standard of value than that of the middle class woman (Hubbs, 2011). She is someone who values “family attachment, loyalty, personal sincerity, and honor” (Hubbs, 2011, p. 66). This emphasis on family is particularly interesting when considering Deliovsky’s (2010) theory that within white ideology “European women are expected to conform to the accepted conditions of reproduction through ‘white’ heterosexual marriage, motherhood and the associated values of romance” (Deliovsky, 2010, p. 61). If she does not conform she will be regarded as deviant. This is especially true for women of the lower classes, who are often labeled ‘white trash’ (Deliovsky, 2010). These markers of whiteness and class will be useful when examining rodeo because it has been actively promoted as a family sport within the rural working class culture (Kelm, 2011).

Furthermore, there is a gendered status quo within rodeo that is based on historical representations of gender. The women in Forsyth and Thompson’s (2007) study spoke to the traditional nature of rodeo, suggesting that the reason women are excluded from so many events is because the western heritage must be preserved within rodeo. It is important to note that there are “few exclusionary rules for women’s participation in professional

rodeo events” and the funneling of women into barrel racing is “more the result of informal social organization” (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007, p. 401) which highlights the idea that discourse informs both formal and informal gender norms. Lawrence (1982) also found rodeo to be a particularly sex segregated area, stating “rodeo serves to keep sex roles sharply distinct as they were in the cowboy herding tradition” (p. 119). These sexual divisions go beyond funneling women into one category (barrel racing). When attempting to collect data Lawrence (1982) found that women were not allowed to go behind the roughstock chutes, and it did not matter how skilled they were working with animals.

The cowboy herding tradition or western culture is important when considering research in this area. The importance of authenticity (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007) within rodeo could reveal another key aspect related to rodeo culture: the myth of the frontier. Within redneck culture and white rural communities the ‘myth of the frontier’ is very important to identity formation. In the ‘myth of the frontier’ “North America is presented as an empty, unoccupied wilderness where land is free for the taking and resources are abundant” (Furniss, 1997/98, p.10). This concept was overtly promoted to encourage westward expansion in the United States and the cowboy lifestyle was the idealized image (Patton & Schedlock, 2012). As an outgrowth of white supremacy, the idealized cowboy is presented as a white male (Patton & Schedlock, 2012). Simultaneously people of color (cowboys and cowgirls) have been erased from rodeo and Western heritage imagery. This is problematic because rodeo finds its roots in the cow herding tradition, which is culturally diverse (Patton & Schedlock, 2012). Patton & Schedlock (2012) state it well when they say, “it is bitterly ironic that White patriarchy appropriated ethnic minority skills and knowledge that helped create the rodeo in the first place” (p.180). Patton and Schedlock (2012) detail the histories of people of color within rodeo in America. However, as they

state, the records of women of color within rodeo are hard to find as they suffered not only from marginalization of White supremacy but also of the patriarch. Therefore, in the same way the rodeo cowboy has been constructed as White, so too has the rodeo cowgirl. She because of her white skin has been afforded access to the rodeo community, yet still suffers marginalization due to her gender (Patton & Schedlock, 2012).

This literature, is useful for my research because it will help to understand the gendered western/racial context of rodeo. It is within this context that barrel racers manage their gendered identity. Furthermore, while it is likely more research is needed on all women involved in rodeo, I am choosing to solely focus on competitive barrel racers because I feel the best place to begin filling the gap is to examine the lives of women who garner the most exposure within rodeo. Also, by limiting my research to barrel racers I can ensure a deeper analysis of their experiences.

The Canadian Context. Women are in rodeo, but the cowboy is the topic of most conversation about rodeo because “rodeo is the stage where the image of the American cowboy is created, recreated, and glorified” (Forsyth & Thompson, p. 294). This statement showcases the cowboy as an iconic image in America. Building on this, Seiler (2008) examines the cowboy at the Calgary Stampede known as “The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth” (Foran, 2008). She is interested in the “tensions inherent in a Canadian city and region using what is arguably an American cultural icon as its defining symbol” (p. 176). What makes the use of the cowboy as an iconic symbol at the Calgary Stampede so interesting is that analysts of Canadian identity “seldom make the connection between the cowboy (historical or imagined) and the Canadian ethos” (Seiler, 2008, p. 180). Rather, Anglo-Canadians tend to posit themselves against America (we are not them), creating a somewhat anti-American ideology. She continues to ask, if the image of the cowboy is

traditionally American, then who is the cowboy showcased at the Calgary Stampede? In an attempt to answer this question she begins by describing the evolution of the cowboy.

Cowboys are ranchers, and national borders did not influence the movement of large cattle herds. Cattle herds moved along a North/South geography that ignored the Canadian and American borderline. Therefore, the Canadian rancher and cowboy have an American influence. Yet, because of the differing ideological terrains of Canada and America, there is something different between the Canadian cowboy and the American cowboy. Rather than completely embodying the image of the American cowboy who is independent, free from responsibility, and pursuant of social exclusion, the Canadian cowboy is a gentleman, and often a family man. The results of Seiler's (2008) exploration will be an important consideration within my research because not only does it showcase the importance of considering a Canadian context, it also creates questions about the resultant relationship between the cowboy and cowgirl. If the Canadian cowboy is a gentleman and family man, how does this influence the gender construction of the Canadian cowgirl in the mixed gendered environment of the rodeo?

Finally writing specifically about the history of rodeo in Canada, Kelm's (2011) analysis begins to answer the questions concerning the relationship between the gentlemanly Canadian cowboy and the Canadian cowgirl. She shows that the Canadian Professional Rodeo Association took great care in managing the family man image of the cowboy; he "was a sober provider for his family" (Kelm, 2011, p.135). With this emphasis on family, doors were opened for women, as family members, to participate in rodeo and daughters were encouraged to participate. Because of this strong emphasis on family lineage within Canadian rodeo, "women's events were the natural outgrowth of rodeo as a family sport" (Kelm, 2011, p. 153). Authenticity is important among women involved in

rodeo (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007), and therefore, the stronger the family lineage the more authentic the athlete (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007) as she comes from, belongs to and lives the western culture.

The importance of western culture, and a rural identity remains strong in the prairie provinces still today, where, McCormick (2001) argues,

If there is a 'right wing' in Canada, it is almost certainly found in the West, in a mixture of social conservatism, nostalgia for an economy and society organized around such institutions as the "family farm," traditional "family" values, and a greater salience for religious convictions that carry over into public action. (p. 403)

Therefore, while rodeo is an institution that celebrates the historical roots of such ideas as the cowboy, ranching, and an agrarian lifestyle, its members today hold a strong nostalgia for a political standpoint that emphasizes the myth of the frontier. For instance, a strong relationship with religion can be seen at Alberta and Saskatchewan rodeos where the Christian Cowboys Association boasts their "presence at almost every cowboy gathering" (Woodard, 1996, p. 32). Furthermore, a strong relationship with "traditional" family values can be noted in the CPRA's decision to promote the Canadian cowboy as a gentleman and a family man (Kelm, 2011). As a result of such salient beliefs within the rodeo community, the Canadian cowgirl is also noted to have a strong relationship with traditional family values (Kelm, 2011).

Canadian cowgirls, as with cowboys, are contrasted to their American counterparts: where LeCompte (1993) found that most American female participants were unmarried women, Kelm (2011) suggests Canadian cowgirls were married, manifesting an identity that "combined the hardiness of the rodeo cowboy with a dedication to family that did not

soften their image” (p. 158). This historical perspective is important to consider when analyzing gender constructs of today’s barrel racers.

The familial discourse present in rodeo offers another insight into the barrel racers construction of gender because the emphasis of traditional family values denotes heterosexuality without actually naming it. This may be relevant in understanding whether homophobia and fears of lesbianism emerge or not in interviews with cowgirls as it did in research on women’s hockey, soccer, or rugby. Heteronormativity may be so highly engrained in Canadian Western rodeo that the heterosexuality of barrel racers is never in doubt.

Horse – Racer Relationship

Considering the contact zone as a space for exploring the creation of different meanings, Donna Haraway (2007) asks us to look at the ordinary events in our lives to extrapolate new meaning and ways of understanding. She explores interspecies relationships and, more closely, companion species relationships. Haraway (2007) reminds us that within companion species interactions “the partners do not precede their relating; all that is, is the fruit of becoming with” (Haraway, 2007, p. 17). For Haraway (2007), becoming with refers to the creation of new identities within contact zones “where *who and what [we] are* is precisely what is at stake” (p. 19, emphasis original). Rodeo athletes are always in competition with or against animals. Barrel racing is an event where the cowgirl and her horse compete together in hopes of attaining the fastest time. Many barrel racers train their own horses, considering the time and effort it takes to train a horse, Game (2001) states that “in one way or another, training always involves a mixing of human and horse society . . . Once ‘in harness’, the horses and driver are in flow together, they are in tune

with each other, rather like an orchestra” (p. 4). This orchestra, this folding of one identity into another, where the horse and rider become one is an interesting and important addition to this study.

Lawrence (1982) explores the interspecies relationships within rodeo in her chapter dedicated to understanding the “Man-Horse Relationships in Rodeo.” Indicated in the title, cowgirls were left out of her examination, however, some key points can be deduced from this study. Foremost, is the concept that within rodeo the “horse is an archetypal symbol of man’s conquering force” (Lawrence, 1982, p. 134). Further, the breaking of a horse indicates culture’s win over nature. She suggests that the horse has a “duel nature” (Lawrence, 1982, p. 133) and can be found somewhere along the continuum from wild to tame. While she does not directly speak to barrel racing, she does explore the man-horse relationship in other timed events (calf-roping and team roping). These horses lie close to the tame side of the continuum and are seen as companions who are selected for the job because they possess the innate qualities that are required for calf roping, for example. This is contrasted with the bronc who is seen as embodying the “essence of rodeo” (Lawrence, 1982, p. 144) as an outlaw. The riding of the bronc symbolizes the cowboy’s ability to tame the west. As a comrade or an outlaw to the men of rodeo, the horse plays a significant role in the lives of rodeo cowboys. Like men in timed events, barrel racers are required to travel with, (often) train and maintain their horse. This involves an intimate and dedicated relationship. This study seeks to explore such a relationship bearing in mind previous work on animals in rodeo such as Lawrence’s (1982) anthropological study.

Birke and Brandt (2009) advocate the importance of including both the horse and the human when examining gender in equine relationships because gender in such relationships is mutually constructed by the horse and rider. They explain that within these

interspecies relationships “each becomes an embodiment of the other. This . . . means that gender in such relationships is ultimately a conjoint production, and accomplishment of both horse and human” (Birke & Brandt, 2009, p. 190). These authors also suggest that perhaps “being with horses permits horsewomen to be less constrained by norms of femininity” (Birke & Brandt, 2009, p. 196). Horses, along with women, are seen as having a “shared excluded position” (Savvides, 2011, p. 62) in societal relations: both the horse and the women have been subject to dominance by men. As such, both seek freedom, and “women’s climb into the saddle was, quite, literally, a significant event in feminist terms” (p. 63). However empowering this connection may be, it is problematic for two reasons. The first is that men are constructed as superior to both women and horses because of man’s affinity to rationality. This is contrasted with all things natural including animals and emotions, which is associated to femininity. The result is the stereotype of women’s ability to innately connect with horses: the woman is emotional and nurturing, and thus, open and receptive to the horse’s equal position in nature (Savvides, 2011). This would be inferior to the natural and scientific nature of men (Savvides, 2011). Second, the myth that women have an innate quality that allows them to connect with their horses romanticizes these interactions; women do have trouble training and connecting with their horses. Savvides (2011) suggests we look past the romanticized myth of woman-horse relationships to examine the interactions that really take place, from struggle to success.

Throughout this study I pull from this literature to realistically examine the horse-human connections within barrel racing. Drawing on the concepts of mutuality within space and body (Birke & Brandt, 2009), I am able to examine the barrel racer/horse as something akin to a centaur. While the horse may be gendered in a specific way, and fit somewhere in Lawrence’s (1982) continuum from wild to tame, the cowgirl may be

gendered in her own way, and together they may embody something entirely different. Learning from Savvides (2011) I am sure to avoid romanticizing this relationship, while still keeping in mind that there is something truly special about the connection made between rider and horse. I feel that while holding onto all of these strings at once, I am best able to understand the interesting world in which the barrel racer lives.

Conclusion

Overall there has been minimal research on the experiences of female competitors in rodeo. While Patton and Schedlock (2012) analyzed gender in barrel racing their historical analysis of photos and media representations of American cowgirls lacks the detail and depth needed to directly inform this study. The final chapter on the modern cowgirl explores the monetary equalities attained in rodeo payouts; however, it does not examine with any depth the experiences of female barrel racers today. Furthermore, while Kelm (2010) does portray a more complete picture of the Canadian rodeo experience throughout history, it remains a historical analysis. Therefore, drawing any direct conclusions from these large and influential bodies of work about the modern Canadian cowgirls experience would be strained. Because of the lack of current research on barrel racers in Canada, I have explored the research on women in sport, human-horse/animal relations, and other possible intersecting discourses that may influence barrel racers subjectivity. Any conclusions drawn from this analysis is not limited in relation to the findings discussed here. Rather, these are a general foundation of knowledge on which to base further exploration. Therefore, this study also embraces any emergent themes that prevail from the interviews. The researcher has also expanded her search for related research based on emergent themes in order to fully embrace the findings of this study, as

seen in the results sections.

Chapter Three: Research Method

Chapter 3: Research Method

This chapter discusses the methodological foundations, intentions and realities of the study. Guided by what could arguably be considered a post-modern framework, the goal of the study is to draw out and break apart what the barrel racers reproduce as truth in their daily lives as well as to explore the ways in which the barrel racers make sense of their sporting experiences. To do so, I drew on Foucault's theory of the workings of modern power. The interrelation of the discourse-knowledge-power triad and its effect on subjects helps to understand the ways barrel racers create, and recreate knowledge about what it means to be a cowgirl-athlete in western Canada today. Therefore, after completing and transcribing in-depth interviews a discourse analysis guided by foucauldian theory was performed. There were some logistical challenges to overcome throughout the course of this project. Therefore, the two-step proposed data collection procedures were not fulfilled as planned. However, necessary changes were made that resulted in successful collection of rich data.

Theoretical Framework

The application of Foucault to the sociology of sport has been widespread (see Rail & Harvey, 1995). Authors have looked at the disciplinary forces within sport to see the inhibiting role power plays in creating docile bodies (Cole, 1993; Markula, 2003). Researchers have also considered the productive aspects of power, put forward by Foucault, to acknowledge the benefits of sport participation in creating practices of freedom from dominating discourses (Chase, 2006; MacKay & Dallaire, 2013b; Thorpe, 2008). The interest in Foucault stems from his concern with the body, and how bodies are (re)created

through discourse, power, and knowledge relations. Sport is a space where bodies are on display in highlighted forms; therefore, the use of Foucault in sport sociology makes for a complimentary pairing (Rail & Harvey, 1995).

Discourse. Discourse, in a Foucauldian sense, is constitutive, it is “actively constituting or constructing society in a variety of dimensions” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 39). Discourse does not refer specifically to texts or to linguistic functions of speech; it refers to an interrelated web of statements “that cohere in some way to produce both meanings and effects in the real world” (Carabine, 2001, p. 268). Discourse is both productive (can produce action) and inhibiting (can limit action) (Carabine, 2001), producing the objects of which it speaks. These objects do not exist independently, they are not simply being talked about or referred to, they are “constituted and transformed in discourse according to the rules of some particular discursive formation” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 41). Discursive formations create understandings and truths about objects that become bound in power relations. These truths then circulate as common knowledge (Graham, 2005); however, it is important to remember that many discourses circulate concurrently. These discourses interact, are fluid, and change over time (Carabine, 2001) – this is why researchers must remember that objects constituted within discourse are also contextually bound.

Power/Knowledge. Foucault believed that power circulates through discourse. Power, however, is not as we traditionally understand it: it is ubiquitous, relational, and exercised through knowledge. Power is everywhere, it is not a “possession that could be ‘acquired, seized, or shared’” (Foucault, 1978, p. 94). Thus, it is not something that governments, institutions, etc. have and common people do not have. He breaks down the binary between dominated and dominator by envisioning power as ubiquitous because he is concerned with “how people, throughout history, have created knowledge about humans

and how such knowledge has shaped the experience of being human” (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 24). These experiences depend on “relations between people” (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 35). For Foucault, relational power is an action by one person that works to direct the possible actions of others (Foucault, 1983). Because power exists within relationships, it follows that “there is necessarily the possibility for resistance, for if there were no possibility of resistance ... there would be no relations of power” (Foucault, 1988, pp. 11-12).

The historical workings of power relate to knowledge formation. The ways that people influence one another within relational power are contingent on knowledge formations; therefore, power when combined with knowledge creates domination through discourse (Foucault, 1978). Dominant discourses create norms to which the bodies of individuals are supposed to adhere; these discourses circulate to create disciplinary power. The goal of disciplinary power is to create “docile or well disciplined bodies” that may be “subjected, used, transformed, and improved” (Foucault, 1977, p. 136). Disciplinary power is enacted through a variety of techniques that act as “constraints on action” (Shogan, 1999, p. 19) including the specific and controlled organization of space, movement, and time.

It has been argued that “sport can be understood as an institution whose central feature is one of bodily discipline and surveillance” and because of this, sport acts as a “technology in the Foucauldian sense” (Cole, 1993, p. 86). Therefore, discourses that circulate within sport determine what it means to be a legitimate athlete (Shogan, 1999), and sporting bodies are disciplined within these discourses. The docile sporting body is “able to perform prescribed skills with minimum error and maximum intensity in dynamic, often stressful circumstances” (Shogan, 1999, p. 13). This body is, however, a productive body, not a passive one: it is able to produce action in a precise manner. The results of

disciplinary power are seen when the docile body produces action without question or autonomy (Shogan, 1999).

As much as sport acts as a technology, so too does femininity (Cole, 1993). The disciplinary forces of femininity attempt to regulate the female body's appearance, including its size and shape (Bordo, 1993). Bordo (1993), further, suggests that a cult of thinness acts to normalize bodies, and women must adhere to this ideal accordingly. The ideal has changed in recent years and is no longer that of Twiggy (a tall, very thin, late 60's model); rather, "the athletic body type has become the latest standard for female beauty" (George, 2005, p. 317). Size, however, is still limited within this discourse, as a toned, thin body is idealized, rather than a bulky and strong body (George, 2005). The control over body size emphasized within dominant discourse of femininity is often at odds with the discourses about sporting bodies because sport has been shown to be masculinizing (Shogan, 1999).

Chase (2006) explored this contradiction in female rugby players. She contended that the shape and size of the ideal rugby body was at odds with the ideal female body, and thus was interested to see which discourse the athletes were adhering to. She found that the rugby players were actively resisting notions of normative femininity in two ways. One, they use their bodies in a distinctively non-feminine way, and two they actively accept all body types. I engage with Foucauldian theory much like these researchers and am interested in how the Canadian rodeo barrel racer creates her identity while juggling various discourses.

Subjectification. How individuals become subjects is another topic important to Foucault. He argues that power through discourse,

applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches himself to his identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which other have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects (Foucault, 1983, p. 212).

In this way, individuals are both subject to and subject of discourses; however, subjects do not pre exist discourse - they are constituted within it (Fairclough, 1992). This means that discourses circulating about women define what it means to be the subject 'woman':

feminine. The actor who takes up this discourse is both able to recognize what it means to be the subject 'woman' and also creates herself as a subject within discourse by acting to adhere to the discourse. There are, however, many discourses circulating at one time, and subjects can act to resist dominant discourses in favor of taking up counter discourses.

Resistance to one discourse, however, does not necessarily mean freedom from disciplinary forces (Graham, 2005).

It is through technologies of the self that individuals can form new or alternate identities and find freedom from dominating discourses. Technologies of the self are those practices that

permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and ways of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immorality (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

A key factor in technologies of the self is critical self-awareness. It is through a critical self-awareness that an individual can begin to question the technologies of power enacted on her through disciplinary discourses, and actively create a subject free from docility. The

subject may take up any of the possible discursive regimens available to her; however, she does so in an active way, thus avoiding docility.

Two studies draw on the concepts of discourse, subjectivity and technologies of the self to examine the space for women in sport. MacKay and Dallaire (2013a, 2013b) draw on Foucault's notions of discourse and power to look at the ways skateboarders use the Internet to create alternative discourses about femininity. The result is an image of polygendered athletes who reject the female/feminine, male/masculine binary of gender construction.

Similarly, Thorpe (2008) draws on Foucault's notion of discourse to understand how the media creates snowboarders as objects, and further how snowboarders then take up subject positions in relation to these discourses. She also employs technologies of the self to understand how athletes deal with sexism in media discourses. Her findings indicate that some athletes are actively and critically engaging with the discourses of femininity and sexism reproduced through media to create alternate subjective positions. The athletes in these studies were actively engaging with discourse to create new modes of identity on which to create themselves. This is similar to the rugby athletes in Chase (2006). She, however, did not take up technologies of the self directly in her analysis. Had she, she may have found that the athletes were practicing freedom from disciplinary power because they were critically aware of the technologies of femininity, and choosing to take up the contradictory subject position of athlete instead, as was seen in MacKay and Dallaire (2013a, 2013b).

I hope to draw on these studies to gain an understanding of how to critically examine the multitude of circulating discourses about gender in the lives of barrel racers. I am reminded that discourses of gender do not act alone, rather there are multiple discourses

that can come into play at various times. Thus, race, class, age, culture and other intersections will be considered in my analysis. I am curious to know how the barrel racing cowgirl conceives of herself in relation to these discourses; which discourses does she adhere to and which ones does she resist? I will, further, examine whether or not the subject is critically aware of the competing disciplinary forces and as such whether she actively creates herself as subject, thus, employing technologies of the self.

Method

In order to conceptualize the barrel racing cowgirl's gendered identity I explore her lived experience through in-depth interviews and participant observation. I am seeking to understand which discourses she subjects herself to as she creates her identity, and which discourses she refuses. Furthermore, I am constantly holding onto the concept of intersectionality as it applies to the lives of these women (Davis, 2008). This includes constantly referencing the discursive fragments (re)produced by the barrel racers with the dominant discourses of our society today including those objectifying race, class, age, sexuality, athlete, animal, western culture, etc. Finally I seek to explore how the barrel racer defines herself as separate from other subjects, including male competitors, non-rodeo participants, or whatever other division she feels is important. Viewing the data through a Foucauldian lens brings to light the nuanced differences of the subjective and varied experiences of each barrel racer. Drawing on these differences and similarities I have created a detailed and descriptive representation of the how barrel racers view of their subjective identity.

Intentions and realities. While working towards completion of the coursework requirement of this Master of Arts, I was able to choose one research method to explore and

practice with. I chose to conduct an in-depth one-on-one interview with a family friend who I know is a barrel racer (she later decided to participate throughout the whole of this project). This experience offered valuable insight into how I would plan the methods for this research.

I had planned to begin with semi-structured group interviews because of their usefulness when conducting exploratory research (Leavy, 2007). This, I consider to be exploratory research since no other research, to my knowledge, has been conducted to examine the current lived experiences of barrel racers in Canada. One of the problems in my initial interview was that I did not feel like I got to the heart of her experience, even though I asked open-ended questions. Therefore, I believed beginning with open ended, semi-structured group-interviews would help to “gain data, such as attitudes, thoughts, feelings and personal experiences from a range of respondents at once” (Leavy, 2007, p. 172). Also, perhaps group interviews would help to unearth factors impacting gender, or other issues that are taken for granted because group interviews have the benefit of reaching subjugated knowledge (Leavy, 2007). In this way, I felt, group interviews would point to important aspects of the barrel racers experience that I would then consider when conducting in-depth interviews.

Once having had the opportunity to do group interviews and learn the critical points of exploration emphasized by the interviewees, I planned to revise my interview guide for subsequent semi-structured one-on-one in-depth interviews. This interview guide would pull topics highlighted in the group interviews as well as topics related to the scholarly literature. I felt this would be the best way to meet both of my expectations for this research: to gain an understanding of the gender identity of barrel racers, and to relate this

gender rhetoric with women in other masculine sports. I planned to do these interviews face to face at a location convenient for the women involved.

Things, however, did not occur exactly as planned. The challenge with organizing group interviews is that it is inconvenient for the participants to schedule a meeting time. This was especially the case in this situation as the participants were scattered throughout southern rural Alberta and Saskatchewan, and often few, if any, lived in close proximity to one another. As a result of this logistical hurdle, only one group interview was conducted with two participants. Furthermore, it was not the first interview scheduled.

Another restriction of the research process was that I had limited time. I was only in Alberta and Saskatchewan from December eighteenth to January twenty-first. Even though I began recruiting interviewees around the end of November and the start of December I was unable to schedule the first interview until January fifth. The reason for this is because my trip to Alberta and Saskatchewan coincided with the holiday season. Therefore, it was a busy time for participants and I chose to schedule interviews at their nearest convenience. This meant that the first interview conducted was an individual interview. Following that, I was able to conduct the aforementioned group interview consisting of two participants. Therefore, I was unable to organize the methods as planned – beginning with group interviews, revising the interview guide, and finishing with individual interviews. Nonetheless, I was able to adjust the interview guide to develop a rich data set.

The previous summer I had attended four rodeos as a participant observer in order to gain data that assisted in the development of the interview guide. This added to the research because I had the added benefit of observing what these women may believe to be “mundane, common actions . . . not worthy of extended analysis” (Buch & Staller, 2007, p.

189). Compiling data from these observations with concepts drawn from the literature review, I created an interview guide best suited for the demands of this research. As interviews progressed I continually reviewed and revised the interview guide making adjustments based on themes emerging in previous interviews.

The interviews conducted were semi-structured and in-depth. The interview guide was structured with open ended questions. The order of the questions was important only at the beginning as those questions were less personal and worked to initiate an easy and comfortable discussion. Throughout the interview I jotted notes and noted when the participant discussed questions out of order as to ensure the conversation flowed naturally. Follow-up questions were asked when clarity was needed, or when further description was important. The interviews were conducted at a location chosen by the participant, lasted approximately ninety minutes, and were digitally recorded with written permission.

The methods for this project were limited by the realities of the lives of barrel racers. They are, as the data proves, time constrained. Furthermore, the participants in this sample, for the most part, live in rural locations. Therefore, the hope of scheduling both group and individual interviews was lofty. However, I was able to subvert the lack of a group interview by conducting follow-up interviews over the phone. This proved very useful for two reasons. It allowed for time to synthesize the whole data set and indicate themes that were relevant to the barrel racers. It, then, allowed for follow-up on such themes which resulted in a deep rather than broad datum.

Participants were recruited for this study by means of snowball sampling. I personally know four barrel racers as I grew up in southern Saskatchewan on a cattle ranch. I however, am not a barrel racer, therefore, I was thankfully introduced to ten other barrel racers who were interested in participating in this study. Because this research, like many

other qualitative studies, is not seeking to make generalizations about a larger population, a small sample size is sufficient to gain insight into the specific cultural experiences of Canadian professional women barrel racers. Fourteen women were recruited for this study. Two are no longer involved with rodeo, two others compete less regularly as they have shifted their focus from rodeo competition to barrel horse training. Three of the participants entered barrel racing after having participated in other equestrian sports such as western pleasure or dressage in their youth (one of these found barrel racing unfavorable and quit after one year). Seven of the participants took up barrel racing as children and have been involved in rodeo their entire lives. The four remaining participants began barrel racing in adolescence. The athletes participate(d) in rodeos sanctioned by the Canadian Professional Rodeo Association, Canadian Cowboys Association, Chinook Rodeo Association, and/or Foothills Rodeo Association. All of these association host rodeos in either Saskatchewan or Alberta, and all of the participants are from southern Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Reflecting on my personal experiences throughout this process was very important because of my struggle between being an insider, an outsider, or both. Because I grew up in the western culture, I consider myself somewhat an insider. However, because I never barrel raced, I am an outsider. Even more, I have lived away from this culture for a number of years now, making me more of an outsider. Yet, still, many of the values I have were founded within that culture, making me more of an insider. From the beginning I was struggling with the space I inhabit within this research. I knew that while working in the field, and interacting with people via informal and formal conversation (interviews) I would need to be aware of this struggle; practicing reflexivity helped me do this.

Analysis

Drawing on Foucault's discourse theory, a discourse analysis of transcriptions and participant observations was used to uncover the discourses cowgirls take on and/or resist. In general, discourse analysis does not come with a prescriptive step-by-step order for working through scenarios (Graham, 2005); yet, the analyst must have a clear understanding of the interrelated web created by discourse – knowledge and power. A discourse analysis is concerned with *how* objects/subjects are created within discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Graham, 2005). Researchers are not seeking to find a true representation of such objects, because it is believed there is no such thing. Rather, the analyst's job is to seek truths to break them apart to begin to understand the hidden mechanisms of power working within, which limit subjects' possible actions (Graham, 2005).

To begin discourse analysis the research looks at statements about the object under consideration. Within discourse analysis, statements are not to be looked at as sentences with a subject and predicate. Rather, they should be seen as a function, which “can be theorized as a discursive junction-box in which words and things intersect and become invested with particular relations of power” (Graham, 2005, p. 7). The statement is analyzed to see what it constructs and how. Next it is implicated into Foucauldian theory as a whole, tracing the consequences on subjects, the interrelation of multiple discourses, and how these statements are used to perpetuate knowledge/power about barrel racers.

To identify discursive statements I use a thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis be “considered a method on its own right” (p. 78). However, others, such as Boyatzis (1998) suggest it is a useful tool to use within many other analytic styles. I used thematic analysis as a tool to accompany discourse analysis, as

it is inarguably a “foundational method for qualitative analysis” (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 78). The reason for this may be because it has the benefit of being flexible. However, because of this flexibility there are a few key questions researchers need to explore before embarking on their analysis. The researcher first must decide what counts as a theme? A key factor in determining whether something counts as a theme is to determine its prevalence (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). This can be done in a number of ways, however, whether or not a data item is considered prevalent is always related to the research question. Overall, it is highly important that the researcher is consistent. It is important to remember within qualitative research that prevalence is not quantifiable. Next she must decide whether she is going to take a deductive or inductive approach to theory. She can choose to allow theory to emerge from the data (inductive) or approach the data with particular theoretical concepts in mind (deductive). From here the researcher must decide if they are looking for themes in the hidden meaning of the data (latent) or surface level themes (semiotic). Following from this the researcher has to consider the epistemological framework (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). Typically if a researcher chooses to look for latent themes they are working from a constructionist framework, whereas if they are looking for semiotic themes they are working from a realist framework (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). Once all of these questions have been considered the researcher can begin to embark on her journey using thematic data analysis.

Thematic analysis is a helpful tool in this case because it can also occur throughout the research process. As mentioned in the methods section, I was able to alter the research guide as interviews progressed to address themes that seemed to be of higher importance. The interview guide was originally constructed from theory and participant observation notes. Therefore, it was the result of both inductive and deductive processes. As the

interviews progressed I attended to emergent themes as well as noticed prevalent themes to adjust the interview guide. This was the first step in analysis. This process of combining emergent and theory driven themes was constant throughout the analysis.

Following transcription, I began analysis as a two part process. As the themes emerged it became clear that experiences related to the horse were a lot more prevalent than I had anticipated. Therefore, I broke the analysis into two parts: themes related to the horse/rider interaction and themes related to gender. This reflects in the following chapters.

Gender theme. This analysis focuses on one of the major objectives of the research project: to understand the barrel racers subjective space as it relates to previous research on women in sport. A deductive thematic analysis was conducted as the researcher came to the data with a prepared set of themes drawn from the review of literature. Themes drawn from the review of literature included those relating to the barrel racers understanding of gender norms. Specifically, whether she is accepting, rejecting or reinforcing dominant gender discourses. Other sport related themes included her reaction to the gender status quo, her understanding of the feminine ideal body type and how she relates to it, her experiences with the feminine apologetic in sport, her relationship with the varying roles that she experiences as a woman and athlete. Contextually specific themes were also considered including the importance of hard work as it relates to rural, white connotations of the redneck culture, authenticity and the importance of preserving western heritage, and family.

Once the themes were identified the researcher looked for relationships between dominant and contextually specific discursive fragments. One prevailing theme emerged that connected a multitude of other discursive fragments. These were then integrated into a visual analysis that allowed for further exploration of the interconnectedness of themes (see

Appendix Map 1 and Map 2). This helped to explore the resultant power relationships between dominant and contextual discursive fragments reproduced by the barrel racers and understand their effect on the subjects. The use of Foucauldian theory allowed the specific and nuanced experiences to shine through. In this way, I feel Foucauldian theory integrated with discourse and thematic analysis was the perfect choice for analysis.

Horse theme. The review of literature offered little help when embarking on this analysis. Therefore, themes constructed in this analysis are primarily inductive. Prevalence or ‘keyness’ of a theme was established by asking “whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Since the research question is related to the barrel racers subjectification based on available discursive fragments, it was important to consider whether a statement influenced how the barrel racers viewed their subjective experience. Furthermore, I focused on how a statement constructed meaning to the barrel racers lives.

To begin, I read and re-read the transcripts to note the areas in which the barrel racers spoke about their horses. I then created themes that corresponded with this data, and coded throughout. Some of these themes included horse connection, horse relationship, horse training, and horse as athlete. From the beginning it was obvious that the themes were tightly interrelated. In light of this, I defined the themes ensuring there was a difference between horse connection and horse relationship, for example. These coded parts were then integrated into a table to examine further relationships between discursive fragments. The next step was to create a visual representation of the themes to help explore the interrelation further.

It is at this stage that a greater emphasis on Foucault’s understanding of subjects, discourse, and power was necessary (although the coding process did occur through a

Foucauldian lens). Here a series of diagrams were constructed to allow the researcher to visualize the relationships between discursive fragments (See Appendix Map 3 to Map 5). A visual representation of overarching themes and sub-themes was created that allowed the researcher to see the interrelated web of discourses (contextual, and dominant), as they influenced barrel racers subjectivity.

Challenges. The greatest challenge with applying a discourse analysis guided by Foucauldian theory is that it requires a lot of interpretation by the researcher. The researcher must do her best to explore the data in such a way that she can draw out the latent meanings as represented by the interviewees. This means the researcher must pull away from her understandings of what she ‘expects’ the results to show. This was especially challenging in this case because the results do not mirror that of previous research on sportswomen participating in masculine sports. I feel, though, that these challenges were overcome by a dedication to representing the voices of the women researched in a holistic as well as nuanced fashion. The analysis does not seek to over-generalize about the researched, and every attempt possible was made to use direct quotes when writing the finished product.

Chapter Four: Authenticity is Key: The Discourse of Professionalism in Barrel Racers

Prepared for submission to the *Sociology of Sport Journal*

Chapter Four: Authenticity is Key: The Discourse of Professionalism In Barrel

Racers

Much of the research on women in sport has focused on sex-segregated sport because “concerns over ‘fair play’ and fair competition” (Engh, 2011, p.138) have resulted in sex-segregation becoming the norm. This study focuses on one such sex-segregated sport – ladies barrel racing. To date, no research has been done to explore the unique identities of female barrel racers. The intent of this research is to highlight these experiences and showcase the unique relationship these sportswomen have with the particular cultural and historical roots of their sport. Most research on women and sport, of late, has posited the butch/lesbian stigma as a commonplace experience of sportswomen. This research emphasizes the importance of considering context in the creation of sporting identities, and reminds us to step back from overgeneralizing about populations. Therefore, these findings indicate the prevalence context can play in creating one’s identity as it seeks to explore how barrel racers make sense of their experiences of being women and being athletes in rodeo.

Ladies barrel racing is the only event specifically for women within mainstream rodeo. The Canadian Professional Rodeo Association (CPRA) requires that each rodeo has seven events, one of which is ladies barrel racing. What is unique about this sport is that while it remains sex segregated, it is not completely isolated from the men’s events, as many other sports are such as women’s hockey and men’s hockey or women’s soccer and men’s soccer. Both barrel racers and male rodeo participants travel to and compete in the same rodeos. Therefore, while they don’t compete against one another their gender performances are constantly on display within a sex-integrated context. This means that the

issues surrounding women's sport that relate to athletic legitimacy are constantly affecting barrel racers. Questions arise about barrel racers abilities and knowledge as it relates to sport and horse(wo)manship. These findings indicate that as a result barrel racers (re)produce a discourse of professionalism that distinguishes authentic and in turn legitimate barrel racers from the 'others.' The barrel racers indicate that this division is represented by the ordering of priorities. Accordingly, a barrel racer must showcase her strong work ethic at all times; however, this must not come at the expense of presenting a conservative femininity. Moreover, she must be careful to balance these competing priorities as to ensure her authentic image at all times. Should she not, she risks being labeled as a wannabe or a groupie.

Situating the Research

This paper examines the datum of interviews with fourteen barrel racers who compete(d) at various levels throughout Alberta and Saskatchewan. The CPRA is the only professional rodeo association in Canada. There are also numerous semi-pro and amateur associations that sanction rodeos throughout Alberta and Saskatchewan. The women interviewed in this study compete(d) in the Canadian Professional Rodeo Association, the Canadian Cowboys Association, the Chinook Rodeo Association, and/or the Foothills Rodeo Association.

Because I grew up on a ranch outside of a small town in southern Saskatchewan that bordered the homesteads of a few rodeo families, the fourteen interviewees were recruited through snowball sampling. I started by asking acquaintances if they would be interested in participating in one semi-structured face-to-face interview and one follow up interview, if necessary, over the phone. They passed along the information to anyone they thought

might want to share their experiences of rodeo and barrel racing. The interviews were conducted over a three week period at locations chosen by the participants.

A discourse analysis guided by Foucauldian theory was conducted following transcription of interviews. This form of analysis requires that the researcher focus on “the availability of discursive resources within a culture – something like a discursive economy – and its implications for those who live within it” (Willig, 2001, p. 172). Consequently, this research focuses on the availability of discursive resources available to barrel racers, and what this means for their subjectification. Subjectification occurs when subjects simultaneously actualize (are subject to) and embody (are subject of) discursive fragments (Foucault, 1983). Discourse is productive because it establishes the “boundaries of what is acceptable and appropriate” (Carabine, 2001, p. 275). Discourse also results in the self-surveillance of subjects (Foucault, 1977), and it is through subjects’ self-surveillance that the inner workings of modern power can be seen.

Moreover, multiple and interconnected discursive fragments circulate in any one society. These discursive fragments are intertwined in a power-knowledge relationship. Knowledge is the foundation on which discourse is created, but also what discourse produces. Discourses become powerful when they are infused with knowledge that is deemed as ‘common sense’ or ‘truth.’ Dominant discourses serve to “privilege those versions of social reality which legitimate existing power relations and social structures” (Willig, 2001, p. 172). Contextually specific discourses interact with dominant discourses which results in subjects having access to numerous and fluid discursive fragments. Even more, the very workings of discourse mean that subjects can produce counter-discourses. The prevalence of counter discourses means that power, in a Foucauldian sense, is ubiquitous.

Drawing on Foucault's notions of power, knowledge, and discourse, the first step of the discourse analysis was to identify statements about gender. Within a discourse analysis guided by Foucauldian theory, the statements are not looked at as sentences with a subject and predicate, rather they are looked at as junction boxes for meaning (Graham, 2005). This means that sentiments about gender were not always lexically referring to words like 'femininity' or 'masculinity.' Once these were identified, the second step was to look at the silences, the spaces in between statements that declare what is either desperately obvious to the speaker, or what the speaker does not find important. Together the silences and the statements hold meaning for the subject who is (re)producing the discourse. It is important to remember, when looking through this lens, that there is no such thing as 'truth,' what is important is how the barrel racers interpret their subjective space in society. What it means to them, how it inhibits or produces action, ultimately what the effects of the discourse have on their subjective experience. The next step was to look to see how the discursive fragments or statements put forth in the interviews interacted with dominant discourses. Finally, the last step was to attempt to understand the reasons why certain discourses were being taken up by the barrel racers and not others. I found that the barrel racers were (re)producing a discourse of professionalism that worked as a code for authenticity. The barrel racers who subjectified as professionals viewed themselves as authentic cowgirls whose work ethic and dress were disciplined in interested ways. Furthermore, this discourse worked to divide authentic barrel racers from non-authentic others including groupies and wannabe's.

Contextualizing Barrel Racing. Alberta and Saskatchewan are home to some of the very first and longest standing rodeos in Canada. These early twentieth century rodeos were an outgrowth of the ranching and cow herding tradition. They began as informal

gatherings where ranchers (cowboys and cowgirls alike) could come together and showcase their horsemanship skills. Kelm (2010) suggests that they acted as contact zones “where hybridity rubbed shoulders with . . . gendered segmentation” (Kelm, 2010, p. 9). In these early informal rodeos cowgirls and cowboys could be seen competing against each other in a variety of events. As time passed, however, rodeos became increasingly regulated and the rise of professional associations resulted in women’s removal from competitive rodeo (Kelm, 2010). Two decades later, when CPRA looked to ‘clean up’ the cowboy’s image in order to promote rodeo they moved away from the independent, lawless American cowboy ideal towards one that promoted gentleness, horsemanship, and, most importantly, family. The need to recognize the Canadian cowboy as a family man, and rodeo as a family event resulted in a rebirth of cowgirl participation in Canada. As Kelm (2010) writes, “women’s events were the natural outgrowth of rodeo as a family sport, which was itself a result of reconfiguring the rodeo cowboy as a family man” (p. 153). These Canadian cowgirls were the sisters, daughters, and wives of travelling rodeo cowboys and had all of the horse(wo)manship and equestrian skills necessary for success in rodeo. Then in, 1957 a group of hard working cowgirls created the Canadian Barrel Racing Association, later named the Canadian Girls Rodeo association (CGRA). Unlike their American counterparts, whom LeCompte (1993) argues were unmarried women with little knowledge of rodeo’s roots, these women were “experienced equestrians” (Kelm, 2010, p.154) and came from “*within* a community that defined femininity as including both competence around horses and stock and the mental, emotional, and physical toughness required to flourish in the pro rodeo world” (Kelm, 2010, p.14, emphasis added). Therefore, the early CGRA members (re)paved their way into rodeo on the coattails of their male family members without upsetting the status quo through continued support of their male

counterparts and an emphasis on family (Kelm, 2010). Today the informal requirements of an authentic cowgirl mirror those emphasized by the early CGRA founders.

Mental, emotional, and physical toughness are also qualities depicted in the image of the frontier women who helped colonized the vast North American west (Stoeltje, 1975). The frontier narrative positions the Canadian-American frontier as a vast empty land and naturalizes white settlement by ignoring North America's violent history of colonization. Rodeo in Canada has overtly promoted this history, as it "became one of the selling points of small-town stampedes" (Kelm, 2010, p. 14). Stoeltje (1975) examines the image of the frontier women depicted in this narrative to find she

- (1.) was strong and tough;
- (2.) took responsibility for the welfare of others;
- (3.) had a variety of skills that she used often;
- (4.) provided for husband's and children's needs;
- (5.) expected no help or reciprocation;
- (6.) was a helpmate to her husband;
- (7.) was highly valued by men for the above qualities, for they did not value the leisure class standards of femininity. (p. 33)

The symbolic frontier woman was valued because her expressions of an alternative femininity served well the unique contextual experiences of settling the North American west. Today's barrel racers reproduce discursive fragments that resemble those of frontier femininity perhaps because of rodeo's intimate connection with its pioneer history. For barrel racers, like the frontier women, performing the alternative femininity referenced in the code of professionalism may help to gain legitimacy in the eyes of men, as is referenced by Stoeltje in point number seven.

The code of professionalism (re)produced by barrel racers does not coincide with actual professional status in Canadian rodeo. Professional rodeo participants in Canada are distinguished between those holding a 'pro-card' with the CPRA and others that do not have professional status and compete exclusively in amateur rodeos. A competitor has the opportunity to purchase a pro-card once they have won a minimum of one-thousand dollars in one season. The professional status is re-occurring as long as they continue to pay their yearly membership fee. At the time of interviewing only four of the women had competed in the CPRA. However, many of the women competed in amateur associations that had a high level of competition, enough so that often racers who competed in the CPRA would choose to compete in the amateur rodeos to earn more money. Sometimes this flexibility between associations could result in high level barrel racers competing against green-horns. One interviewee said it was more economical to participate in the amateur association because the rodeos were closer to home. In fact she earned more money than her sister who was competing in the CPRA in the same year. Therefore, even without official 'professional' status, barrel racers can earn money and participate in high quality events. Therefore, the concept of a 'professional' barrel racer is more fluid than the CPRA intends.

The Discourse of Professionalism

Non-professional others. Women have been participating in sport since its very beginning, yet the stories of these women remain largely hidden behind the valued stories of men's participation in sport. Perhaps this is due to the construction of sport itself as a masculinizing pursuit (Thompson, 2002). The qualities required and emphasized in male dominated sport include power, strength, and aggression (Engh, 2011). These are qualities that align with the dominant notions of masculinity. Thus, sport is not only a space where

masculinity can be expressed; it is also an institution where discourses of masculinity are created and normalized (Bryson, 1990). As such men's participation in sport aligns with the sex/gender/desire paradigm produced within a heteronormative society; namely, man/masculine/heterosexual (Caudwell, 2003). Therefore, when women participate in such masculinizing sports they are seen to transgress the sex/gender/desire paradigm because they are performing traits constructed as masculine and for men (Caudwell, 2003).

Sport feminist researchers have taken an interest in the pursuits of sportswomen to both bring light to their experiences, and to begin to understand how they manage the fine line of acceptable gender performances while maintaining successful sport performances. While Kolnes (1995) argues that heteronormativity is the organizing principle in women's sport, Caudwell's (2002) study of women footballers in England shows that this might not always be the case. The vast difference in findings between these two studies emphasizes the importance of context when researching women in sport. The experiences of individual athletes are always bound to and interacting with a variety of discursive fragments that construct varying *acceptable* gender expression.

One common theme in feminist sport research has been the butch/lesbian stigma that works to demonize women who transgress gender norms through their efforts in sport (Caudwell, 2002; 2003, Engh, 2011; Kolnes, 1995; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009). Women participating in hockey, for instance, fall within this stereotype. One of the women interviewed for this study is also a university level hockey athlete. She discussed here experiences of the butch/lesbian stereotype in hockey,

Um, lots of them think we're super manly, that we're all lesbians. Um, you know, even we're at the bar the last weekend and someone was like, "You guys don't look like hockey players." And it's like, "Well, what does a hockey player look like?" I

think you get that perception that we're all buff ... and super manly and jock and ... But I really don't know where that came from because there's really not that many that are any, you know, that are super big or whatever. But I think it's just that's how we get stereotyped and it's almost kind of an insecurity of people, of like guys that we're in the same world of sports as them or whatever. (Sarah)

Sarah draws a conclusion that the reason the stereotype exists is because women are in 'the same world of sports as them [men].' Furthermore, that because women are participating in a male dominant sport it upsets the norm and causes 'insecurity' for men involved. This coincides with prevalent research in this area (Sartore & Cunningham, 2009).

Rodeo is a sport dominated by men, yet unlike other masculinizing sports the butch/lesbian stereotype does not exist for rodeo's female athletes. Sarah discusses this when pondering how outsiders might view the physical labour required to care for her horse.

They would probably wouldn't really view it as feminine . . . Cuz it's ... Um, it is hard labour and stuff and people probably ... It is a bit tomboy, you know ... boyish or whatever. And if a city slicker sees that, they ... depending on ... you know. Some people are in modern and accept that society while others might think you need to stay at the trailer, that's a man's job... they should be doing that. But I guess cuz it is a male dominant sport ... it's not really expected or seeing that girls do all that labour or whatever.

She continues to say that even though these actions might be viewed as 'boyish' to an outsider, "with rodeo people it's just like that's part of the job, you know" (Sarah). Sara is emphasizing the importance of context by distinguishing outsiders and insiders' access to certain discursive fragments. An outsider of rodeo does not necessarily refer to someone

who is not a competitor; it refers to someone who does not have access to the unique manual labor and western cultural lifestyle represented in rodeo. Within this culture leisure-class femininity is not a valued discourse. Stoeltje (1975) indicates this in the seventh descriptor of frontier women: men valued their alternative femininity as they did not value the leisure class femininity. She expands further to discuss the reason why frontier femininity was constructed differently than leisure class, “given the demands of the environment, the refined lady image in its pure form could not survive” (p. 40). Therefore, when it comes to horse-care and chores the interviewed barrel racers, who all have a close relationship with rural culture and rural identity, do not experience or have knowledge of the butch/lesbian stigma because their expression of femininity aligns with frontier femininity.

Sarah, still pondering the unusual acceptance of hard working women in rodeo culture, cites that perhaps another reason for the acceptable ‘tomboy’ or ‘boyish’ action is because of familial relations. Rodeo is a family sport, and as such it is often the case that mandatory chores fall on the shoulders of all members of the family.

I think it's just most guys have grown up that play with probably sisters or somewhere along the line like that's how-- that's just how it is so it's not a big deal and it's “well, if you do it, I don't...” Like the guys it's more, “Well, if you do it I don't have to do it.”

Because rodeo participants have grown up with sisters and mothers who are also responsible for the outdoor chores, they are less inclined to view women performing hard physical labour outdoors as transgressive.

References to family and an accepted femininity that encompasses traits dominantly viewed as masculine are two pieces of a system of deeply seeded heteronormativity within

the western culture. Therefore, the reason that the lesbian/butch stigma does not exist for these sportswomen is not simply a result of rodeo as a family sport, or a culturally specific femininity. Rather, it is also that within Western conservative culture, heteronormativity is so engrained that to think a woman would be anything other than heterosexual would be outrageous. This society values a traditional notion of family that is (re)produced in discourses of conservatism and religion emphasized in rodeo's pioneer history (McCormick, 2001; O'Connell, 2010). Because "religion played a vital role in pioneer society" (Lehr & Katz, 1995, p.418), the rural white subject is also one who maintains a high moral standard (O'Connell, 2010). Therefore, the combination of a conservative and religious ideology have created a cultural discourse of sexuality that is so heterosexually engrained that deviant manifestations of femininity, for women in rodeo, is not related to homosexuality like it is for many other sportswomen. Rather, deviance is associated with excessive sexuality, as will be shown below.

In the frontier imagery there is not only the image of the 'refined woman' who couldn't survive, and the 'helpmate' who supported her man, there is also the image of the 'bad woman' whose relationships with men was purely sexual (Stoeltje, 1975). The discourse of sexual promiscuity subjectifying the 'bad' women intersects with racial discourses, as the 'bad woman' was depicted as an aboriginal woman. In contrast to the 'bad woman,' the 'helpmate' is depicted as a white woman whose sexual relations with men in the frontier are only referenced in terms of reproduction. Discursive white femininity produces a pure subject whose sexuality is constrained as she is required to ensure the continuity of whiteness through her ability to reproduce (Deliovsky, 2010). The early Canadian pioneer woman was a subject whose construct "included purity and piety" (Carter, 1997, p.8) regardless of its reality.

Today this idealized construct of conservative, religious, white femininity intersects with barrel racing constructs. For the barrel racing sportswoman, deviant sexuality refers to excessive sexuality, rather than homosexuality. The discourse of professionalism divides authentic barrel racers from non-authentic wannabes/groupies. Forsythe and Thompson (2007) also noted this stating “many women supporters of the rodeo are very sensitive about issues of being confused for groupies and/or cowgirl wannabes. This relates to their primary motivation and desire for authentic involvement in rodeo and western culture” (pg. 395). Groupies (buckle bunnies) and cowgirl wannabe’s are referenced in other research as women outside of rodeo competition (Forsythe & Thompson 2007). Within *this* research, however, the barrel racers are using the word professional to distance themselves from other barrel racing competitors who are non-authentic. Perhaps the reason for this difference is the Canadian context. The smaller rodeo community in Canada and the level of competition of the women interviewed, results in a close interaction between cowgirls, groupies, and wannabe’s.

Subjecting oneself to the discourse of professionalism requires a docility to certain disciplinary techniques. Should a barrel racer not adequately discipline herself it can be seen as an indication that she has the wrong priorities, and is therefore not authentic. The barrel racers explained that they could tell if someone’s ‘priorities were out of line’.

You can watch people in there. You can just tell by their priorities, you know. I mean if they are the ones that run to the trailer quick and jump on their horse five minutes because they have to compete. You know that’s not their priority, they are the ones that, they’ve got a horse tied to the trailer with saddle on, you know where stuff like that, it’s the little things, they are the ones who maybe aren’t competitive, you know.

(Wanda)

Authentic barrel racers prioritize their horse(wo)manship above all else. This can be seen in the way the interviewed barrel racers discussed value in terms of success. “There are ones there that are very dedicated to this sport that aren’t competitive but work hard on it. I give those ones a credit too because not everybody is going to be successful” (Wanda). Conversely, if a barrel racer wins without hard work through purchasing an expensive horse her success holds less value. Here Janet distinguishes between someone who works hard for success and someone who buys success.

Yeah, yeah, like the girls who have to work for it, they're going to be out there night and day. They're going to be pretty much living with that horse and the ones who just buy it, they might not see it as ... that horse already does it, so why do I ... all I've got to do is keep him in shape.

When further discussing purchasing an expensive horse she continues to say, “you can definitely be looked down upon.” Kathy also references this idea, “you're going to see people who have to work for it, and people who've had everything handed to them.” The ‘people who have everything handed to them’ are often viewed as wannabe’s because their access to the sport is not authentic. They do not embody the horse(wo)manship that has been valued of the past CGRA members and still today.

Rodeo competitions are typically two to five days long. Rodeo competitors, however, do not stay at one rodeo for its duration. Rather, they attend two to four rodeos in a weekend. After the rodeo each night there is typically a social function that involves locals, fans, rodeo contestants, and alcohol. Whether or not a barrel racer can attend the social function depends on the time she competes the following day, how well/poor her horse travels and who she is travelling with, among other things. In general, the women interviewed will leave the rodeo after the competition in favour of letting her horse rest the

next day. Even more, if she does stay overnight at a rodeo the professional barrel racer will typically be the last to the social function because caring for her horse, or her family takes precedent drawing a connection to rodeo's western conservative, religious, and traditional culture that emphasizes family. Sherry discusses this when she describes how she and her female travelling partner, "are not going to stay out at the beer gardens all night because that would look inappropriate or disrespectful to our relationships." Through protecting their relationships with their husbands they embody the authentic barrel racer/competitor who shows up, networks and leaves early; remains 'respectable' as a woman not engaged in flirting or extra marital affairs. Wanda clearly uses her language to divide the professional barrel racers from 'others.' "Um, women will be the last to arrive at a social function, you know because they're- and they'll be, I mean there are ... stereotypically there are the other ones, you know" (Wanda). Whether the 'other' is real or imagined is not important, she is using a discursive strategy that Armstrong and Elizabeth (2014) argue defines women's "virtue against 'real' or imagined bad girls" (p. 117). She goes on to explain what she means when she says 'others':

There are the women that go there and chase men and try to look the part, and try to play the part but they're not the ones in any action. They tend to not to want to be successful and they're not the ones that are in there for the long term, you know.

Wanda is describing the groupies. "'Groupie' is a term usually used to refer to a young woman who follows rock groups around on tours" (Gauthier & Forsyth, 2000, p.350). However, this term is also used to reference to women who follow athletes. The groupies of each sport have been afforded their own nickname. Within hockey, for instance, they are called 'puck bunnies.' A similar name is applied to rodeo groupies: buckle bunnies. Within most groupie subcultures the women do not participate in the sport, however, in

Canadian rodeo a buckle bunny can also be a barrel racer. The buckle bunnies who are also barrel racers are not seen as authentic cowgirls by barrel racers who do not consider themselves sexually promiscuous.

Gauthier and Forsyth (2000) noted that rodeo men can distinguish buckle bunnies by the way they dress; stating that the “bunnies’ lack of attire” (pg. 354) identified them. This was also represented in these interviews. In order to avoid the buckle bunny label, and thus be viewed as non-authentic and less legitimate, a barrel racer must dress “professionally”. Therefore, proper self-surveillance of one’s attire is one disciplinary technique of the discourse that produces professional barrel racers.

Disciplined Attire. All rodeos have a required dress code. The dress code is the same for both men and women: Rodeo participants must wear western attire described as a cowboy hat, cowboy boots, jeans, and a long sleeved shirt with cuff and collar. Competitors are required to adhere to these guidelines one hour before the rodeo and continuing through one hour after the rodeo. If a competitor does not follow these guidelines they can be fined. Barrel racers understand the importance of proper attire as they believe how they dress reflects on the sport as a whole.

Um, yes. There’s definitely an, um, there’s definitely an image that is more professional. Your collared button down shirt, um, that crisp look, we’ll call it, is definitely that professional image that I think goes a long way for the sport, for sure.
(Julie)

This idea that the athletes are responsible for promoting their sport through their actions and attire is unique to barrel racing. This general understanding is rooted in the history of rodeo, barrel racing, and the rodeo queen contest (Laegreid, 2006).

Many rodeos showcase a queen competition. Each rodeo association has different rules for the queen contest; however, in general it is quite similar to a beauty pageant. When the queen competition was first implemented barrel racing rodeo cowgirls competed. These women were considered ambassadors of the sport and embodied a feminine equestrianism that advanced the cowgirl image (Laegreid, 2006). Today, barrel racers do not usually compete in the queen competition. However, the discursive construction of a professional barrel racer is reminiscent of this intersecting history. Exercising nostalgia, the barrel racers interviewed believe in the importance of promoting their sport through displaying a professional image. However, today there is a large difference in the ways the queens and the barrel racers are disciplined.

A lot of the queens -- not all of them -- but some queens don't have a lot of horsemanship skills, I would say. For us, our horses and our horsemanship is our priority. And then the queen contest, it's more about your -- the way you look, and your public speaking, and your interaction, that kind of thing. (Sherry)

This quote emphasizes the discursive technology called dividing practices. In this statement she is drawing on discursive truths to separate the subjectified barrel racer and rodeo queen based on the different disciplinary techniques. Both queens and barrel racers must work hard to win; however, *what* they are working hard at is important. The barrel racers are prioritizing their horses, whereas the queens are prioritizing how they look. Lexi, comments on the differences between barrel racers and queens,

Rodeo princesses -- appearances matter a whole lot in that their hair is always done up, and their makeup is on. They're supposed to wear red lipstick or something like that. Their makeup is done up. Um, they are -- it's more like, they're supposed to, or maybe not that they're supposed to but they're kind of expected to wear more colorful

and their colored pants and they could be matching pants and the matching shirt, matching belt -- everything matches. Whereas, if a barrel racer wants to just throw their hair in a ponytail and put their hat on and just wear a regular rodeo shirt and jeans and maybe it doesn't necessarily all match, but it's not necessarily that it looks terrible? Then that's just fine too. Whereas a queen, being the queen you couldn't go to a rodeo, let's say the rodeo that they represent wearing just their old pair of work boots, and a kind of really faded out pair of blue jeans, and a shirt with their hair kind of like in a ponytail.

Because barrel racers and queens have different requirements for success the discourses they draw upon are different. Rodeo queens are required to look perfect, "at nationals at the queen contest. There was a thing that said watch for, like, threads on your -- on your pockets of your butt. That's how -- you can't have loose threads on your pants even" (Sherry). Whereas barrel racers must prioritize horse care and horsemanship. However, this does not mean that barrel racers are not concerned about their appearances. Birke and Brandt (2009) state that,

Horsewomen spend a great deal of time labouring outside in the wind and the sun. Their faces are weathered and hands calloused, their clothes are worn and dirty, and they are far from the ideals of feminine style. Yet once they and their horses leave the barn or yard, especially to engage in communities of hunting or competition, then markers of gender assume more importance. (p. 191)

In horse racing, for instance, women training as jockeys were required to perform gender in regulated and interesting ways. While in the barn they used their bodies in physically demanding ways to successfully complete all chores. Yet, outside of the barn they were required to present an exaggerated femininity (Butler & Charles, 2012). Performing

femininity 'off the field' is a reality for many sportswomen because their sport participation requires they challenge gender norms. One way to perform gender is through dress. In fact Krane (2001) found that in general modern women's sportswear works in tandem with heteronormativity to sexualize women's bodies, "the evidence suggests that there seems to be an increasing tendency for sportswear to sexualize, eroticize and objectify the female body" (p.67). When women's sporting bodies are objectified within sport it trivializes their athletic pursuits.

As opposed to this overt sexualization of sportswomen, drawing on the discourse of professionalism helps the barrel racers to legitimate their actions in sport. Therefore, when discussing how they dress each of the women spoke of conservative attire. What is interesting about rodeo is that the dress code for men and women is the same, and is quite modest. However, regardless of this equal regulation emphasizing (conservative/modest) western attire, barrel racers believe they should positively promote their sport by how they look, and this look is decidedly feminine. For instance, a few of the interviewees stated that they would not cut their hair for fear of having a male appearance under their cowboy hat. Some would argue that the expression of femininity through appearance while participating in sport represents the feminine apologetic (Felshin, 1974). The feminine apologetic occurs when athletes compensate for their participation in masculinizing sport by acting feminine in other ways. However, in the case of barrel racers I would argue that they represent a constrained apologetic because the discourse of professionalism regulates racers' apparel so that they do not over-emphasize their femininity. Claire further describes the difference between men and women of rodeo, "girls can go fashion on the edge a little more so than a guy could." However, this 'fashion edge' is bound in disciplinary forces regulating the emphasis a racer places on her attire, someone who overemphasizes their

femininity is seen to prioritize her dress over her horsemanship and horse care and risk being viewed as 'other.' Authentic cowgirls want to avoid being noticed for how they dress over their skill.

I'm not flashy. It's a plainer shirt. It's usually blue jean. I've always got my belt on, and I've got my cowboy boots. They are not brand-new. They've been worked on the ranch, so they're covered in cow crap most likely. It's a good hat. I try to keep my hats good for the rodeo. I want to look presentable, but I don't want to look like I went and bought all new clothes that day. I don't know. One time I got a comment that I just look like I came off the ranch, and I went to a rodeo. And I like that comment. I have no problem with that comment because I didn't have to get fancy for someone to notice me. They noticed the horsemanship instead. (Janet)

The discourse regulates the extent of concern over one's looks because a rider must manage her time and her priorities; wherein her horse and her work ethic are on the top of the list. Charlie references the racers whose priorities are out of order, "I think they're worried about how they look but they're not doing their job with their horse and I don't ever wanna do that. I wanna be doing my work."

Incumbent within the discussion of gender in barrel racing is the interaction between rider and horse. Birke and Brandt (2009) remind us that expressions of gender in horse cultures cannot be considered without attention to the horse. The horses are also disciplined within the code of professionalism, as they too are required to look appealing without crossing the proverbial 'line.'

I don't want to be known for how I dress. I want to be known for what my horse does. You'll never see my horse with head to toe glitter and crazy colors and stuff like that because it's just not me. She's pretty basic with black or white, sometimes teal blue

leg wraps. Grey wool saddle pad and have a little bit of fancy stuff ... like bridle and stuff but nothing too fancy. Good quality, but nothing too fancy. That's just how she gets dressed. She's beautiful, she doesn't need a lot of extra to look pretty because she's such a pretty horse. That's how I am. (Kathy)

It is important to Kathy that her looks do not distract from her skill. Her references to appearing 'pretty' demonstrate that barrel racers have knowledge of and do (re)produce some aspects of dominant femininity. However, it is complicated because barrel racers walk a fine line that requires they restrain their attention to appearance to be seen as legitimate and authentic cowgirls because their focus should be on their horse and horsemanship. Therefore, over-emphasizing femininity on oneself or one's horse is one tell of a buckle bunny. Wanda when asked how she can tell who is a buckle bunny,

Because they got the bling on, because they're probably walking around with their tank top and their tits hanging out or, or the short shorts or you know, like their priority isn't probably the horse and their truck and their trailer, you know, their stuff. You can just spot them, come on!

She continues to cite age may be a factor in this,

In my younger life were I was probably one of those, you know and probably lots of young people do, right, because it's part of growing and learning who you are. You have- you know, that's a feeler right, I mean, if you get attention from boys for a, you know, a time or two and then you can, you know but that's part of growing, right? I mean you know that too, but it's where they would take that and grow from it or whether you get stuck in that.

Others discussed how bling was more accepted for the junior barrel racers as well. This relates to Malcom (2003) and Sisjord and Kristiansen (2009) who both found that younger

women were more likely to emphasize their femininity. Viewing age as an independent category is too simplistic in this case. Eleven of the fourteen interviewed barrel racers were in heterosexual relationships at the time of interviewing. The five who were not in relationships were the youngest of the women interviewed. Therefore, as alluded to in Wanda's quote, exaggerated markers of femininity can be seen in younger women because they are more concerned with attracting a male companion.

Disciplined bodies. The discourse of professionalism (re)produced by the barrel racers regulates the actions of subjects. Barrel racer's bodies are disciplined through hard work. The women describe the professional barrel racer as someone who works hard and cares for her animal counterpart,

[A barrel racer is] somebody who works hard, dedicated, cares for their animal.

There's all personality types though, confident. Again, that can change easily but you want - a winning barrel racer, you want to have confidence. I would say that is the biggest thing, the love for your horse, being able to work hard at it and just pure love of doing it. (Claire)

Hard work is highly valued by the women involved in barrel racing. When two of the racers in their twenties were asked who their role models were, they spoke of their mothers and the admiration they had for their strong work ethics.

Her work ethic for sure. She's always willing to get out there and do it. Some days I'm like, "Oh, it's too cold." She's like, "Jeannie, you've got to do it whether you want to or not." "Well, I do, but it's cold." She never has any excuses for not doing anything. She just goes and does it because it needs to be done (Samantha).

Well, I mean she worked hard for it . . . she would ride when it's cold in the winter, like early in the spring when it's muddy. She just always found some way to be ready when lots of other people weren't or just kind of stay one step ahead somehow (Lexi).

Emphasizing a strong work ethic in the face of harsh conditions is reminiscent of Stoejtle's (1975) descriptors of the frontier woman, and not of dominant discourses of femininity. Even though many of the women in this study had knowledge of dominant discourses of gender, as shown here by Wanda, they subjected themselves to different disciplinary regimes that resulted in displays of authenticity.

I mean, there is that stuff too...cleaning the barns and the stalls and everything too. It's not thought of as a woman's...perceived as a woman's work, you know, it's not. Um, my barn is probably cleaner than my house is in some ways.

Exemplary commitment to one's horse and sport is required to be successful in barrel racing. While caring for their animal counterparts the women interviewed often have to perform hard physical labour in less than fashionable circumstances. Birke and Brandt (2009) express that "women working with horses must be tough, capable, and not mind getting dirty" (p. 191). Charlie, discussing the work she does outside, chimed that she wants to be able to "work like a man." Charlie, like Wanda, acknowledges dominant gender discourses that extol the idea that manual labour is only suited to male bodies expressing masculinity. She is also aware of the discontent between her actions and her words because she later expresses that she does not see it as man's work, "it's just society says it is."

Charlie's words express how dominant discourses of gender convolute with the contextually specific discourses circulating within barrel racing. Chase's (2006) found that the female rugby players she interviewed were aware of the dominant discursive

requirements femininity inscribed on their bodies. Yet, instead of reproducing the discourse of femininity, they reproduced the discourse of rugby by shaping their bodies in ways that allowed for successful sporting performances, rather than successful gender performances. Like the rugby players, the barrel racers in this study are using their bodies in ways that result in successful sport performances by embodying the authentic cowgirl subjectivity that labours outdoors completing the ranching work. The barrel racers are not acting in ways that reproduce dominant notions of femininity when they perform such chores. Lexi further discusses this,

Like when it comes to taking care of horses like in a rodeo it's not so much as like man work, woman's work. Like lots of people say woman's work is housework. Or man's work is the chores outside, kind of thing? But no like definitely once you get to like taking care of horses and stuff like that, it's just you get used -- you do it. It's not nothing is thought of it really.

While she recognizes the dominant discourses of gender defining ‘man’s work’ and ‘woman’s work’ she is acknowledging that in her culture it is normal for a woman to care for the horses.

Wanda describes her understanding of the culturally specific femininity of the western culture. She relates to Stoeltje’s (1975) concept of the frontier woman as a helpmate to her man here,

I think the Western heritage, you know, back then, you saw the old women washing clothes on the scrub board, um, you know, gathering the eggs, uh, yes, they did garden, but any- It was anything that pertained to supplying the men . . . so it’s hard to break from that tradition.

‘Supplying the men,’ is an idea supported in the research by Forsythe and Thompson (2007) on women in rodeo. They found that the women of rodeo are the ultimate supporters to their male counterparts. This supportive role is the very reason the early women of Canada’s rodeo found themselves a space within rodeo after two decades of closed doors. These women were as tough as any cowboy in rodeo but this “toughness was tempered by references to family” (Kelm, 2010, p. 154). Similarly, the women interviewed for this study emphasized a femininity that referenced family.

As a requirement of caring for their horses, barrel racers transgress normative discursive constructions of gender through their efforts of physical labour. However, in the same discussion they spoke about a femininity that linked to motherhood resembling the fourth descriptor of frontier women presented by Stoeltje (1975): providing for her children’s needs. For instance Charlie says, “women take care of their horses like they take care of their babies, so it’s very nurturing. I wouldn’t really call that manly” and Kathy says, “Maybe a woman thing, right. Because we take -- no different than like taking care of your kids or taking care of anything in life. Like women just are caretakers.” It is here that we can see the inner workings of power in a Foucauldian sense. The barrel racers are reproducing a gender that shifts away from dominant femininity in one case, yet aligns in another. The knowledge circulating within this culture allows for a safe transgression of dominant femininity – a woman using her body for physical labour – because it is balanced with references to family and motherhood that reinforce heteronormativity.

The women also reinforce the gender status quo when engaging in discourses of strength. Many of the women interviewed had also participated in team roping. Janet considers herself quite good at roping, but only competes in jackpots because she is female.

I can't even judge because if I got drawn a girl, I'd be like, "Oh, my god." What are my chances? There are some good ones, but they're not as fast. They're not as strong. I hate saying that, but it's like, when you're watching, and I'm sitting there in between all the guys. We're watching this girl have a complete wreck heading, and you're like, "Oh, it's a woman header." I'm saying it. I'm thinking it. I'm a girl.

The idea that women are inferior ropers is supported by discourses of naturalized gender differences that circulate knowledge about women's lack of strength. Yet, barrel racers take up a masculine embodiment when performing chores and think nothing of it. Lacey discusses this,

Like, they just -- I remember I was loading hay one time with a -- a guy. And I was just throwing bales in there, "Slow down, like what's wrong you". We just do it a lot, so you get strong. Like to us, it's not really a big deal, I guess, because we're doing it every weekend.

This interaction nuances Stoeltje's (1975) descriptor that frontier women are strong and tough. Today's barrel racers embrace their strength and independence, for instance Sherry states, "I mean, we're independent. We can shovel shit and throw a bale, and pack water buckets, and drive a truck" because those actions are valuable as they relate to the original frontier women.

The 'guy' in Lacey's description is expressing his discontent with her strength suggesting he believes she is transgressing normative gender. In order to compensate for this transgression sometimes barrel racers will reinforce the status quo by letting a male competitor help with the chores that require strength. This contradicts the fifth descriptor presented by Stoeltje (1975), that frontier women expected no help or reciprocation. Sarah discusses how a male rodeo participant would react to her carrying a heavy water bucket,

“If you're carrying a bucket of water back to your trailer and they see it like they'll usually come carry it for me.” As indicated by the above quotes, barrel racers take pride in their strength and toughness. Sarah's comment indicates a reinforcement of the strength/gender status quo by handing over the bucket to the male participant. Mennesson (2000) also found sportswomen submitting to the gender status quo in her study on female boxers in France. The women competing in the most masculine form of boxing would find ways to reinforce the gender status quo out of the ring. Typically, the women who competed in this form of boxing were of a lower economic class. Perhaps this could be better understood when compared to the findings of Knoppers and Anthonissen (2003). They compared women's soccer in the United States and the Netherlands to find that sports more closely associated with the middle classes offered greater access for women. Contrarily, sports associated with the lower or working class created stronger barriers for women,

Historically, the path to acceptance of woman's team sports associated with the (white) male working class has been slow. Sports that the working class played were defined as ‘vulgar’ and as requiring much physical strain and muscularity . . . These aspects were often seen as incongruent with white western ideals of dominant forms of femininity at that time. Thus class-related definitions reinforced dominant beliefs and images about which sports were ‘acceptable’ for women (Knoppers & Anthonissen, pp. 358-359).

The female barrel racers in this study are all associated with rural, working-class ideologies as they relate to manual labour. Therefore, their acceptance into a sport closely associated with the working-class (rodeo has its roots in and emphasizes its ranching history) is fraught with inherent tensions. To overcome these tensions, it could be argued, that the women in rodeo reinforce the gender status quo outside of the arena.

Within the western culture reinforcing the gender status quo has become a necessity for women throughout history. Even though the frontier woman embodied a transgressive gender because of her physicality she was restricted so as to “not disturb the general order” (Stoeltje, 1975, p. 27). Kelm (2010) has also found that not upsetting the status quo was predominant in stating that “few cowgirls reported an affinity with feminism” (p. 14).

Conclusion

The discourse of professionalism is a discursive tool that divides authentic cowgirls, real athletes, from non-authentic cowgirls, wannabes or groupies. Sportswomen throughout history have been faced with a constant uphill battle, as their actions in sport do not conform to dominant discourses of gender and sex. Masculine men play sport, and feminine women should not. Regardless of the constrictions of dominant discourse women do participate in masculinizing sports. As the result of dominant heteronormative discourse sportswomen’s pursuits are devalued and viewed as not legitimate (Kolnes, 1995). One way to do this is to question a sportswoman’s sexuality. In much of the feminist sporting literature sportswomen’s assumed heterosexuality is questioned because of their participation in sport. However, this is not the case for barrel racers. A barrel racer’s assumed heterosexuality is never doubted even if her performances of strength and toughness are fragments of dominant masculinity. This is the result of an interconnected web of discourses within which barrel racers are subjectified.

The barrel racers (re)produced a discourse of professionalism that pulled from other available circulating discourses. The dominant discourse of white femininity constructs the white feminine woman as one that is pure, untouched, and whose sexuality is only noted in references to reproduction (Deliovsky, 2010). This discursive fragment is also reproduced

within the frontier femininity subjectivity because the frontier woman is a white woman (Stoeljte, 1975). The frontier narrative collides with white discursive constructs to naturalize white settlement (Furniss, 1997/1998). Canadian rodeo governing bodies actively promote its pioneer history (Kelm, 2010). Thus positioning rodeo participants, and barrel racers as white. Once again, reaffirming the discursive fragment that creates a non-sexual white woman (Deliovsky, 2010; Stoeljte, 1975). Barrel racers (re)produce this discursive fragment by including a reserved feminine appearance and actions in the discourse of professionalism. If a barrel racer overtly expresses her femininity, and thus, her sexuality she is no longer viewed as professional. Rather, she is subjectified as a buckle bunny, which is read as deviant.

Accentuating a sportswoman's sexuality is one tool used in the media to devalue her athleticism (Krane, 2001). Producing a sexually objectified subject, rather than a strong, tough, and skilled subject that upsets gender norms, mainstream media reaffirms the sportswoman's heterosexuality while ignoring her athleticism. The discourse reproduced by the barrel racers shifts away from this by reproducing discursive fragments that showcase the authentic cowgirl as aligning with a frontier femininity, a reserved femininity that is valued by men in the same culture. This helps to legitimize her athletic pursuits. Even though she embodies masculinity while caring for her horses she is careful not to shift too far from the hegemonic norm and reaffirms her femininity, and thus heterosexuality with references to motherhood. Once again, coming full circle to reaffirm her whiteness, and her interconnectedness to rodeo's historical roots by exemplifying the frontier femininity.

The scope of this research is, however, limited to the specific set of barrel racers interviewed. One effect of snowball sampling is that the researcher gains insight into a

specific sub-culture due to the initial research contacts. The initial research acquaintances contacted were of the group of barrel racers who were closely associated with rural western identities. For instance, one of the initial contacts was a woman who was well known in the area for her skill training and working with barrel horses. Her home was twenty-five miles from the nearest town, which had a population of less than one hundred people. Therefore it is imperative not to generalize these contextual observations to a larger population. Furthermore, they emphasize the importance of a continued effort to understand the vast and varied experiences of all women in sport.

Chapter Five: Inter-Species Relationships In Barrel Racing

Prepared for submission to the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*

Chapter Five: Inter-Species Relationships in Barrel Racing

This study answers the calls of various researchers (Birke & Brandt, 2009; Birke et al. 2004; Game, 2001, Haraway, 2007; Savvides, 2011) who compel us to challenge our ideas of ‘humanness’ and ‘animalness’ by exploring the inter-relationships created through animal/human interaction. According to Arluke and Bogdan (2014), woman’s relationships with horses, in rodeo, have been more cooperative than combative, especially in more recent years as women’s participation in rodeo has been funneled, for the most part, into one event – ladies barrel racing. The purpose of this study is to examine how discourse informs the creation of subjects in the horse-human relationship inherent in ladies barrel racing. Furthermore, I interrogate how discourse regulates the actions of subjects, and how discourse works to compartmentalize subjects through the use of dividing practices (Foucault, 1977; 1978; 1983; 1988). Finally, how these contextually specific discourses interact with wider discourses about gender and sport are examined.

Horse and human interaction can be traced throughout history to images of the infamous Trojan horse of Greece, to the valiant medieval knight on horseback, and to today’s petite jockeys on racehorses. Women’s interaction with horses has been a more recent endeavor resulting in the move of horses from the agricultural, and industrial realms to the social and sporting realms (Birke & Brandt, 2009; Gilbert & Gillett, 2012). Sports that involve human and horse interaction have been examined for their historical development (Kelm, 2011; LeCompte 1993; McConville, 2008, Hendenborg, 2009, Huggins, 2000, Marvin, 2007, Case, 1987, Clatworthy, 1981). Hidden between the lines of these historical accounts are a variety of inter-species interactions. While each of these interactions involve horses, humans, and sport, they vary, as Wipper (2000) reminds us that

“while the horse is central to all horse subcultures, values, norms, and practices vary enormously within them” (p. 50).

Rodeo is one such equestrian subculture, Lawrence (1982) studies the subsequent human/horse interaction to find that within rodeo the “horse is an archetypal symbol of man’s conquering force” (p.134). She suggests that the horse has a “duel nature” (Lawrence, 1982, p. 133) and can be found along a continuum from wild to tame. Horses that fit closer to the tame end of the spectrum are viewed as companions to the rider, meanwhile, horses that fit closer to the wild end of the spectrum are viewed as outlaws (Lawrence, 1982). This anthropomorphizing suggests a subjective space that the horse embodies. A space that is both separate from and closely intertwined with the rider. Dominant discourse has created an animal/human binary that works to essentialize the identities human and animal, and position them in opposition (Birke, Bryld, & Lykke, 2004). However, Haraway (2007), when speaking to interspecies relationships, asks us to look at the contact zone as a space that fosters the creation of new identities. Within horse/human interaction Game (2001) argues that the relationship is mutually constituted, that there is always a “mixing of human and horse society” (p.4). How do we actually study this space? Anyone who works with animals knows that they are more than simple automated machines. Yet, horses cannot speak, and thus the part they play in constituting the relationship is quite hard to establish.

Birke et al. (2004) theorize that by drawing on the concept of ‘performativity’ as Butler (1993) first deployed it, and then later as Barad (2003) expands it, researchers can begin to take the human-centeredness out of the equation. Butler originated the notion of performativity when questioning discursive constructions of gender and sex in our larger society. She theorized that both gender and sex are constructs of discourse. They are

constructed through repeated actions, or performances. They, then, are not essentialized natural traits that people have, but rather, they are the result of something people do. Barad (2003) further theorizes ‘performativity’ in questioning the social and natural sciences’ emphasis on language. She uses the concept of ‘performativity’ to emphasize how meaning can be created without language.

A performative understanding of discursive practices challenges the representationalist belief in the power of words to represent preexisting things. Performativity, properly construed, is not an invitation to turn everything (including material bodies) into words; on the contrary, performativity is precisely a contestation of the excessive power granted to language to determine what is real. (p. 802).

Challenging the power of language she reminds us that nature is not simply a blank slate onto which culture is painted. It is and has always been creating its own history. Humans and non-humans should not be examined as didactic beings. Rather, meaning is the result of the ‘intra-action’ between them. It is within this performative intra-action that ‘material-discursive’ practices create emergent ‘phenomena.’ These phenomena are the result of actions and doings that occur between human and non-humans. It is through the creation of phenomena that agency can be found. Therefore, she argues, agency is not an attribute to be had, but rather a “doing”/“being” that occurs in the relationships between humans and non-humans. Birke et al. (2004) follows the debate about non-human agency and suggests

that a focus on animals can add new productive dimensions to these discussions, so posing the question of the agency of matter in complex new ways. Animal studies may thus make up a productive site for examining the agency of matter, but avoiding some of the pitfalls. When we, for example, talk about the agency of matter in the

shape of human bodies, it is easy to slip back into a discussion of human subjectivity as though it is not embodied. And when we consider the agency of machines and non-organic matter, it is also easy to short-circuit the discussion back into mere human instrumentation or orchestration of machinic performance, once again setting the human subject as the prime mover. Contrary to both human bodies and machines, however, animals are less easily discarded as subjects in their own right. (p. 176)

Birkt et al. (2004) contribute to these debates by drawing on the concept of performativity as it relates to material-discursive phenomena to explain animal/human interactions. They suggest that through the emergent phenomena in the intra-action between humans and animals we can begin to see how it is possible for animals to have agency in the (re)creation of discourse. If it can be argued that animals have agency in the (re)creation of discourse, then it follows that they can be viewed as subjects in a Foucauldian sense.

We can begin to see how the horse, then, can move away from being viewed as an inanimate object whose traits are inscribed by humans through discursive formation (typically animals become objects of a scientific discourse that inscribes animal as embodying innate qualities, and therefore, implicating them as without agency) to an active agent in the (re)creation of its own subjectivity. It is important to remember that agency, in this case, is not something that humans or animals have; rather it is something they access as a result of the interaction between them. Therefore, when the barrel racers speak of their horses as if they are subjects who actively constitute the relationships they are referring to the specific performances that occur between them; the material-discursive relationship that results in unique phenomena (Barad, 2003).

‘Animaling’ refers to the ‘phenomena’ (Barad, 2003) created within the space of specific

animal-human interactions (Birke et al., 2004). The word ‘animaling’ acts linguistically to emphasize the co-creation of a specific human/animal interaction that is bound differently from various other inter-species relationships. Animaling, then, is a boundary term that sets apart the phenomena co-created in one relationship from another. This draws parallels to Foucault’s discursive strategy of dividing practices. Like ‘animaling,’ dividing practices work to separate one subject from another. For Foucault it is through discourse that truth is constituted. These truths inscribe what it means to be a subject. Subjects then can act accordingly, so as to take up said subject positions. This means that while a subject is defined within the discourse, subjects concurrently define what it means to be said subject by recreating the discourses through their actions, or in this case, through their intra-action. Sport bodies are constantly on display, and the use of Foucault in sport research has been widespread because of its concerns for how discourse, knowledge, and power constitute bodies (see Thompson, 2002). In this case, the discourse, knowledge, power triad simultaneously works to constitute two bodies: the horse and the human.

Methods and Analysis

I grew up in Southern Saskatchewan and while I was not a barrel racer, I did live on a cattle ranch and have many acquaintances that are involved in rodeo. With aid from these acquaintances through snowball sampling I was able to recruit fourteen barrel racers from southern Saskatchewan and Alberta. These women participated in semi-structured qualitative in-depth interviews. The interview outline was created beforehand with academic literature, participant-observation, and personal experience in mind. The initial interviews were conducted face-to-face at locations chosen by the participants. These

interviews were transcribed and re-read to assess the necessity of follow-up interviews which were then conducted over the phone.

Following the interviews, I conducted a discourse analysis guided by Foucauldian theory. The goal here is to understand how subjects are being created by examining discursive fragments (re)produced by the barrel racers. This includes examining the material-discursive formations resulting from the intra-action of horse and human. It is imperative to remember that when looking through this lens, there is no actual truth, truth is a construct of discourse. Furthermore,

discourse is not what is said; it is that which constrains and enables what can be said.

Discursive practices define what counts as meaningful statements. Statements are not the mere utterances of the originating consciousness of a unified subject; rather, statements and subjects emerge from a field of possibilities. This field of possibilities is not static or singular but rather is a dynamic and contingent multiplicity (Barad, 2003, p. 819).

In this case statements about horse/human relationships in barrel racing were examined to see how they implicated subjects. It was found that within horse/human relationship in barrel racing there are three distinct, yet interrelated subject positions: the athlete, the team member, and the trainer.

Production of the Horse/Human Subject Positions of Barrel Racers

Discourse actively regulates the actions of subjects through the use of disciplinary technologies (Foucault, 1977). Disciplinary technologies are the informal/formal rules that exist to limit the actions of subjects through the creation of docile bodies. A docile subject is highly disciplined, and thus highly efficient. This research examines how the barrel

racers and their horses are disciplined. It further examines the specificities of this relationship, and what boundaries, or dividing practices work to preserve its uniqueness.

The athlete. Throughout the interviews many of the barrel racers' first response to questions of whether they saw themselves as athlete was "no." For instance Jane said, "I never really thought of myself as athlete. I just always think of my horse as athlete." This dismissal of self as athlete is the direct result of the intra-action between the horse and rider. The barrel racer is also an athlete as she engages in an organized sport for competition. However, she does not view herself as such because the horse better fits the discourse of athlete. As Lexi said, "when you think of an athlete, we think of someone that is like, like a runner." A runner, a body in motion, this is what an athlete is according to this discourse. Accordingly, an athlete must also be physically talented as Kathy suggests,

You might have the nicest horse in the world, but if they don't have the physical ability to be the fastest and the quickest horse, then you might not do as well as you'd like. So it's kind of like anyone wanting to ... like I might want to play basketball, but if I'm four foot five I'm not going to make the NBA.

Regardless of how physically talented the horse is, all of the riders spoke to the importance of a good training routine.

Within sport docile and efficient sporting bodies are created through disciplinary techniques; "discipline in sport requires control of athletes' bodies through the acquisition of skill and a sophisticated body of knowledge focused on how to produce skilled athletes" (Shogan, 1999p. 18). The skilled barrel horse is produced in conjunction with the barrel racer. Due to the belief that the horse is an athlete, the barrel racer takes on the responsibility of training and/or maintaining her horse. Nine of the fourteen racers have been training their own horses in barrel racing for many years. The remaining five have

purchased professionally trained horses in the past, however, all of them are shifting their focus and training younger horses with the possibility of 'running' them in up and coming seasons.

Through training, the horses are subject to periodized training like many other athletes. In preparation for the season the horses practice daily working on cardio and agility.

Obviously we want to get their lung capacity up. So we do a lot of long trotting. But you really have to think of, like, their fast-twitch muscles and their muscle memory, and that kind of thing. So we'll do sprints, and, you need to make runs sometimes just to get your horse -- and lots of circles. And getting them collected and using their body. (Lacey)

Throughout the season there is a greater emphasis on maintenance and details.

If she did something on a weekend that I wasn't happy with, say she didn't turn first barrel as sharp as she should have. Maybe she went by at a stride, which will be the difference between making money or not. Um, you know, I'll come home and do some exercises that will tune that up. So just things I've learned along the way.

Maybe I'll take her up and stop her a few times and just get her thinking, so that the next time you go to a rodeo and you run in, she thinks whoa we got to slow down and turn. So you'll just do -- I'll do that. But with her, I don't like hammer on anything. I just fix it, done. And then she -- and I won't do it again. It's once on Tuesday maybe, and then outside of that for her it's just keeping her, uh, um, physically fit. (Kathy)

Yeah. So, like, one day a week I'll do arena work with him, or even out in the field doing lots of tight circles and getting him collected and underneath himself. And then the next day I'll go down the road and do long trotting. And then the next day I'll

sprint him. Yeah. And then the next day I'll go back to the arena and do, like, collection. And then have a rodeo. (Sherry)

Furthermore, the horses, like any other athlete, are subject to proper warm ups.

You know, making sure he's fed and ready to go. You know, 20 minutes of, of warming them up, and that's, you're making sure they're listening and kind of in tune to what you're doing, the ... all the buttons work, right? You know, plus moving them out and, and stretching them out so you don't pull a muscle or injury, that kind of thing. That five or ten minutes is more just to, to kind of settle them back down, right? Um, um, you don't think their, their heart rate doesn't need to be up before they run. You almost want to bring it back down and, and settle them back down; for me. For the types of horses I ride, anyway. (Julie)

Post season is a period of recovery where some trainers give the horses more freedom. As Kathy expresses here, "sometimes I just get on and go down the road so that they -- it's good for their minds and good for their bodies."

Another aspect of athleticism is injury prevention. "I would say my horse is the athlete, that's the way I look at it because they're the ones that get injured. They're the ones that need their legs to be iced. They're the ones that need massages" (Claire).

Veteran riders know that by keeping their horses 'sound' their careers will be longer and more fruitful. Because of this, most riders spoke of a having a good relationship with their veterinarian. Lacey, for instance, said she takes her horse for acupuncture, and that it helped. Claire, among others, spoke about the importance of joint care through use of orthopedic shoes for the horses during long trailer rides.

It is, however, simplified to only speak of the horse in terms of athlete. As aforementioned, it is obvious that the riders are also athletes. What is important, though, is how

the riders interpret their subjective space based on the available discursive fragments. Because of the relationship with her horse she tends to posit herself as non-athlete. However, some riders did speak of disciplinary techniques they subjected themselves to that resemble those of athletes. Though the requirements are less rigid the riders do have expectations for their bodies. First, some spoke to the importance of weight management. Second, others spoke to keeping generally fit enough to skillfully ride as not to interfere with their horse's performance.

Drawing on Birke et al. (2004) we can see that through the repeated interactions of human and non-human counterparts the horse can move away from being viewed as simply an object and into the light as a subject: as athlete. It becomes a subject actively participating in the workouts, veterinary visits, etc. organized by the rider. Let us not forget that even though the horses are purchased, fenced in, and only granted limited access to the world they are large, strong animals and it is their choice to interact with humans. It is a choice driven by their need for sociality, "in the absence of emotional support from the herd, horses look to humans. Indeed, without this motivation it would be impossible to work with horses the way we do, for no amount of force could get a horse to move forward, jump, or pull a cart" (Game, 2001, p.3). Therefore, while the riders are drawing on normative discourse defining athleticism to show that they are not athletes, they are simultaneously expanding the discourse to include their non-human counterparts because they understand how active the horses are in producing their subjectification.

The team member(s). Within barrel racing it takes *both* horse and rider to compete and win, "I mean you're still an athlete in the sense, you know, when you come through the gate it's still on you right?" (Julie). When the riders spoke about the moments before entering the arena to make a run, they did not only speak about preparing with their horse,

they also spoke about preparing themselves. A major aspect of this pre-competition preparation was mental focus. For Janet it was about being calm, “Well, if your horse is uptight, you’re uptight. Your heart’s beating, his’ going to be. But if a girl can calm down, bring everything back down, a horse can feel that.” Similarly, for Sarah, “the biggest thing is to just stay relaxed then he’ll ... you know, if you’re relaxed, most of the time your horse will be relaxed”. Claire believed that having confidence was an important aspect to her mental game, “I think we play such a huge part in that having confidence. If we have the confidence, they, in turn, start having confidence”. In each of these cases, the riders are not only talking about their pre-game mental preparation, they are also very concerned with their counterpart’s emotive state. This illustrates the interconnectedness of the team, and reinforces Game’s (2001) statement that “people who live with animals experience connectedness and cross-species communication daily” (pp.2-3). Communication is a necessary component of teamwork, and teamwork is key to success in barrel racing. Kathy emphasizes this when she says, “she knows her job, so I just support her along the way. But it’s like significant teamwork because if someone else tried to do it with her they wouldn’t have the same teamwork and it probably wouldn’t go well.”

The word team presupposes individual subjects who are “distinct beings, each with its own mind, its own emotions, its own ways” (Wipper, 2000, p.54). Wipper, also studying equestrian sport, found that the riders in eventing viewed their horse-human relationship as a partnership. The dimensions of an eventing partnership involve respect, compatibility, communication, and trust and confidence between both horse and rider (Wipper, 2000). The above quotes, through an emphasis on the horse’s autonomy, showcase the barrel racers respect for their mounts. Compatibility is highlighted when discussing the team: in order to have a successful partnership the “horse and rider have to

get along” (Wipper, 2000, p.54). This statement is similar to Claire’s description of the relationship,

There has to be a chemistry between you and your horse. Take Lindsey Sears [a past champion] and Martha [her horse], for example, they’re a great pair. Martha became great. Whether she would have been great with another person, I don’t know but they matched. They complemented each other so well that they did well. Scamper [horse], he was with Charmayne James, he was like a little outlaw. She was just a kid and they clicked. Same thing, I don’t know that he would have been the horse that he was if it wasn’t for her.

Unlike eventing, however, where Wipper (2000) found that, “regardless of how much the partnership idea is extolled, there is no doubt as to who its senior member is. Horses should instantly and willingly obey the rider’s signals, answering to every single request” (p.57), in barrel racing the rider’s interpretations of their experiences varied. Samantha and her horse have a pedagogical relationship, where she believes her horse taught her the fundamentals.

He kind of taught me how to ride him. Like the first year I ran him I just sat there. I did. I just sat there going, ‘Oh my god, we are going so fast!’ . . . And he just took care of me the whole time. And then when I started riding him better, he started challenging me to make him run.

Like Samantha’s, Charlie’s horse was also skilled; however, Charlie, a veteran rider, was not open to subsuming the student role, and neither was her horse which resulted in a power struggle. Charlie, used to riding horses who needed more assistance through the pattern, would ‘check’ her horse. ‘Checking’ is something the rider does with her horse to prepare for turning a barrel. It involves sitting down, putting pressure on the inside rein and

encouraging the horse to slow down. Because Charlie's horse was talented, he did not need this assistance. Every time she would 'check' him they would tip a barrel. Once she learned to trust and respect her horse's knowledge and skill they found success.

When I did buy a [trained barrel] horse two years ago that was like, he was 18 years old and he just did it [performed the movements skillfully without aid] and that was really hard. Actually that took me a year to not tip a barrel because I was constantly like checking him or whatever and he would tip it, like and I didn't have to touch him.

On the opposite end Molly believed she took the leader role, "I was a fairly aggressive rider and she kind of needed to be pushed but would go and turn and would work hard every time so I think we fit well together." Finally there are those who are quite experienced and adapt to the style of any horse, like Claire.

There's different types of horses too. There's horses that need to be encouraged to go. There are horses that are really free, that really go ... Me, personally, I feel like I can change myself to fit different horses just because since I've been this big [measures height of small child], that's what I've done. I've learned to know.

These varied discursive constructions to make sense of their experiences with the horses speak volumes to the importance of finding a connection between horse and rider. Wipper (2000) suggests that finding the connection "is a two way process; each has to like the other" (p. 56). For the barrel racers interviewed in this study, the connection was explained in two ways. The first discursive fragment relates to affect, it is known upon first meeting the horse, and it is akin to first impressions made in human interactions.

When I saw her, I just loved her. Just the way she looked like, I like what she looked like. She was so pretty and nice and I rode her and I liked her so I bought her.

(Kathy)

Kathy's use of the word 'nice' refers to a horse with good temperament, as well as impeccable skill.

What makes her nice or awesome is, um, she's fast and she turns barrels really good.

And she is, you know, you can win on her. So that makes her, just to me, like

awesome. Plus I just like her, she has a nice personality. (Kathy)

Gilbert and Gillet (2012) when examining the modern preference towards the sport pony in equestrian pursuits, argue that today riders are placing value on both the physicality and sociality of a horse based on a specific equine habitus.

The structure of this equine habitus is organized around two axes: the first is the physical capital of the horse which is embodied both as capacity (what it can do) and as aesthetics (how it looks); the second is social capital . . . which is embodied in the character, personality and demeanor of the horse (Gilbert & Gillet, 2012, p.635).

They continue to argue that the emphasis on good temperament is likely moving beyond the sport pony breeding industry and perhaps to all equestrian sport. The discursive formations (re)produced by the women interviewed here support this point; finding the connection is as important as talent. Janet discussed at length a talented horse she had recently acquired who she didn't connect with, and her frustration with it. She also describes clearly that once she finds a horse that 'fits', she has immense confidence in him/her,

It just works, either you're not nervous on them. You can drop your reign and walk anywhere . . . He's going to take care of you. That's my horse then. If I could put that

much faith in him, that he's going to carry me across anything, and we can run into a barrel pattern and I could just go, there's no turning back there. But if you're constantly trying to, you're nervous on him, it's not a fit. You've got to be comfortable. You've got to be relaxed. You've got to want to be able to just like ride off in a field and take off and go somewhere for hours, and be okay with it.

There are two discursive fragments (re)produced by the women to describe creating the connection. The first, as mentioned above by Kathy, is to have an affinity for the horse. The second is through immense amounts of time and effort. Savvides (2011) argues that throughout history woman-horse relationships have been romanticized which undermines the hard working reality of horse(wo)manship. The experiences of the woman in this study reinforce her statement that working with horses, "requires both emotional responses to animals and experience-based knowledge of relating to other species" (p.60). Gaining *experience*-based knowledge requires tremendous commitment. "It usually takes a year for that horse and rider to get that connection, that timing to be really good" (Charlie). Thus, one of the disciplinary technologies involved in creating the team is time. The extent of time it takes to train, to care for, and to paper a horse is immense. "When you're running flat out and you have tenths of a second to do things it's, it's reaction ... so yeah, there's a connection because you spend hours with that animal teaching them" (Wanda). Time spent practicing in the arena isn't enough to build the connection needed for success according to these barrel racers. Some riders spoke to the importance of pampering their horses in order to create a stronger bond.

When I go in the arena I expect my horse to give me 110% ... I expect him to try for me. So I try to hold myself to the standard of, when I'm outside of the arena I do

everything I can for them . . . I feel like that's what I do to give my horse 110% and then I feel like when I ask him for 110% he feels like it's kind of both ways (Bailey). I think, you know, for a horse, the more you can kinda find that connection, and just even pampering them and knowing that . . . I think a lot of times it's stuff that you offer them that makes them really start to trust you. Just putting in the extra, the extra bit to make them feel like . . . I'm graining them every day, washing them down, just, I think that really starts to build a relationship, just the more you're around them and stuff. (Sarah)

Sarah's comments align with the trust dimension of a strong partnership in eventing (Wipper, 2000). Another important aspect of the connection is communication.

When you've rode a horse for so long . . . Like, the horse I compete on now, his name is Nick, and, like, I barely . . . I don't even . . . it would look like I'm doing nothing, but I would maybe shift my weight a little bit or wiggle my finger and he would just, like, respond and do something. (Lacey).

In order to get to this level of intimate communication and interconnectedness it takes many hours outside of the arena. This time spent outside of the arena's purpose is not only for building connection, but also for building skill. High performance athletes develop skill by constant repetition of movements in controlled environments (Shogan, 1999). In barrel racing there are no coaches, as a result the rider becomes like a coach, or in this case, a trainer.

The trainer. Sherry states that "all barrel racers are trainers." This subjective position is the most prevalent in the lives of barrel racers. Lacey defines a barrel racer as someone who, "works hard, is dedicated, and cares for their animal." Julie also emphasizes a dedication to her animal counterpart when she says, "if you do have that good athlete in a

horse, you have to be smart enough to take care of them.” Ever devoted, the trainer is subject to disciplinary techniques requiring her to commit her time, her body and her priorities.

It takes hard work, lots of practice, lots of hours, lots of sweat, lots of tears, everything to get to where ... to be successful. I learned that no matter if you just bought that horse, then lucked out, you still have to put time in (Claire).

What Claire is describing is far from romantic or ideal, yet throughout history stories of women working with horses have been romanticized and ignored the struggles inherent in cross-species interaction (Savvides, 2011). Similar to the Australian women practicing natural horsemanship in Savvides’ (2011) study, the training experiences of barrel racers are not always pretty, and not always easy. Working with horses results in women performing gender in non-traditional ways (Charles, 2012). They “have to drive large trucks, lift heavy hay bales, carry heavy water buckets, not to mention handle large and sometimes badly behaved horses” (Birke & Brandt, 2009, p. 191). Wanda remarks on the physical toll it takes to care for her horses.

Um, yeah, stacking hay and stacking bales ... Even saddling horses and unsaddling and cleaning feet or, um, I don’t shoe my own horses but I do trim them. I will pull shoes, you know, that sort of stuff that I do ... When you’re doing it all the time, it’s okay, but it’s, um, that’s huge too. It’s different body parts that you don’t use all the time.

Bailey remarks at her reduced fitness level once moving away from her horses and the required chores to attend post-secondary education.

I don't think that I'm very in shape or anything. I used to be though. Like in high school I used to be pretty, pretty in shape. I never worked out, it's just that I was

working all the time . . . I just remembered in high school um, when I was that busy and I was eating everything and doing all that kind of stuff I ah, we had a bench press competition in our high school class and I could bench press more than three of the boys in my class, (laughs) and I guess it was just cuz I was working all the time.

Although, the chores required of horse trainers do not adhere to normative discourses of femininity, in ‘horsey-worlds’ it is acceptable for women (Birke & Brandt, 2009). Doing chores, and caring for your horse is expected of any horse owner, in barrel racing however, the expectations go far and above rudimentary care. Barrel racers are characterized for giving detailed and meticulous care to their horses.

Taking care of the horse and washing them and mudding their legs, things like that.
(Charlie)

So when we pull into a rodeo late we make sure we build them pens, and that they have fresh water and their grain and their hay and their blankets on, and there's no bugs bothering them. And just, like, absolutely the horses are looked after. (Lacey)

Nine of the fourteen women have full-time jobs away from their ranch/farm, ten have families and three are students. They are also usually training more than one horse at a time in preparation for the future, or to sell. In this balancing act, the horses are high on the priority list. “I think our horses are our priority” says Lacey, and “I would say taking care of my horse is the number one priority on the road” says Sherry. Taking care of their horses as well as training sessions have precedence. For Sarah, an undergraduate student who works full time in the summer, sacrificing time with friends is a reality when prioritizing riding daily.

With my friends or whatever, they wanna do something and I honestly get home from work and I have to go to the gym, hockey and then ... most of the night I spend

probably riding and doing that kind of stuff like there's not a lot of time in a week.

When you work in a summer job too, you know, you can't just go out for a casual-- casually hang out or whatever. (Sarah)

Even further, for Lacey, a teacher and a step-mother, September can be a very busy time; even so, she makes time for training with her horses every day.

Um, so a typical day for me when I'm competing would be, like, not during -- say, like, in September I would get up at 6:00. I would get ready for work and get -- help get my stepdaughter ready for school, or pre-school, or whatever. And I would be on the road by 7:30. I have a fif- -- a 50-minute commute to my school. And I try to be there before, like, 8:20. So and then I work all day. And I leave school by 4:30 if I don't have any meetings. And I stop and ride my horses. And then I try to get back here and make some food, and eat, and bathe the kid. And put her to bed. And do some more work. And, like, my day is just crazy.

The individual training practices vary among the women. Within rodeo training is informal and is generally a skill that is passed on informally from generation to generation (Adelman & Gabriela, 2013; Pearson & Haney, 1999). Riders do have the opportunity to attend clinics at their own desire. However, most of these women have gained from informal mentorship. Five of the racers had mothers who competed in barrel racing, two had aid from their fathers who were skilled in horsemanship. Two found the mentorship of veteran female riders who were not family. Four others competed in other equestrian sports as young girls and transferred those skills to barrel racing. Regardless of where the knowledge is created, training is highly valued.

Furthermore, within rodeo authenticity is imperative (Forsythe & Thompson, 2007). To be an authentic barrel racer, training your own horses is important. Sherry discusses her success and the response she had from people in rodeo afterward.

So like when I made the CCA finals, it's on the horse I bought young, I trained myself, I hauled down the road, I've trained other horses, I've tried to make it to the CCA finals before. You know, and whatever reasons you don't make it there. Um, so like I had so many people randomly like, you deserve it, you deserve it, you deserve it. And maybe if you like went and bought a \$50,000 horse, you wouldn't get that.

[laughter] You know, you wouldn't have the same -- people wouldn't think that about you. They wouldn't be like, oh you -- you deserve it, you worked so hard to get there.

They'd be like, oh they bought a good horse and she made the CCA finals. (Sherry)

In order to be a successful barrel horse trainer, the sportswoman must be willing to commit her time, her body, and her priorities. Sometimes barrel racers either do not have the time or the knowledge to train their own horses. Therefore, they, as mentioned quickly above by Sherry, purchase expensive 'finished' barrel horses.

Dividing Practices Reproducing the *Female* Barrel Racer

Discourse simultaneously creates and negates subjects. It describes the conditions that must be met in order to be subjectified. In doing this, it also defines who/what does not fit into the discursive category. The discursive technique at play here is dividing practices (Foucault, 1977). These practices are "constructed via the use of particular discourses to justify social and, at times, spatial divisions between various categories of humans" (Markula & Pringle, 2005, p.477). In the case of horse training, the two categories in division are men and women. In today's current market, some of the barrel

horse trainers are men. Some of the women spoke to the idea that they would not purchase a horse that was trained by a man because men are believed to ‘man-handle’ the horse.

Molly describes what this means,

They tend to be more, kind of ...I mean this is probably a generalization but, I think a bit more heavy handed and kind of man handling a horse around a barrel rather than training it and just guiding it around the barrel. (Molly)

The heavy handed-ness that Molly discusses is related to strength. Therefore, the first condition of possibility to define why the riders believe there are training differences between men and women is normative gender ideals, as described by Kathy,

Sometimes people will buy a horse that a man has trained. And you don't like ride it as good. Because they can like strong arm a horse around a barrel pattern and do really good. Whereas a lot of times women don't. Because like, you know, just physical differences. (Kathy)

Wanda, one of the veteran trainers, argues that when it comes to horse training “we all have the same tools.” Here she describes what she considers to be the ‘tools’ that are needed to find success.

Okay. Um, I don't think strength trains a horse, okay. Um, to me, gentler is more. Um, time spent is more . . . If strength is the factor that's going to make you successful, that's not a long term horse, in my opinion, you know, because if- Our- our training skills are all the same. And how you teach a horse, yes, there's many, many different ways but the basics are all the same, okay. So, if you spent the time with the horse to get them broke proper, it's not a strength's game. It's in teaching the horses. It's an understanding that, um, there is a communication, you know, like if I put pressure with my right leg against your right side, I want you to move away from

that, but I shouldn't have to jab a spur into ya and make ya jump to do it. It's like there's pressure there and you want me to yield to that pressure.

Wanda believed anyone could train a successful horse, if they used the right tool: gentleness. Furthermore, it would have nothing to do with whether the trainer is a man or a woman. They must use the same tools to train the horse. The gentle-ness described, above, by Wanda, is a descriptor of femininity and, as such, ascribed to women, whereas strength is an important factor in achieving hegemonic masculinity for a man (Krane, 2001). Therefore, although Wanda was not saying that men or women are better trainers, the discourse surrounding training uses ideals ascribed to normative femininity (Krane, 2001). Thus, when the stereotype of men, 'man-handling' barrel horses circulates, it reproduces the normative discourse about masculinity, and contradicts the discursive stronghold of barrel horse training. This contradiction is then reasoned, within the dividing practice, to suggest that all men use their strength to train a horse, and as such women, who are gentler, are better trainers for barrel horses.

However this reminds me, again, of Savvides (2011) who encourages researchers to look beyond the historical discourse that positions women as somehow innately connected to horses. Therefore, I looked to see if there were other conditions of possibility that existed to define women as the 'best' barrel horse trainers. The second reason women were considered the best trainers is because of the horse-trainer relationship. Men are not allowed to compete in barrel racing. They compete at jackpots, which are locally organized barrel-racing-only events, futurities, which are held to showcase horses for sale under the age of five, and derbies, which are for horses under the age of seven. The male trainers are riding horses to sell them and make money. The female barrel racers are riding to win, and consistently win. To consistently win, as argued by the interviewed barrel racers, you have

to build the connection. Building the connection happens over time by creating intimate communication, and encouraging trust, respect, and confidence. In order to train a horse with gentleness, the trainer must take time, communicate and have a trusting, respectful relationship that encourages confidence with his/her horse. Therefore, because the goal of a barrel horse trainer who also races differs from the goal of a barrel horse trainer who does not race, the expectations of the relationship differ as well. That is to say that the animaling differs (Birke et al., 2004).

Therefore, the discourse that circulates to inscribe what it means to be a barrel-trainer-racer, as opposed to a barrel-trainer-nonracer, disciplines each subject differently based on the variance of restrictions and permissions existing in their specific context. A barrel-trainer-racer is someone who competes with her horse during rodeo competition. The goal is for longevity, and multiple successes over time. The barrel-trainer-nonracer, competes with their horse at futurities and derbies. However the goal is entirely different and longevity is not important. They want to showcase their horse for potential buyers. The barrel-trainer-seller does not worry about creating the bond because they are going to be selling their horse soon. Bailey speaks to the difference here,

Um, well it depends I guess. Like my younger horses, I have to, I know like, I've known this my whole life. Like my dad trained horses for a living so for him it's like you can't get attached to them right? Because you start them, you break them, you rope on them and then the point of it is, to sell them at the end right? So, when you like, that's not my point with Rebel. My point was always to win, make money and stuff like that. So I, with Rebel he's like my child. Like he is, I love him to death. Like he looks at me and I think he's talking to me. Like we have like a pretty close relationship.

Context is an important factor when understanding discursive technologies (Carabine, 2001). Within rodeo, women are not the only contestants who compete *with* their horses. Men also compete alongside their horses in timed events such as calf roping, team roping, and steer wrestling (Arluke & Bogdan, 2014; Kelm, 2011; Lawrence, 1982). This means that these competitors also have the responsibility of caring for their horses while traveling to and from rodeos each weekend, as well as throughout the week. This is unlike roughstock competitors who compete in saddle-bronc, bare-back riding, and/or bull riding. Roughstock competitors do not travel with the animals they compete *against*. The animal care, in this case, is provided by the stock contractors who supply the bulls and horses for the rodeo.

In light of this, dividing practices can also be seen to work when discussing horse care. Barrel racers believe they take better care of their horses than other timed event competitors because they are, as Sherry says, “more conscientious of all the little details” and driving home the point, Julie says, “My vet always says, it’s barrel racers who actually take proper care of their horses.” There are two conditions of possibility for this divide. The first is gender. Wanda is clear when she discusses the reason barrel racers take more care, “I find it, men are more . . . when the job’s done, we’re done. Um, women are more particular and spend more time, and meticulous and maybe because women are that way more than men are.” Wanda is drawing on normative gender discourses that inscribe women, because of their sex, with the innate gender traits that produce emphasized femininity (Butler, 1990; Caudwell, 2003). Kathy draws on a similar discourse of motherhood, “we are a little higher maintenance but it’s maybe a woman thing, right. Because we take -- no different than like taking care of your kids or taking care of anything in life. Like women just are caretakers.”

When Kathy uses the term 'higher maintenance' she is alluding to a stereotype that exists within rodeo about barrel racers. As Lexi sates, "yeah that's kind of a stereotype like you ask the guys and they are just like all barrel racers are crazy because they are very particular." The barrel racers spoke to the things they were particular about, these included the horse's feeding schedule and supplements. Lexi, for instance, shares some of the chores with her brother. She chooses to do the evening feeds because they are more detailed,

I might get him to go feed in the morning because it's less detail in the morning, but I'll feed at night, because his calf horse I want to -- he's getting older so I want to like, he can probably have this and have that for his joints and whatnot. And it's mostly I just do that because that's just -- Yeah, it's like -- it's what I do. I'll take care of it. I'll -- I'll just do it. Whereas, and he'll be okay. He would do it if I asked him to do it, but I just, I don't know, I just do. It's just the way it is, I guess.

Barrel racers are also notoriously picky about the shape of the ground. This is not always well received by others involved in rodeo. Lacey describes why some rodeo organizers do not want to host barrel racing,

I think because rodeo is a sport traditionally dominated by men, and so a lot of the people on the committees are men. They just don't really want barrel racing. And we kind of have a bad reputation, I guess, about we're really worried about the ground a lot. And they don't seem to want to put in the effort to fix it. So then they just think we're being bitchy barrel racers. Yeah, so they are like okay fine, we just won't have barrel racing. But really, we're concerned about our safety and our horse's safety and we're just not trying to be rude about it. But I guess it comes across that way.

While Lacey is shown here to justify how particular barrel racers can be, stating it as an concern for safety, others, like Janet are keen to avoid the crazy barrel racer stereotype, Barrel racers with the ground. If it's slippery, they complain. Well, to me, if it's slippery, prepare your horse. It's your horse's job, best believe in that horse. That's setting up that horse for that turn, that horse should be able to take care of any ground that's ever put in front of him.

Janet agrees with others involved in rodeo who deem the extra attention to detail as unnecessary. It is, however, more than the barrel racer who can be stigmatized as crazy. If a barrel horse is excited or acting up before a race they will also suffer the same stigmatization. This is related to the specific animaling that occurs between barrel racers and their horses because when male timed event competitors experience excited horses before a run they are referred to in a different manner, as Samantha explains, "I'll hear "this horse is really hot in the box, but works really good" or something. I'm not real sure why the crazy stereotype is just for barrel horses." The use of the term 'crazy' to describe the barrel racers actions is rooted in gendered biomedical discourse (Ussher, 1992).

Throughout history women who are either too feminine or transgress gender norms have fallen into the category of 'mad.' Ussher (1992) argues that "madness acts as a signifier which positions women as ill, as outside, as pathological, as somehow second rate – the second sex" (p.11). Within sport, the pursuits of women are often trivialized (Bryson, 1990). It seems that the 'crazy barrel racer' stereotype works to trivialize the barrel racer's efforts as insignificant because when male timed event competitors treat their horses with identical attentive care, or experience similar unexpected scenarios they are not stigmatized; there is no such thing as a 'crazy calf roper.'

The crazy barrel racer discourse includes barrel racers who are concerned with seemingly minute details such as the ground – is it too slippery, too worked in, too hard etc. However, Lexi points out that no matter how minute these details may seem they are necessary concerns because barrel racing is so competitive, “it’s such a competitive sport and it’s timed down to such small fractions that those little things can matter.” Therefore, the second condition of possibility (re)produced by the barrel racers to explain why they are extremely meticulous is the pressure on their horses as regulated by their sport. Barrel racing is timed to the one thousandth of a second, whereas the other male timed events are measured to one tenth of a second. Charlie makes it clear here when she says,

The barrel racers take care of their horse the best I would say and it’s because they have to really, it’s a timed event. It’s between one and 1000 of the second so it’s going to show up on your time, whereas those guys can get away with it. I mean the bulldoggers and the team ropers. I mean they don’t -- they can get away with it. They aren’t being timed to the extent that we are and it’s more on their skills and the horse’s skills.

When creating the team, it has been shown that the barrel racers believe in the importance of creating a connection between horse and rider. Dividing practices differentiate the animaling/subjectification of the barrel racing team and other timed event teams. In barrel racing it is not common to see riders share their horses because creating the ‘chemistry’ that Claire referred to takes effort. Janet discusses the struggle she had when finding the right horse, “I think there was ten in five months, trying to keep my points [with the association] and make it to the finals too. And it’s just different types of horses. Each one was so different.” The situation is different in male timed events as sometimes the competitors will share skilled horses, “A lot of guys just jump on -- like there might be a handful of horses

and there's guys that just take the horses there and they don't even compete but they just train and take the horses there to the rodeo" (Charlie). Once again, the specific circumstances between events result in different emergent phenomena and therefore, when the barrel racers become subject of and subject to the team discourse they simultaneously are subjectified as 'crazy barrel racers' because of the necessary commitment to their horses.

The 'crazy barrel racer' discourse works to divide female barrel racers from other male timed event competitors. Two conditions of possibility emerge to rationalize the division: normative gendered discourse, and regulations of sport. Each event presents different constraints on action that "by circumscribing space, time, and modality of movement, produce skilled athletes" (Shogan, 1999, p. 19). Comparing barrel racing to men's timed events the space (set up of the arena), time (fractions of a second to which the event is timed), and modality of movement (how the body is expected to perform within the rules) are different constraints that produce different requirements for success.

The different 'constraints on action' between barrel racing and male timed events result in the creation of different animaling. The barrel racers draw on normative athletic discourse that results in subjectification of their horses as athletes. The discourse that subjectifies athletes as strong and powerful intersects with normative ideals of masculinity (Krane, 2001). It creates legitimate athletes by reproducing hegemonic masculinity, and delegitimizes the pursuits of women in sport (Engh, 2011). The barrel racers are drawing on this discourse when they reject the subject athlete. This is expressed by Sarah and then tied together by Lexi.

I mean, men, they just in general, they just can rope better than women. I guess it's like anything; like in hockey, men are usually faster, they hit harder, they shoot

harder, and all that and it's a lot the same in roping. I mean, not that a lot of women don't rope really well, but men just tend to rope that much better. (Sarah)

Barrel racing is, more so than the other timed events, is probably more horse based so that is kind of where all the like more knit picky horse stuff comes in. Whereas like roping like it's more half and half kind of – you and your horse. (Lexi)

Concluding Thoughts

The inter-species relationship in barrel racing is complex and nuanced. While I have shown there to be three discrete emergent subject positions, it is important to remember that they are deeply interconnected. Sporting women are often faced with the challenge of embodying a variety of subjectivities at once because their participation in sport requires that they transgress the normative sex-gender paradigm (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Butler & Charles, 2012; George, 2005; Guerandel & Mennesson, 2007; Sisjord & Kristiansen, 2009; Wedgewood, 2004). Barrel racing is further complicated by the addition of another autonomous body: the horse. It is easy to seek generalizations from this study to explain other horse-human-sport relationships, but it is so inappropriate to do so because context is imperative in inter-species interactions. Within rodeo alone, the inter-species relationship described here is relative to the specific event, gender, and horse. Barrel racers are subject to a variety of discourses and subjectification occurs differently as they move throughout their contextual space from non-athlete to team member to trainer. Through interaction with their human counterparts the horses are also subject to disciplinary technologies that work to create the docile, skilled, and attentive athlete. An athlete that without his/her human counterpart would be unable to participate, and likewise the barrel

racer without her horse would be without cause. The interconnectedness in shared success is an intimate reality for the barrel racer and her horse.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Barrel racing is an event within rodeo that is specific for women, and excludes men from formal competition. This research had the intent of creating a formalized space in which the voices of barrel racers could be heard, and their experiences examined, and understood. Drawing from a feminist/social constructionist standpoint I wanted to understand how knowledge about barrel racing and barrel racers became understood as truth. More specifically, how the barrel racers understood their identity in relation to such knowledge formations, and how they managed these identities. Balanced on Foucauldian theory, this research examined what discourses barrel racers reproduced as they became subjects, and how the barrel racers practiced self-surveillance through adherence to technologies of discipline. In order to understand this, I engaged with the barrel racers in an in-depth interview process, the data collected from here was analyzed using a discourse analysis that encapsulated understandings of Foucauldian theory including the knowledge-power-discourse triad. The analysis used a thematic framework that simultaneously drew concepts from the literature review as well as allowed themes to emerge from the data.

Originally the researcher planned to analyze whether the barrel racers were engaging in technologies of the self by examining if they were critically aware of the discourse/knowledge formations that guided their subjectivity, and how they acted in response to this awareness. In order to analyze technologies of the self, one has to first grapple with an understanding of the subjectivity of barrel racers. An understanding of how they view themselves and why (which knowledge formations or discursive fragments guide their self-surveillance) they act in certain ways. Therefore, the scope of this thesis was not large enough to encompass a thorough analysis of technologies of the self. Rather

than expanding the scope farther and risking an analysis that covered breadth rather than depth, I chose to focus the thesis on subjectification and its effect on subjects. This allowed me to draw out the individual technologies of discipline barrel racers engage in, and to further examine why certain discursive fragments were being taken up and not others. In this way, I was able to engage with the cultural/contextual realities of barrel racing as well as the dominant knowledge formations of our larger Western society.

However, to glaze the surface of technologies of self, it was clear in some cases that some respondents could possibly be critically aware of the circulating discourses that sought to subject them in certain ways. For instance, Charlie spoke of ‘working like a man,’ and later addressed the inherent contradiction of her words and her actions. She showcased her understanding of gendered discourses that work to subject male bodies suitable for physical labour because they are strong and hard, whereas female bodies are weak and soft. As a woman Charlie used her body for hard physical labour while caring for her horse, her awareness of the gendered discourse, and her subsequent continued use of her body for hard physical labour could suggest she is engaging in technologies of the self. She is critically aware, and refuses docility to the technology of femininity. Because of this, however, she subjects herself to discourses that perpetuate knowledge about horse(wo)manship and barrel racing.

Moreover, Charlie, like others interviewed enacted docility to feminine technologies through their references to motherhood and family. While emphasizing their nurturing/mothering nature when caring for their horses, and by advancing a professional image that promoted rodeo as a family sport the barrel racers reasserted their place in the heteronormative paradigm as feminine women. References to family in research of

women's sporting experiences are limited. This study's references to family are part of the discursive milieu because the specific cultural context emphasizes family values in a way other sport contexts do not. It is this discursive relationship with conservative, traditional representations of family that actually protect barrel racers from the butch/lesbian stigma, unlike their female sporting companions in other masculine sports.

Canadian rodeo's emphasis on family has another effect on the sexualization of barrel racers. In mainstream sport media sportswomen are constantly objectified and sexualized. In many cases female athletes utilize this to their advantage seeking sponsorship, and embracing their sexy-toned bodies in the typically tight, spandex sporting attire (Kolnes, 1995). However, in rodeo this is not the case. Legitimate and professional barrel racers' apparel is constrained by two forces that result in a modest appearance. The first is rodeo's gender-neutral dress code that requires that barrel racers represent the cultural heritage of rodeo by dressing in cowboy/girl attire: cowboy hat, jeans, western shirt with cuff and collar. The second is the discourse of professionalism circulated by barrel racers that divides professionals from buckle bunnies. Barrel racers embrace their western image and seek to promote the sport by appearing professional. This professional image is modest not only because of rodeo's relation to traditional conservative values, but also because hypersexual feminine women can be seen throughout the rodeo circuit. According to the discourse, the buckle bunny/competitor does not represent the idealized traditional and western values that barrel racers reproduce, and promote. Furthermore, it is believed she engages in extramarital affairs, 'chases' cowboys, parties, and emphasizes her sexuality through her appearance.

The interviewed barrel racers do not resist the buckle bunny-barrel racer division. They (re)produce it and engage with it to legitimate their actions and moral standard. They use the buckle bunny discourse to leverage their authenticity as true, morally vigilant, and respectable cowgirls. This aligns with the conservative western value system circulating within rodeo. However, discussion surrounding the 'wannabe' was less definitive. Some of the racers valued the presence of new faces in rodeo, who did not have the coveted family lineage. Perhaps the reason for this is because many of the interviewed did not grow up in the rodeo circuit, rather they came to barrel racing from other equestrian sports. Another explanation for one woman who trained barrel racing horses for a living could be because her business thrives on new barrel racers who lack the talent in training horses. These subtle differences in opinion point to one very important point about discourse. They are fluid, they change throughout time, and any one person can draw on a multitude of discursive fragments available to them. The differences also emphasize the importance of showcasing nuances in research data, because, after all the data set is not simply numbers and letters, it is a selected view into the experiences and lives of actual people who move throughout space in time in varied ways.

Whatever the opinion of the authenticity and acceptance of wannabe barrel racers, all of the women interviewed expressed coveted respect for the advanced barrel horse trainer. This aspect of the research is fairly unexplored territory in terms of the literature review. Therefore, the horse-human interaction analysis weighed more on the side of emergent themes rather than theoretical. As a researcher this was an interesting and challenging aspect of the thesis. It required an expansion of the theoretical framework to include the horse as a subject. Anyone with an animal companion knows how they

experience the subjectivity of their animal-counterpart. Yet, to explain it in a theoretically sound way is a challenge. Therefore, expanding the theoretical framework to include the works of Haraway (2007), Barad (2003), and Birke et al. (2004) was a necessary methodological move. Without expanding the understanding of subjectivity to include material-discursive phenomena as points of examination the research would not have fully encapsulated the barrel racers experiences. Furthermore, to have taken the words of the barrel racers that created statements of non-athleticism on the part of the rider would have forgotten the inter-dependence created by the technology of sport, in this case barrel racing. Without the horse, and without the rider barrel racing cannot exist. Therefore, the disciplinary techniques of sport apply to both the rider and horse who encompass the team.

Similar understandings of women's embodiment as masculine-feminine while participating in sport was found by other researchers (Butler & Charles, 2012; Chase, 2006; Wedgewood, 2004). However to suggest that, for example, barrel racers experience a bigendered embodiment like the female Australian rules football players in Wedgewood's (2004) study is to ignore the ways in which barrel racers subverted their masculine embodiment through references of naturalized femininity; motherhood, caring, detailed. The barrel racers were aware of their actions as transgressing gender norms by getting dirty and being outside or in the barn, but they justified these by reproducing biomedical discourses of femininity naturalizing their performances of gender because of their sex.

The pervasiveness of the dominant discourses of gender was apparent throughout the barrel racers discussions of strength. Even though they engaged in a physical embodiment that required strength while caring for their horses, they reproduced a biomedical discourse establishing men as naturally stronger than women. This was seen in

references to roping and to training horses. By constantly describing barrel racing endeavors as detailed rather than based on strength, the barrel racers secured barrel racing as a feminine event, an event for women. Therefore, their actions were not seen to transgress gender norms, and this, along with the references to family, secured their stable place in the sex-gender-desire paradigm.

The undervaluing of their strength and physical exertion working outside caring for their animals was something I did not expect from this research. As someone who grew up on a cattle ranch in rural Saskatchewan I personally emphasized my independence and strength as often as I could. Through reflection, however, I came to this research with an understanding that my experiences, though similar in some ways, are not the same as the experiences of the women I was interviewing. They are speaking about their experiences in a sport that I never participated in, and rather have only viewed from the stands. Therefore, although western culture values the frontier feminine strength and toughness of women working to labour for the economic development of the family farm, barrel racing exists in a different relationship within the discourse. Furthermore, any inkling I had of wanting to create activist research out of this project had to be held at bay because the women I interviewed did not express any true desire for change. It is argued that there is no specific feminist methodology (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Harding, 1987), however Harding also suggests that the “one distinctive feature of feminist research is that it generates its problematics from the perspective of women’s experiences. It also uses these experiences as a significant indicator of the ‘reality’ against which hypothesis are tested” (p. 7). They also state that feminist research pushes for social change and justice, therefore, even though I came to this research with a preconceived ideas for social change and justice within barrel

racing, I did not push for activist research because the interviewed barrel racers did not view their situation as repressive. In fact, I would argue that most of the interviewed women believe barrel racing has reached equality because the pay-outs for barrel racing rival the pay-outs of the men's events. Therefore this research was feminist in that it brought light to the underrepresented voice of women in rodeo by showcasing their experiences, it however lacked the activist aspect promoted by feminist theorists. Although, arguably, this research challenged the women to consider their gender and experiences in ways that they had never before, therefore it may have helped the women to become more critically aware of the discourses they subject themselves to and begin to practice technologies of the self more readily. This, however, I will not know for certain.

Another aspect of feminist research is that the researcher should attend to reflexivity and power (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006). As afore mentioned, before beginning the project I actively practiced reflexivity. For instance I participated in a bracketing interview that helped the researcher to situate herself by identifying beliefs and bias' (Rolls & Relf, 2006). While participation in a bracketing interview does not mean the researcher is free of bias and can attend to the data objectively, it does help the researcher to better understand oneself and their subjective position in relation to the research. It was here that I was able to recognize my subjective understanding of western culture, and of the interaction of gender and sport. I came to the research confident that because of my insider history of western culture, and my theoretical understandings of the position of women in sport I would be able to easily and accurately represent the voices of the women I would interview. I, however, was quickly confronted with some very important methodological questions.

While attending rodeos as a participant observer I noted moments of gender inequality that struck me as problematic. For instance, I noted the announcers commenting on the barrel race horses as ‘pretty’ rather than strong. I also noted that the rodeo clowns jokes were overtly sexist. I assumed these things would be troublesome to barrel racers, because I was bothered by them. Therefore, I included these topics in the interviews. After the first couple of interviews, however, I noticed that the women were not concerned with these comments. They would discuss how the announcers and clowns purpose was to keep the crowd involved, or that they did not know about barrel racing so their comments did not matter to them. A few also commented on how they could understand how outsiders, city folk, or liberal types might get upset with comments like this because they don’t understand the situation. These responses demanded reflection from the researcher. I had to let go of my activist assumptions and let the research proceed in the direction driven by the interviewees. After all, the purpose was to understand how the barrel racers viewed their subjective experience. Further reflecting on the power relationship between the researcher and researched, I had to succeed my ideas to those of the barrel racers. Therefore I decided not to imbue these notes as highly important because it did not accurately reflect the opinions of the barrel racers.

Another methodological challenge I faced was preparing the results in a way that depicted the barrel racers as individuals as well as a collective. This research included fourteen participants all with different and similar subjective experiences. For the purpose of analysis, obviously some generalization had to be made between the researched. However, I decided to actively represent the nuances throughout writing by using

quotations as often as possible. This helped me to represent the differences and to avoid over-generalizing.

Throughout the course of this research I began to experience what Harding (1987) and Doucet and Mauthner (2006) meant when discussing power and privilege in research. When the time came to prepare the written results I grappled with the concept of ‘creating knowledge’ about the actual lived, varied, and ever-changing lives of the women I spoke with. I was concerned that the words used in the dissemination of results could be considered ‘truth’ about barrel racers. Therefore, another reason I chose to use direct quotes wherever possible was to ensure this research was as much a space for me to explore academia as it was a channel through which the voices of the interviewed women could be heard and showcased.

Overall, I was satisfied with the process and results of this thesis. The data gathered for this project could be analyzed further to examine the manifestation of technologies of the self in the barrel racers. In general more research could be done to explore the unique context of barrel racing and the inter-relation of subjectivities. Speaking with barrel racers who are new to barrel racing, or who are resisting the ‘modesty’ imperative embraced by the ‘authentic’ sportswomen in this study trying to ‘protect’ their reputation and respectability could help understand the divisions of authentic, wannabe, and buckle bunny barrel racers. Further, an examination of male rodeo competitors’ subjectivity could help to shed light on the barrel racer and buckle bunny distinction. Speaking with male timed event competitors could help to interpret the unique barrel racing interspecies relationship by providing more contrasting data. The different ways individuals are subjectified within

rodeo alone exemplifies the importance of context in socio-cultural research and emphasizes the danger in over-generalizing about populations.

References

- Adelman, M. & Gabriela, B. (2013). Tradition and transgression: Women who ride the rodeo in southern Brazil. In *Gender and equestrian sport: Riding around the world* (Chapter 5). Retrieved from: http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-007-6824-6_5. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-6824-6_5
- Arluke, A. & Bogdan, R. (2014) Taming the wild. Rodeo as a human-animal metaphor. In J. Gillet & M. Gilbert (Eds.), *Sport, Animals, and Society*. New York: Routledge.
- Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(3), 801-831.
- Birke, L. & Brandt, K. (2009). Mutual corporeality: Gender and human/horse relationships. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 32, 189-197.
- Birke, L., Bryld, M., & Lykke, N. (2004). Animal performances: An exploration of intersections between feminist science studies and studies of human/animal relationships. *Feminist Theory*, 5(2), 167-183
- Bordo, S. (1993). *Unbearable weight: Feminism, western culture and the body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Bryson, L. (1990) Challenges to male hegemony in sport. In M. Messner & D. Sabo (Eds.), *Sport, men and the gender order*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Buch, E.D. & Staller, K.M. (2007). The feminist practice of ethnography. In S.N. Hesse-Biber & L. Leavy (Eds.), *Feminist research practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Butler, D., & Charles, N. (2012). Exaggerated femininity and tortured masculinity: embodying gender in the horseracing industry. *The Sociological Review, 60*, 676-695. doi:10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02129.x
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Carabine, J. (2001). Unmarried motherhood 1830-1990: A genealogical analysis. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S.J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 267-310). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE
- Carter, S. (1997). *Capturing women: The manipulation of cultural imagery in Canada's prairie west*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal, ON, Canada
- Case, C. (1987). Deviance as a rational response: Disguise, deceit and conspiracy among racehorse trainers. *Deviant Behaviour, 8*, 329-42.
- Caudwell, J. (1999). Women's football in the United Kingdom: Theorizing gender and unpacking the butch lesbian image. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 23*(4), 390-402.
- Caudwell, J. (2002). Women's experiences of sexuality within football contexts: A particular and located footballing epistemology. *Football Studies, 5*(1), 24-45.

- Caudwell, J. (2003). Sporting gender: Women's footballing bodies as Sites/Sights for the (re) articulation of sex, gender, and desire. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20(4), 371-386.
- Chase, L. F. (2006). (Un)disciplined bodies: A foucauldian analysis of women's rugby. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23(3), 229-247.
- Clatworthy, N. (1981). Social class and value factors in saddle-horse showing. *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, 9, 135-38.
- Cole, C. L. (1993). Resisting the canon: Feminist cultural studies, sport, and technologies of the bod. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 17(2), 77-97.
- Cox, B., & Thompson, S. (2000). Multiple bodies: Sportswomen, soccer and sexuality. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35(1), 5-20.
- Davis, K. (2008) Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9(1), 67-85. doi: 10.1177/1464700108086364
- Davis-Delano, L. R., Pollock, A., & Vose, J. E. (2009). Apologetic behavior among female athletes: A new questionnaire and initial results. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 44(2), 131-150. doi:10.1177/1012690209335524
- Deliovsky, K. (2010). *White Femininity: Race, gender and power*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Doucet, A., & Mauthner, N. (2006). Feminist methodologies and epistemology. In D.L Peck & C.S. Bryant (Eds.) *21st century sociology: A reference handbook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Engh, M. H. (2011). Tackling femininity: The heterosexual paradigm and women's soccer in south africa. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28(1), 137-152.

- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Felshin, J. (1974). The triple option . . . for women in sport. *Quest*, 21(1), 36-40.
doi:10.1080/00336297.1974.10519789
- Foran, M. (2008). Renewing the stampede for the 21st century: A conversation with Vern Kimball, Calgary Stampede chief executive officer. In M. Foran (Eds.), *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*. Edmonton, AB: Athabasca University Press.
- Forsyth, C.J., & Thompson, C.Y. (2007). Helpmates of the rodeo: Fans, wives, and groupies. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 31(4), 394-416.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York, NY: Pantheon Books. (Original work published in French in 1975)
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality: Vol. 1. An introduction*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books. (Original work published in French in 1976)
- Foucault, M. (1983). Afterword: The subject of power. In H.L. Dreyfus and P. Rainbow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (1988). Technologies of the self. In L.H. Martin, H. Gutman & P.H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Furniss, E. (1997/98). Pioneers, progress, and the myth of the frontier: The landscape of public history in rural British Columbia. *BC Studies*. 115/116, p. 7-44.
- Game, A. (2001). Riding: Embodying the centaur. *Body & Society*, 7(4), 1-12.
- George, M. (2005). Making sense of muscle: The body experiences of collegiate women athletes. *Sociological Inquiry*, 75(3), 317-345.

- Graham, L.J. (November, 2005). *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*.
 Unpublished paper presented at the Australian Association for Research in
 Education Annual Conference, Sydney, Australia.
- Gauthier, D.K., & Forsyth, C.J. (2000). Buckle bunnies: Groupies of the rodeo circuit.
Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 21, 349-365.
- Gilbert, M. & Gillet, J. (2012) Equine athletes and interspecies sport. *International review
 for the sociology of sport*. 47(5), 632-643. doi:10.1177/1012690211416726
- Guerandel, C., & Mennesson, C. (2007). Gender construction in judo interactions.
International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 42(2), 167-186.
 doi:10.1177/1012690207084750
- Haraway, D. J. (2007). *When Species Meet*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota
 Press.
- Harding, S. (1987). Introduction: Is there a feminist method? In S. Harding (Eds.),
Feminism and methodology. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Hedenborg, S. (2007). Female jockeys in Swedish horse racing 1890–2000: From minority
 to majority – complex causes. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*,
 24(4), 501–519.
- Helstein, M. (2010). Producing the Canadian female athlete: Negotiating the popular logics
 of sport and citizenship. In B. Beaty & D. Briton (Eds.) *How Canadians
 communicate 3: Contexts of Canadian popular culture*. Edmonton, Canada:
 Athabasca University Press
- Hesse-Biber, S.N. (2007). The Practice of feminist in-depth interviewing. In S.N. Hesse-
 Biber & L. Leavy (Eds.), *Feminist research practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks,
 CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Hubbs, N. (2011). Redneck woman and the gendered politics of class rebellion. *Southern Cultures*, 17(4), 44-70.
- Huggins M (2000) Second-class citizens? English middle-class culture and sport, 1850–1910: A reconsideration. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17(1), 1–35.
- Jarosz, L. & Lawson, V. (2002). “Sophisticated people versus rednecks”: Economic restructuring and class difference in America’s West. *Antipode*, 8-27.
- Kelm, M. (2011). *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Knoppers, A. & Anthonissen, A. (2003). Women’s soccer in the United States and the Netherlands: Differences and similarities in regimes of inequalities. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20, 351-370.
- Kolnes, L. (1995). Heterosexuality as an organizing principle in women's sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 30(1), 61-77. doi: 10.1177/101269029503000104
- Krane, V. (2001). We can be athletic and feminine, but do we want to? challenging hegemonic femininity in women's sport. *Quest (00336297)*, 53(1), 115-133.
- Krane, V., Choi, P. Y. L., Baird, S.M., Aimar, C.M. & Kauer, J.K. (2004). Living the paradox: Female athletes negotiate femininity and muscularity. *Sex Roles*, 50(5/6), 315-329.
- Laberge, S. & Sankoff, D. (1997). Physical activities, body habitus, and lifestyles. In J. Harvey (Eds.), *Not just a game: Essays in Canadian sport sociology*. Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.
- Laegreid, R.M. (2006). *Riding pretty: Rodeo royalty in the American west*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

- Lawrence, E. A. (1982). *Rodeo: An anthropologist looks at the wild and tame*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Leavy, L.P. (2007). The practice of feminist oral history and focus group interviews. In S.N. Hesse-Biber & L. Leavy (Eds.), *Feminist research practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- LeCompte, M. L. (1993). *Cowgirls of the Rodeo: Pioneer Professional Athletes*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Lehr, J.C., & Katz, Y. (1995) Crown, corporation and church: the role of institutions in the stability of pioneer settlements in the Canadian West, 1870–1914. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 21(4), 413-429.
- Malcom, N. L. (2003). Constructing female athleticism: A study of girls' recreational softball. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(10), 1387-1404.
doi:10.1177/0002764203251479
- Mackay, S., & Dallaire, C. (2013a,). Skirtboarders.com: Skateboarding women and the self-formation as ethical subjects. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 30(2),173-196.
- MacKay, S. et Dallaire, C. (2013b). Skirtboarder net-a-narratives: Young women creating their own skateboarding (re)presentations. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 48(2), 171-195.
- Marco, E., Viveiros, J., & Cipriano, N. (2009). Wrestling with identity: An exploration of female wrestlers' perceptions. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, 18(1), 42-53.
- Markula, P. (2003). The technologies of the self: Sport, feminism, and Foucault. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20(2), 87-107

- Markula, P. & Pringle, R. (2006). *Foucault, sport and exercise: Power, knowledge and transforming the self*. Milton Park, Abingdon Oxon: Routledge
- Marvin, G. (2007). English foxhunting: A prohibited practice. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 14(3), 339–360.
- McConville, C. (2008). *A Global Racecourse: Work, Culture & Horse Sports*. Melbourne: Australian Society for Sports History.
- McCormick, P. (2001). Power and politics in western Canada. In (Eds.) D.Taras and B. Rasporich, *A passion for Identity: Canadian Studies for the 21st Century*, pp. 401-412.
- Mennesson, C. (2000). 'Hard' women and 'soft' women: The social construction of identities among female boxers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35(1), 21-33.
- Mennesson, C., & Clement, J. (2003). Homosociability and homosexuality: The case of soccer played by women. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38(3), 311-330.
- O'Connell, A. (2010). An Exploration of redneck whiteness in multicultural Canada. *Social Politics*, 17(4), 536-563.
- Patton, T.O. & Schedlock, S.M. (2012). *Gender, Whiteness and Power in Rodeo: Breaking away from the Ties of Sexism and Racism*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Rail, G. & Harvey, J. (1995). Body at work: Michel Foucault and the sociology of sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*. (12), 164-179.
- Rasmussen, B. B., Klinenberg, E., Nexica, I. J., Wray, M. (2001) Introduction. In Making and Unmaking Whiteness. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/oculottawa/Doc?id=10195301&ppg=10>

- Ravel, B., & Rail, G. (2007). On the limits of “gaie” spaces: Discursive constructions of women’s sport in Quebec. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24, 402-420.
- Rolls, L., & Relf, M. (2006). Bracketing interviews: Addressing methodological challenges of qualitative interviewing in bereavement and palliative care. *Mortality*, 11, 286-305.
- Pearson, D. W. & Haney, C.A. (1999). The rodeo cowboy: Cultural icon, athlete or entrepreneur? *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23(3), pp. 308-327.
- Sartore, M.L., & Cunningham, G.B. (2009). Gender, sexual prejudice and sport participation: Implications for sexual minorities. *Sex Roles*, 60, 100-113.
doi:10.1007/s11199-008-9502-7
- Savvides, N. (2011). “Loving-knowing” women and horses: Symbolic connections, real life conflicts and “natural horsemanship.” *Humanimalia: a journal of human/animal interface studies*, 3(1), 60-76.
- Seiler, T.P. (2008). Riding broncs and taming contradictions: Reflections on the uses of cowboy in the Calgary Stampede. In M. Foran (Eds.), *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*. Edmonton, AB: Athabasca University Press.
- Shogan, D. (1999). *The making of high-performance athletes: Discipline, diversity and ethics*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Sisjord, M. K., & Kristiansen, E. (2009). Elite women wrestlers’ muscles: Physical strength and social burden. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 44(2), 231-246.
doi:10.1177/1012690209335278
- Stoeltje, B. (1975). “A helpmate for man indeed”: The image of the frontier woman. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 88(347), 25-41.
- Theberge, N. (2000). *Higher goals: Women’s ice hockey and the politics of gender*.

Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Thompson, S.M. (2002). Sport, gender, feminism. In J.A. Maguire & K. Young (Eds.), *Theory, Sport & Society*. Boston, MA: JAI.

Thorpe, H. (2008). Foucault, technologies of self, and the media: Discourses of femininity in snowboarding culture. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 32(2), 199-229.

doi:10.1177/0193723508315206

Travers, A. (2008). The Sport Nexus and Gender Injustice. *Studies in Social Justice*, 2(1) 79-101.

Wedgwood, N. (2004). Kicking like a boy: Schoolgirl Australian rules football and bi-gendered female embodiment. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 21, 140-162.

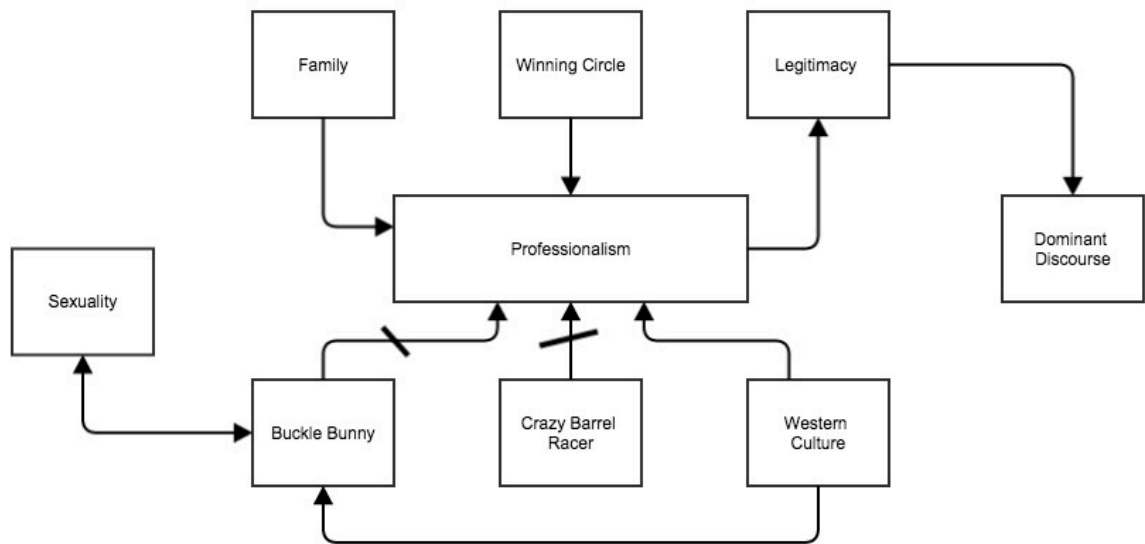
Willig, C. (2008). Discourse analysis. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed., pp.160-185). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Wipper, A. (2000) The partnership: The horse-rider relationship in eventing. *Symbolic Interaction*. 23(1), 47-70.

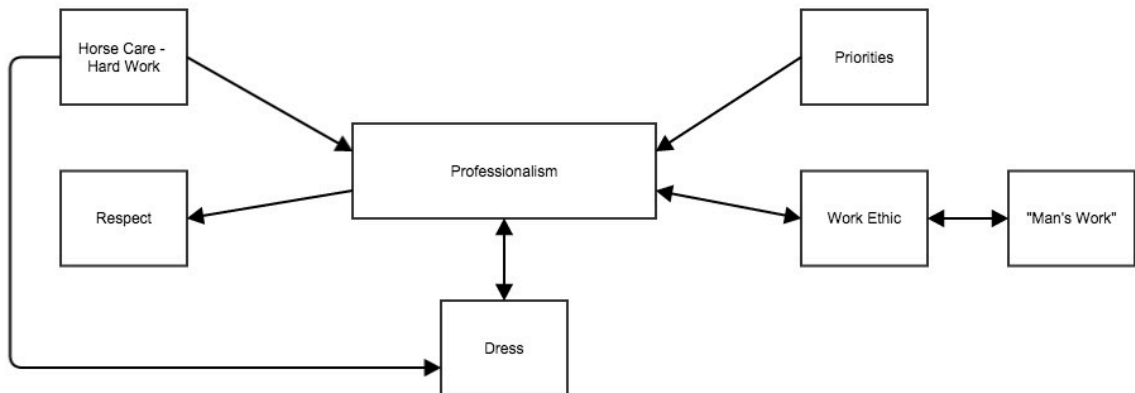
Woodard, J. K. (1996). Jesus makes the rodeo circuit: Hundreds of Christian cowboys mount up for another season. *Western Report*, 11(13), 32.

Appendix

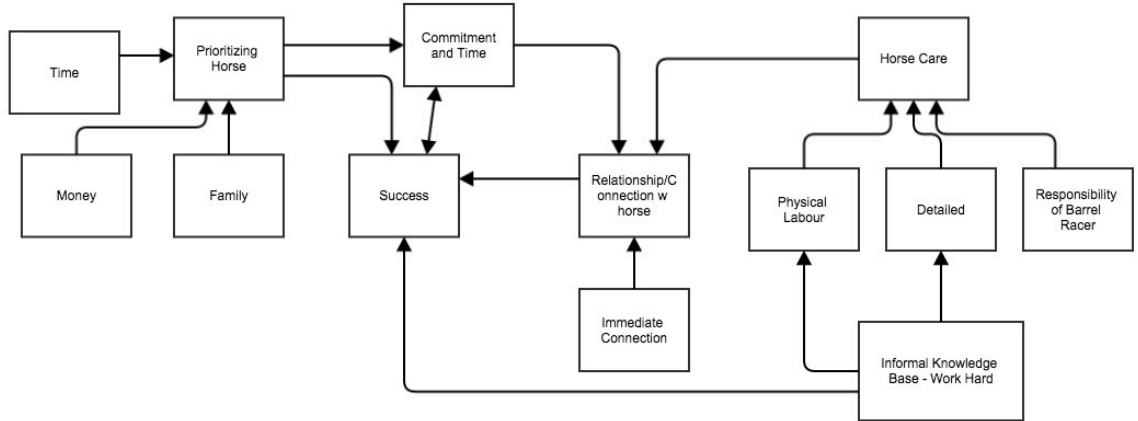
Map 1: Questioning Why the Discourse of Professionalism Exists



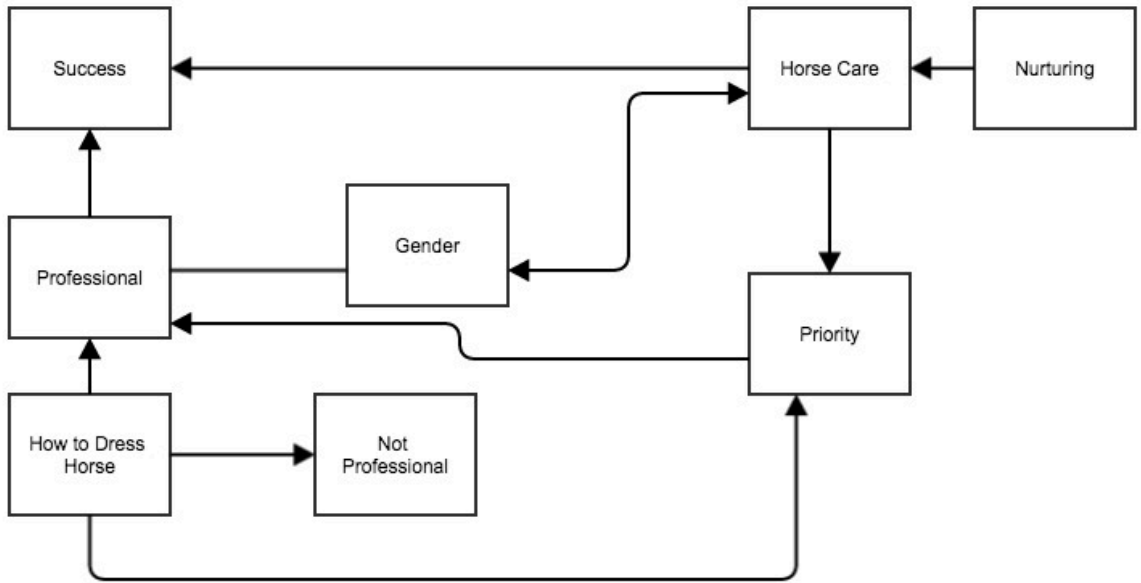
Map 2: Questioning How the Discourse of Professionalism Works



Map 3: Relating Themes



Map 4: Making Sense of Higher Order Statements



Map 5: Analyzing the Conditions of Possibility re Dividing Practices

