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Where did all the girls go?' Gender, Education and Work in the Horseracing Industry

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'Where did all the girls go?'

Gender, Education and Work in the
Horseracing Industry

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of
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1 DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing, which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university of institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification.

Signed: E.Boden

Date: 12th January 2021

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2 ABSTRACT

Currently only 6.2% of all professional jockeys competing in the United Kingdom and Ireland are female (British Horseracing Authority (BHA), 2015). This is further broken down into flat racing where, in 2016, 12.3% of professional flat jockeys were female and National Hunt racing had only 4% of female jockeys. In contrast, the racing school recruitment figures from both of the British "racing schools" show that the ratio of applicants is 8:1, female to male (Butler, 2016, Personal Communication). The rationale for this PhD is to understand why there is such a low conversion of aspirational females into jockeys and the wider workforce.

This PhD research explored the lived experiences of young aspirational, females, using a Bourdieusian lens to analyse their experiences across these interconnected fields. I have also utilised intersectionality as a feminist theory to describe how gender intersects with other social relations of difference, such as race and age.

I used this approach to answer my two research questions:

RQ1. How do females, construct their racing habitus in preparation for horseracing?

RQ2. Why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?

I undertook a micro-longitudinal study, undertaking nine focus groups at three points across one year (n=112). This was followed by 28 semi-structured interviews with women who work in the industry. These interviews focused on their lived experiences, as a woman in horseracing, and how they negotiated their gendered identities within the different social fields.

The main findings from the research were firstly, that young women in this study accepted their position within the racing industry, but recognised they had to work hard or make changes to their body to maintain their position, which symbolised acceptance. Secondly, the increased awareness of the prioritisation of males and masculine traits in most of the roles in the horseracing industry indicates the different expectations of women in the development of their racing habitus. Thirdly, some young women have felt alienated out of the racing industry, especially with reference to pregnancy and maternity. Not only did the body dictate how young women experienced the racing industry it was clear that they had an awareness of the "rules" in relation to the sex-appropriate roles in the racing yard, and this hierarchy of position dictated the way capital is distributed. And, finally the unchallenged sexual harassment which has been

shown to be accepted, and sometimes expected by the majority of respondents regardless of age or position within the sport.

In conclusion, most young women in the racing industry feel "othered" due to gendered norms, often without knowing of this themselves. This state of not knowing highlights the power of the unconscious element of the racing habitus in governing practice.

3 ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Firstly, I would like to thank my family network- Mum, Dad and Ger. All have been central to getting this PhD to the point of submission. I will always be indebted to their patience, support and endless time on the phone reminding me that I can achieve great things, even when my workload was heavy.

Without the support of the Racing Foundation, and more specifically Rob Hezel who recognised my potential and approved financial support for this PhD, I would have not been able to complete this research. In addition, the Racing Foundation has supported the development the Scottish Racing Academy as well as providing me access to experts such as Dena Merson (career coach and now friend) to teach me how to manage all of my responsibilities, and research demands, appropriately. I also must acknowledge the role of my Scottish Racing Academy board who have been consistently positive about all my endeavours and not criticised the timings of my correspondence, especially during the final few weeks of this PhD.

Of course, I must mention the unfaltering guidance of my supervisors – Martin Roderick and Stacey Pope. Not only did they identify something in me, that, at times, I could not see myself, but I have gained an unbelievable amount of knowledge and passion for sociology. It has been their guidance and critical eye which has enabled this PhD to exist- thank you.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. I am grateful for the honest and candid conversations that have shaped this PhD, especially those who provided details of scenarios that were perhaps not always easy to discuss. The conversations that were had with each have challenged my own ideas and encouraged reflection on what is acceptable, which has been an especially powerful activity, especially given my own career path.

And, finally, my ultimate thanks must go to the reason I started this journey, my horses (and dog). Outside of academia, careers, money, and professional progression, I owe the biggest thanks to my oldest horse- Rose. Rose would show me I could when I did not believe it could be done. Without the velvet noses of my horses (Rose, Tallulah and Murdoch) and the rough paws of the Dog (Goose), I would not have had the excuse to ride or walk for hours to provide valuable "thinking" time.

Throughout this process, I have learnt more than I can verbalise or explain on paper- about gender, sociology, horse racing and other people's experiences. Most importantly, I have learnt about who I am, what I want to stand for and how to drive positive change forward in horseracing.

I hope that anyone who reads this PhD reads it and reflects on their own position, what they accept as "normal" and has the confidence to challenge the elements that create the "other".

4 STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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8 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AJA	Amateur Jockeys Association
BHA	British Horseracing Authority
BHEST	British Horseracing Education and Standards Trust
BRS	British Racing School
JETS	Jockeys Education and Training Scheme
NAORS	National Association of Racing Staff
NH	National Hunt
NHC	National Horseracing Authority
NTF	National Trainers Federation
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
RACE	Racing Academy and Centre of Education
ROA	Racehorse Owners Association
RCA	Racecourse Association
RTR Board	Recruitment, Training and Retention board
SDA	Sex Discrimination Act
SRA	Scottish Racing Academy

9 GLOSSARY OF TERMS (ADAPTED FROM BUTLER, 2011)

All-Weather (gallop/racecourse)	A synthetic surface which does not freeze in sub-zero temperatures. It is often used on gallops and racetracks.
Allowance	The deduction in the weight a horse must carry. This can be a result of the age or the gender of the horse or the type of jockey (amateur
Apprentice jockey	An apprentice jockey is a male or female, trainee flat jockey.
	Apprentice jockeys are licenced riders aged between 16 and 25, working their way up to professional jockey status by riding with and competing against professional jockeys.
	They are employed by UK racehorse trainers throughout their apprenticeship.
	An Apprentice Jockey can "claim" a weight allowance of 7lbs until they have 20 wins, 5lbs until 50 wins, 3lbs until 95 wins.
Apprenticeship	All apprenticeships include elements of on the job and off the job training, leading to industry recognised standards or qualifications. Some apprenticeships also require an assessment at the end of the programme to assess the apprentice`s ability and competence in their job role.
At Grass	When a horse is turned out and not racing. The horse will live out 24 hours a day
Banter	An exchange remarks in a good-humoured teasing way
Blinkers	A type of headgear fitted to a horse that limits its field of vision, mainly from each side. Blinkers are designed to help horses concentrate in races.
Bloodstock	A term used to describe the part of the racing industry which deals with racehorse breeding, be it at the sales, stud farms or elsewhere.
Boys	The name attributed to junior members of the team, often trainees. It is also a term used to infer that its holder lacks experience and knowledge.

Box	Shortened term used when discussing a horse box or trailer.
Breeze-up	A sale in which unraced two-year-olds are ridden, galloped or "breezed" along the racecourse. Most of the horses have been purchased as yearlings, and are then broken in and ridden in preparation for them galloping at the sale
Broodmare	A female horse who is used for breeding.
Bumper	Also known as a National Hunt Flat race, and usually run over two miles without any obstacles. Commonly used as a way to give horses race experience before tackling hurdles and fences.
(Steeple) Chasing	Steeplechases are run over distances that range between 2 and 4½ miles (3.2 and 7.2 km). The runners jump over a variety of obstacles that can include plain fences, water jumps or open ditches. The fences in chases are a minimum of 4½ feet (1.3m) high and are made of a mixture of birch and spruce.
Chaser	A horse who runs in steeplechase races. Often a larger, older horse.
Claimer	A jockey who takes weight off a horse to compensate for their relative inexperience as a rider. Their claim is reduced the more winners they have.
Colt	An uncastrated male horse aged four years old or younger. A colt older than four is referred to as an entire or horse (if still racing) or stallion (if at stud).
Conditional jockey	A Conditional jockey is a male or female, trainee jump jockey.
	Conditional jockeys are licenced riders aged between 16 and 25, working their way up to professional jockey status by riding with and competing against professional jockeys.
	They are employed by UK racehorse trainers throughout their conditional status.
	A Conditional jockey can "claim" a weight allowance of 7lbs until they have 20 wins, 5lbs until 40 wins and 3lbs until 75 wins (Conditional Jockeys with

fewer than 5 wins can also claim an extra 3lbs when riding for their own stable)

Connections	A term often used in place of a horse's owners and trainer.
Colours bag	A bag, often leather, used to carry colours to the races and delivered to the weighing room prior to racing.
Doing up	When a horse is brushed off after work, hay given or rug changed. Generally refers to any time the staff are leaving the yard – just do up before lunch.
"Doing three"	The number of horses that the member of stable staff would be caring for which is normally three. A member of stable staff is given horses to "do".
Dropped	A work rider falling off
Evening Stables	When the yard is prepared and all horses are brushed off, rugs changed, hay nets given and evening feeds given.
Feeding up	Either first thing in the morning or last thing at night when the horses are fed ready for bed. Also could be used for any time of day when the yard of horses are fed, i.e. lunch time
Fences	The type of obstacle jumped during chase races. There are different types of fence, including an open-ditch, the water jump and a plain fence.
Flat Racing	Flat racing have no obstacles to clear.

Horses race over distances varying from five furlongs to about two and three-quarter miles and, the horses begin their races from starting stalls.

Conditions races also exist, as do both gender- and age-specific races.

Horses race on turf or on all-weather surfaces, where the going consistently remains as standard, regardless of weather conditions.

The majority of Flat race meetings in Britain take place on turf, with the exception of the all-weather tracks at Chelmsford, Kempton, Lingfield, Newcastle, Southwell and Wolverhampton (Kempton and Lingfield also have turf tracks).

Furlong	Imperial measurement of distance used for measuring the length of British and Irish Races. 1 furlong equals 220 yards or 200meters
Gallops	Traditionally grass, however, they have been developed to be all weather so that horses can be trained all year round. This is where horses do their faster work in canter or gallop
Gelding	A castrated male horse
Girls	The word girls is used in racing and it applies to women of any age.
Going	The ground conditions at the racecourse, underfoot.
Guv (ner)	A term that is still used within racing when referring to the boss or trainer
Hack	The term hack has three meanings within horseracing. It can refer to a type of work which is less strenuous and may be used after a horse has run and is generally a slower pace. It can refer to a walk around the roads and bridle paths or it could refer to a sensible and quiet horse that a trainer will use to watch the string of horses work.
Handicap	A type of race in which horses carry different weights depending on their overall rating, which is determined by the handicapper.
Heath (Newmarket)	The land of the Heath extends to both sides of town and includes the two racecourses, the Rowley Mile and the July Course, as well as the training grounds. Under the care of The Jockey Club, the turf on the Heath has been protected and nurtured for centuries, avoiding being ploughed up during the wars and being kept free of railway lines and new roads.
Hurdle	The obstacles jumped during a hurdle race. They are smaller than fences and therefore take less jumping. Sometimes referred to as flights.
Hurdler	A horse who races over hurdles
In-hand	When a horse is being led by someone walking

Instagram   Instagram is a photo and video sharing platform within a newsfeed or story format. Instagram has surpassed Facebook as the most popular social media platform.

Jocked-off   A term used to describe a jockey losing a ride to another jockey.

Jumping off   When horses start to canter or gallop at the start of the gallops

Leading-file   The horse and rider at the front of the string who will give instructions to those who are riding behind

Lead horse   A sensible horse, normally older, that is used at the front of the string normally to educate the younger horses, being ridden behind.

Legged-up   When a rider is lifted, by their knee and heel, on to the back of the horse, usually whilst the horse is still walking.

Lot   A collective term for any exercise routine the horses complete

Lot Board   A list, on a board indicating to staff which horses they will be exercising and some yards will also use the lot board to detail the work expected

Lunging   An exercise method used to exercise a horse from the ground in a circle, on the end of a 30 meter rope or lunge line

National Hunt   In National Hunt racing, commonly known as jumps racing, horses are required to jump obstacles over distances ranging from two miles to more than four and a quarter miles.

The two types of obstacles in jumps racing are hurdles and fences. Hurdles are smaller and horses are generally campaigned over hurdles before graduating to racing over fences (in chases).

Not only are horses able to race over different distances, but they are also eligible to race in different divisions. Novice races are designed exclusively for horses who are racing in their first season over hurdles or fences, or for those who have never won a race in that sphere. Handicaps are the most common type of race over jumps. In handicaps, horses carry differing amounts of weight based upon the ability they have shown in previous races,

whereas in conditions races horses carry equal weight regardless of past form.

Horses can race on the flat under National Hunt rules, in races known as bumpers, which are designed to introduce racing without being required to jump obstacles.

Off the bridle	Off the bridles describes a horse being pushed along by his jockey, losing contact with the bit in his mouth and not necessarily running well or positively
On the bridle	When a horse ridden with a light but firm contact on the mouth. Generally means that the horse is running forward positively
Paddock/Parade ring	The secure area of a racecourse where horses are paraded before each race in front of the members of the public.
Roughed off	When a horse has been turned away to grass for a period of rest, usually after an injury or at the end of a racing season.
Pull out	When the riders have prepared their horses for riding and they leave their stable to join the "lot".
Running away	When a horse runs off, or very fast and the rider has lost control.
Schooling	A term to describe a horse being trained and getting practice over obstacles.
Silks	The coloured jackets and hat covers that jockeys wear during a race, also known as colours. Each owner must have their own registered colours or silks
Slapped	Falling off a horse at speed
Snapchat	A multimedia, messaging app that is downloaded to smart phones. Famous for having a map area that allows users to locate people and send and receive photographs that disappear after 10 seconds.
Stable Lad	A term that was formerly used by the racing industry when referring to a male or female worker of any age in the racing industry prior to the conscious effort to remove gendered terminology.

Stable Staff   A term that refers to a male or a female worker of any age in the racing industry

String   Collective name for a group of racehorses being exercised

Tack   Any equipment a horse may wear when ridden. Usually refers to the saddle, bridle and saddlecloth

Tack bag   A bag that the stable staff carry all of their equipment in for the day (if at the races) or it hangs outside the stable door, when at home.

Take a turn   When the string ride a circle, at walk, usually waiting for the rest of the string to pull out or when they are being given their instructions from the trainer or assistant trainer ahead

Thoroughbred   All racehorses that run under rules must be a Thoroughbred and be registered with the Weatherbys stud book. Importantly, all racehorses must be conceived through copulation (no artificial breeding techniques).

Tongue-tie   A strap or piece of stocking used to tie down a horse's tongue to prevent the tongue getting over the bit which affects a horse's breathing.

Upsides   Two horses riding next to each other, normally as part of a work day

Weighing room   This is where the jockeys change between each race. In addition, there is a first aid room, showers and sauna (usually in the male changing area). The Weighing room is also where the officials and stewards are before a race ready for jockeys to weigh out and in.

Work Day   Usually a day when the horse does some faster work, usually in pairs. It is a very important part of the horses training schedule and is often carried out by the more competent work-riders

10 LIST OF APPENDICES

Information redacted to protect participants in line with the research Ethics approval and GDPR

11 PROLOGUE

Currently, the racing industry is facing a stable staff crisis. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This significant figure of females within the Racing Staff labour force is on an upward trajectory from last year's figure of 58% (NAoRS, 2019) yet there has been a decline in jockey licences being allocated to females. Currently only 6.2% of all professional jockeys competing in the United Kingdom are female (British Horseracing Authority (BHA), 2019). This is further broken down into Flat[1] racing where, in 2016, 12.3% of professional flat jockeys were female and National Hunt[2] racing had only 4% of female jockeys.

Although my research is entirely focussed on the aspirational females, I wanted to share, some of the lived experiences, highlighted in the media, of two jockeys that have managed to achieve their aspirations. As you will come to see, the experiences reported by these two jockeys mirror the challenges discussed throughout this PhD in relation to aspirational jockeys suggesting that the issues faced by females are deep rooted and engrained in the horseracing culture.

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In my opinion, it is hardly surprising that women are finding it hard to achieve in horseracing, especially when they are not allowed to escape the stereotypical notions of femininity – highlighted in the above example by the emphasis on her domestic responsibilities in the home.

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This hyper-sexualisation that has become so accepted, and even expected in some cases, across the horseracing industry has worked to reinforce hegemonic masculinity and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 9.

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[1] Flat racing is racing without any obstacles

[2] National Hunt racing over fences (hurdles or steeplechase)

This quote emphasises that regardless of access to social, cultural and economic capital, gender is still felt as a limiting factor. I find it fascinating to think that this is the message portrayed to young women who are starting their career in the racing industry, yet unintentionally this quotation is reinforcing many of the issues challenged by the respondents in my own study.

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This quotation reinforces the choice that is felt by women in the racing industry regardless of positionality, capital, or age. The maternity penalty and the concept of the ideal worker is reinforced subliminally across the sport then absorbed and regurgitated throughout creating a "leaky bucket" for the majority of stable staff in the industry reinforcing the need to fix the establishment, not the people.

I am passionate to convey the taken for granted perception that women are the "other" within the racing industry. The British Horseracing Authority has recently launched a campaign called "just jockeys" to highlight the equality within the sport. I do not disagree that when the jockeys are loaded into the starting stalls or walk in towards the starter that they are on equal terms. I do argue, however, that the equality of opportunity, that leads to that point, is not operating with parity, and women are disadvantaged due to their gender, and sex. It is these issues which lie at the heart of the rationale for this PhD study.

PART 1 UNDER STARTERS ORDERS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This introduction will outline my position as a researcher, the research questions guiding this research and the sporting, political and educational context before concluding with a brief overview of the key concepts in parallel with my theoretical assumptions.

While writing this PhD, there have been many times that I have had to reflect on my own personal challenges as a woman in horseracing, both in my current position and my previous roles within the stable staff labour force. In the process, it became clear that, although I knew there was some inequality, I had not realised the scale or invisible nature, in turn making the gendered challenges all the more dangerous. One example of this would be the contradiction in language, including "lad" to refer to any member of stable staff; however, there is now an industry-wide initiative to introduce the gender-neutral term, Racing Groom. While I was working in horseracing, I, like others, would not challenge the lack of gender parity. I did, however, recognise that, even though the language was out of date, there was a disconnect, or as Bourdieu (1998:6) explained, a relational property existing only in and through its relationship with other properties' (Bourdieu,1998: 6).

Therefore, this research aims to understand the hidden assumption that everyone has equal opportunities afforded to him or her, regardless of gender, class and cultural capital. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The challenges associated with studying gender in horseracing require an interdisciplinary approach, and this thesis incorporates theoretical elements and concepts from different social science disciplines including sociology, work, sport and interspecies literature. Therefore, the interconnected nature of the horseracing social field increases the contradictions, tensions and experiences of aspirational females negotiating their own identity and position in a gendered social space. Gender and work research often focus on the position and experiences of women at work (see Roberts and Ayre, 2002; Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010; Azocar and Ferree, 2015).

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Prior to setting the context for this research, it is important to briefly explain the interconnection of Bourdieu's fields in the context of horseracing, media, sport and work, and the intersection of class, race and socioeconomic background and how these contribute to persons gender, success and

motivation. Importantly, characteristics in the field of horseracing, such as manual work and the sporting media all contribute to a hierarchal work culture that does not support "distractions" associated with being a woman, such as a family and the demands of domestic unpaid work.

It is within this structure that capital is distributed to individuals who embody a masculine representation of gender in the workplace, or hyper-femininity, when distanced from the manual aspect of associated labour and heteronormative ideologies. For instance, those marginalised as being the wrong shape or having "no grit" are constructed as inferior (Velija, and Flynn, 2010; Butler, 2011; Butler and Charles, 2012) and those who demonstrate more masculine traits, such as taking risks, being strong and have a winning attitude (Klomsten Marsh and Skaalvik, 2005), are more likely to succeed. Identity work and ways of managing one's identity show it is becoming increasingly difficult for younger females to meet the social requirements of acceptable bodies in the different areas of the horseracing field.

In short, this PhD thesis focuses on the gendered experiences of young, aspirational females while working towards their professional goals, to demonstrate how gender intersects with other social constructs in the horseracing field. Exploring gender relations in this way means that my research can consider how gendered rules apply to young women in practice, allowing instances of overlap and contradictions to be highlighted.

In this Chapter, I provide an overview of the sport of horseracing and its governing structure, which aims to explain the accepted, gendered field of horseracing. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR And, finally, sport, interspecies, a brief history of female jockeys and work literature all consider the impact of gender in their own research subsection, revealing there is a significant gap in the research in the experiences of young people, females, in horseracing.

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The voices of the people who participated within this research enable a real-life view of their experiences, which have been affected by the system and culture that is pushing young aspirational females to leave the industry.

It is important, however, that I start by explaining my positionality and narrative, because it was these experiences and observations that have encouraged me to conduct this research.

Who I Am and Why this Research is Important: A Reflexive Account

I would not be writing this thesis without drawing on my experiences in horseracing. I will use this section to explore my personal experiences. I have also included my experiences working in racing as a female, and some situations that have happened during my career as an Education and Training Leader in the horseracing industry.

As a child, I was always a "horsey girl". I grew up in Singapore, where everyone started in Pony Club and then continued to gain an interest in polo and horseracing, because that is all there was. My father has always been into racing. I fondly remember a time when I was around eight years old, and I was struggling with a mathematics conundrum until I had the realisation that it was just the same as betting odds. I was "pretty good" at working out returns, as my father had taught me during one of our annual trips back to the United Kingdom (UK), whilst attending York Racecourse. Racing was always there as an interest, so when we returned to the UK when I was ten years old, I continued to ride. I borrowed a pony called Nana's Treat, whom we called Toffee at home; we had great fun going quickly, and over various obstacles at speed, pretending we were in the 3.10 at Sedgefield, which was our favourite thing to do. My time with Toffee was cut short due to another move, this time to Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) when I was 13 years old. As in Singapore, the whole equestrian operation revolved around Pony Club, Polo and horseracing. The Abu Dhabi Equestrian Centre (ADEC) was situated in the centre of the racetrack and would meet relatively frequently; the main difference was that racing would happen in the evening, after school, to avoid the heat of the day. I would look forward to going to seeing the horses: even though there were significant cultural differences, I would still be transfixed by the speed, grace and power of the thoroughbred racehorse; I was horse mad. In the summer of 2004, we returned to the UK, I continued my schooling, and I had a Traditional breed of horse, a Welsh Section D called Alex. At this stage, I was old enough to go alone to the stables on my way home, after school. I did not particularly enjoy school; I only went so I could leave as soon as possible. However, by the age of 16 all of my "horsey" friends had given up horses for boys, parties and studying, but not I, I had decided that I was going to work with horses, preferably racehorses. It is safe to say that horses were, and to some degree still are, my life. It will take a long time for me to forget the conversations with my father, who reminded me often that he paid for my education, so I could go to university! and '[I should] forget about racing because it is a man's game […] girls fall off and get hurt. The disappointment and injustice that I felt only spurred me on to try harder. This realisation contributed to my feeling that, from an impressionable age, I was different. On reflection, as is common with children, I was bullied at school because I was different; however, in

hindsight, I was probably an easy target because I was not interested in boys, had straw stuck to my wool jumper, did not wear makeup and chances are, I smelt like haylage. All of which are considered to be unfeminine traits and made me significantly different to my peers. Yet, once I pursued my passion and was competing regularly up and down the country, people became more accepting, possibly because of the lady-like status of horse riding as opposed to the care and physical labour.

After considerable compromising with my parents, especially my father, I pursued a vocational training route, a National Diploma in Horse Care and Equitation, which *could* lead into either racing *or* university. I was now 16, and among my peers there was an increased pressure to look good in your riding "uniform" which consisted of jodhpurs or skinny jeans, long socks, short riding boots and a polo shirt. My hair would need to be neat, nails painted and mascara, as a minimum, would be on. Essentially, the image that I was modelling myself on was a hyper-feminine version that contradicted the realities of working with horses and riding for three hours a day. At the time, I did not question why I would wear these clothes, it seemed "natural" to want to look good when working alongside the horses or riding them, and I did not question the complete absence of males. Yet with critical hindsight, I was reaffirming the expectation of heterosexuality and attractiveness required of equestrian women.

Once I had completed my college qualifications, I realised that my parents were not wealthy enough to buy me the £90,000 horse that a professional rider would require to gain attention of the selecting committee, and my father was still worried I would get hurt if I went into racing. This left me with the only option, to continue competing my own, established horses and go to university.

Fast forward three years, I was managing a betting shop, competing my own horses and navigating my way through my early twenties, knowing there was more. I would, obviously, watch the racing at work, and I would question why there were so few female jockeys competing, especially in National Hunt racing. In addition, I would hear the mainly male patrons of my betting shop say things such as 'oh, that horse has no chance, it has a bird on it!' or 'she got bloody tired, should have known not to back a woman, what a waste of time', which were clearly questioning the ability of a female jockey to ride a horse or to win a race because of their gender. However, the ability of a female jockey was not the main focus of my punters, the most common frustrations would be 'she is so good looking, what does she want with riding horses[…] you can't see her great figure under all the gear.' This stirred something inside of me and emphasised the inconsistencies and impossibility for women to be recognised for their ability, and the "bad day at the office" being solely blamed on the gender of the jockey.

The reoccurring frustration and my ever-decreasing patience encouraged me to apply for a fully-funded Masters by research degree at Plymouth university. Once in Plymouth, but without an income, I used my skills and determination to source work with a local point-to-point trainer, and considered my amateur jockey's licence. I was having a great time among likeminded individuals, and I noticed the amateur jockey scene had lots of ladies riding so I started to challenge and question the route to "the top": why were these talented women not on the television screen in my betting shop and why do they only do this "for fun"? My own reality was, that I was worried about falling off, getting hurt and delaying my studies, which after all were the reason I was in Devon. At this time, I felt that I was the "odd one out" and a "wuss" for letting the fear of falling off an animal running at 35mph get in my way. Once I had experienced more of the equine industry and research facilities, I completed my teaching degree and took up a full-time teaching post in the University of Central Lancashire network. I was getting close to 26 years old (which is the age a jockey must become a professional, or remain an amateur) and I was reminded often that I had to either action my goal of riding racehorses, or hang up my boots (and body protector) for good.

I was not ready to give up my dream quite yet, so I agreed that I would not leave my teaching job until I was sure that I was good enough and could secure a job to make it a viable career. I started to ride out at the weekends, as unpaid work, for a local trainer. I was excited, I knew the yard was an all-female team and it was, and still is, known for being an excellent training facility. Over time I started to go back on the gallops and be part of a string. From the moment I arrived, I knew I was not "ride fit", and strength was everything on the gallops; the reason we were all there was for the love of the horse. I had to get better and stronger, so I used to look at the top jockeys for "tips" and I noticed they were mainly male. I joined an organisation called Women in Racing and was successful in gaining a bursary to attend one of the racing schools to tidy up my position and learn specific skills. I passed the fitness test with flying colours and excelled on the gallops, but the most evident and shocking realisation was the number of females that were on the course I was on and the training courses. In a nutshell, the training centre was dominated by females, but this was not the sporting reality. It was not meant to be, I got to 26 years old and therefore I would only ever be able to ride as an amateur, but there was fire in my belly because I knew that there were numerous females wanting to be jockeys, but this was not transferred into the reality shown on the track or television screens.

I returned to my position as a teacher, but by this time I was also managing the stable yard at a local Racecourse and being mentored through the Women in Racing Mentor scheme. Not only was there a lack of female jockeys, but there was also a significant void in skilled labour workers in the whole of

the horseracing industry, known as the stable staff crisis. I could not help but feel that the whole of the industry was a man's world, the sport of kings, or just made for the lads.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Throughout this thesis, it is only through self-awareness and reflexivity, by using Bourdieu's concept of habitus, that we can explore the accepted and taken-for-granted truths regarding sport, employment, gender and the body.

I will always love racing, yet I hope this research will identify the social factors during the initial phases, which may influence adolescent aspirations, and thus lead to policy changes. As previously mentioned, there is a lack of research that focuses on the gendered experiences of young, aspirational females, due to the well reported complexities of studying gender. In this thesis, an amalgamation of theoretical elements and concepts from different social science disciplines including Sociology, Education, Work, Sport and Interspecies literature will be used to answer the following research questions. The research questions have been written to consider how gendered rules apply to young women in practice, allowing instances of overlap and contradiction to be highlighted.

Research Questions

The research questions (RQs) I will address in this PhD are two-fold:

RQ1. How do females, construct their racing habitus in preparation for horseracing?

RQ2. Why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?

These research questions have been developed to give women a voice; those experiencing horseracing need to be considered when developing the recruitment and retention policies, which have a greater chance of being effective and guiding change.

While my own experiences of working in the horseracing industry as a work rider and education leader have motivated me to complete this PhD study, there is a risk, as with any research, that my habitus and experiences may also obscure any findings that are different to my own experiences. However, through a heightened awareness of my own positionality, this reflexivity ought to lead to greater explanation and accurate interpretation (Braun and Clarke, 2019)

In order to answer these research questions I use a two-phase, micro-longitudinal, mixed-method approach.   INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Contextual Setting for this Research

The focus of my thesis is to consider the lived experiences of young aspirational women and how young females develop their racing identities. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

The broader contextual background focuses on INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

The current horseracing environment becomes an important justification for carrying out this research. The unique nature of sports that involve animals, and the embodied requirements of riding a horse, will be discussed in the next section.

Horseracing as an Interspecies Sport

Although this thesis is focused on the experiences of females in horseracing, the analysis can contribute to a wider understanding of sociological theory. My research aims to challenge the binary nature of structure and agency, as well as develop a more fluid understanding of capital accumulation because of the nature of interspecies sports and the relationships in horse racing, sport and the wider equine industry. Sports involving animals are arguably some of the most traditional, and interspecies sports have until very recently been neglected as a specific genre of sports studies (DeMello, 2012). Equestrian sporting disciplines are unavoidably interspecies due to the vital role that a horse plays. However, there are some sports where the bodies in action are animal bodies (Gilbert and Gillett, 2012), but they are still classed as interspecies even though the bodies may be externalised, as seen in dog agility (Haraway, 2003) and sheep dog trials (Cox and Ashford, 1998). This doctoral research spans multiple approaches in interspecies sport due to the unique structure of the horseracing industry. Some people are attracted to equestrian sports for the beauty of horses, the excitement and rewards, as opposed to money or profit (Clatworthy, 1981), others because it is a social expectation such as driving (Grey, 1989), and others because it is a "way of life" instead of a way of making money (Helmer, 1991). A key element is the increased level of body-to-body contact between horses and humans when engaged in interaction (Wipper, 2000). Although companion animals (cats and dogs)

connect with humans for reason for affection, play and occasional grooming (Brandt, 2004), humans do not ride cats or dogs or ask them to do complicated physical or mental tasks while sitting on their backs. These unique qualities are of particular interest when considering the role of the body in horse-human communication, and the level of embodiment is central to understanding the non-verbal communication.

Interspecies Sport and Gender

Gender and equestrianism has been widely studied, in a variety of contexts from Olympic level (Dashper, 2012) through to the amateur level (Pfister, 1993; Nikku, 2005; Forsberg and Tebelius, 2011; Ojanen, 2012; Gilbert, 2013) in which this study is primarily interested. The level of participation is fundamentally important, but how interspecies sport is experienced through the body (Adelman and Moraes, 2008; Adelman and Knijnik, 2013) adds a different dynamic of understanding in relation to gender and physicality. Weiss considers sport to be a 'traditionalised set of rules to be exemplified by men who try to be excellent in and through their bodies' (1978: 89). Continuing to explore the multiple ways gender is experienced in the context of human/animal relationships promises to offer greater insight into the complex workings of gender. Equine competition is renowned for providing a unique platform in the modern sports arena, for men and women to compete on "equal terms" against each other for the same prize money. Despite this "equality" sex integration in competition has not led to gender equality (Dashper, 2012). While "modern" horse riding is generally female dominated, men outperform women at professional and elite levels of competition. This is a likely consequence of cultural gender norms and expectations (Dashper, 2012), unequal access to the resources that support high-level participation (Thompson and Adelman, 2013) and disparate access to the funding (Hedenborg and White, 2012) in a sport that demands a significant investment of finance and time (Coulter, 2013; 2014). As Dashper (2012) states, superficial equality does not equate to gender being irrelevant in equestrianism. In fact, I would argue it is quite the opposite: gender differences are presented in various ways such as the effeminate dressage rider and the masculine image of the cowboy (Birke and Brandt, 2009).

Horsewomen are likely to wholly reject the suggestion of "misplaced desire"; however, they will likely accept that working with horses and riding affords them some freedom that they would otherwise be denied. Many young women and girls who have been raised around horses have found that being able to ride has provided them with opportunities to challenge the accepted norm of femininity (Traeen and Wang, 2006). In short, being around horses and displaying "tomboy" traits has enabled

them to develop confidence and self-esteem. The way that gender is expressed is dependent on the situation such as the type of riding, or the discipline that is chosen (Buchanan and Dann, 2006). The different disciplines have dominant norms of masculinity and femininity which are locally governed by the local riding communities. Although Birke et al. (2004) and Despret (2013) highlight that gender is only attributed to the people who practise equestrianism, this is omitting a significant factor in the equation because, like gender relations, human relations with animals are performed. The performance of gender takes different forms in different "horsey" spheres, providing examples of what has been termed "communities of practice" by Lave and Wenger (1991); in which people express themselves related to horses. Further research by Paechter (2006b) has emphasised that gender is relational and develops with participation in specific communities; more particularly, she studies children and how they participate in shifting communities, and how they enact gender at different stages of their development. Notably, it was concluded that gender was a local accomplishment within the community. Therefore, young women and girls who have been free to develop their sense of self and reject the expected femininity while at the stables will still face challenges due to the feminised images of horsewomen in equestrian magazines, advertising and news (Birke and Brandt, 2009).

As previously mentioned, women and girls are prominent in most areas of equestrianism, especially at amateur levels (Dashper, 2012), including leisure riding, eventing or dressage. These areas could be referred to as the craft labour areas (Birke and Brandt, 2009) of equestrianism or the least industrialised. In comparison, in areas like racing, where large sums of money are being exchanged, keeping a horse is described as more of a process of production, and women are rarely seen at the top. Women are found in racing, working on the yards, travelling with the horses and caring for these elite animals, and traditionally were referred to as "lads" (Cassidy, 2002; also see Larsen, 2006). The very nature of the terminology used in equestrianism such as "horsemanship" and "lads" further highlights the gendered nature of the industry. Another angle that should not be ignored given the diverse recruitment structure into the horseracing industry is the sporting experiences of rural youth groups (Cassidy, 2007). Lee et al., (2009) argue that gender roles influence perceptions of appropriate physical activity options. Young women and girls with a love of ponies, horses (Singleton, 2013) and being outdoors, will spend many hours helping at riding schools and cleaning stables in return for time being near the horses. The benefit of this freely given time is not only for learning about the animals and riding them, but they are developing a set of specific skills or being encultured into a particular subculture. I will now offer a brief overview of the horseracing industry and the governing structure.

The Horseracing Industry and Governing Structure

It is important to give the background of the sport, albeit briefly, to provide an understanding of the foundations the sport was built on, and its former ingrained, gendered, classed landscape. As a professional sport in Britain, horseracing can be traced back to the twelfth century, after the English knights returned from the Crusades with Arab horses. Horseracing really made its mark under the reign of King Charles II, who had a particular passion for racing and was responsible for making Newmarket the racing town that it still is today, home to 3,500 horses and approximately 2500 stable staff (NAoRS, 2020) and the British Racing school. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

In the next section I provide a brief overview of the development of national hunt racing and the traditions associated with contemporary National Hunt horseracing that have been developed over time.

National Hunt Horseracing

National Hunt (NH) racing is the correct term for generic jump racing under rules which originated in Ireland in the 18th Century. NH racing is designed to be a test of stamina and ability for the horse and arguably, the jockey. The distances range from two-mile races, the most famous of these short NH races being the Queen Mother Chase held at the annual Cheltenham Festival, and the longest is the Grand National, at four and a half miles with 30 obstacles. National Hunt can then be further subdivided into two groups depending on the type of obstacle: hurdle (Plate 1) and steeplechases (Plate 2).

PLATE 1: A traditional, Birch Hurdle on the "woodside" at Cartmel Racecourse. The image is looking in the direction of travel.

PLATE 2: A Steeplechase fence at Cartmel Racecourse which shows the significant width and variety of structural materials including birch and fur branches. The fence would be jumped from the right of the image to the left.

PLATE 3: An open ditch steeplechase fence at Aintree with a total spread of 11 foot. This fence is the 3rd and 19th fence of the Grand National. NB: one in six of the fences in a steeplechase race must be an open ditch.

A "jump jockey" is licensed to race over both types of fences and generally, most will take the opportunity. However, they may have a personal preference to only compete in one or the other due to the difference in height, material and occurrence, which in turn can affect risk. The top of a hurdle fence can be no more than three feet six inches tall, and there must be at least six hurdles in the first two miles of a race. These races are often faster than a steeplechase, however; the hurdles are more flexible and commonly fall on impact. In contrast, the steeplechase races have a varying type and height of fence. These are generally taller, with a minimum height of four foot six inches (137.16 centimetres) and have a minimum width of 30ft (910 centimetres), which can only be adapted in exceptional cases with full permission of the inspectorate. Each mile must include six fences, one of which must be an open ditch (Plate 3). Jump jockeys are often heavier at approximately ten stone, due to the horses being older, taller and travelling at a slower pace of approximately 30 miles per hour. Jump racing is always run-on grass or turf, whereas flat racing can be conducted on "all-weather tracks" which are constructed from a sand/fibre/binder combination which is designed to not freeze in the winter, and therefore can be run on all year round, and turf.

Flat Horseracing

Flat racing is a test of stamina and speed; the jockeys are required to be more tactical with their race riding and choices, such as where to position themselves during a race, when to hold the horse back and when to ask for more. Flat races are run "on the level", so do not have any obstacles to negotiate, although flat races do vary in distance from five furlongs (1000 meters) to just over two miles. Each race will have specific eligibility conditions based on the sex, age or ability of the horse. In the UK, the majority of flat races are run on grass; however, some are run on an all-weather surface. Horses will reach speeds of 45 miles per hour during the shorter sprint races, and jockeys are generally required to be no heavier than nine stone.

The Structure of the Training Yard

The main aim of all training yards, regardless of size, is to ensure where possible that the horses in their care get to the racecourse to compete and run well. Insiders and outsiders of the sport can take the process of training racehorses for granted, but it is a complex network of power structures and

communication made up of a trainer, owner, jockey and stable staff that all play a unique role in getting a horse fit for racing. The reality is that the race you see on the television is only the tip of the training iceberg. Figure 1 illustrates how the employment hierarchy might operate in a typical racing yard (adapted from Blunt, 1977).
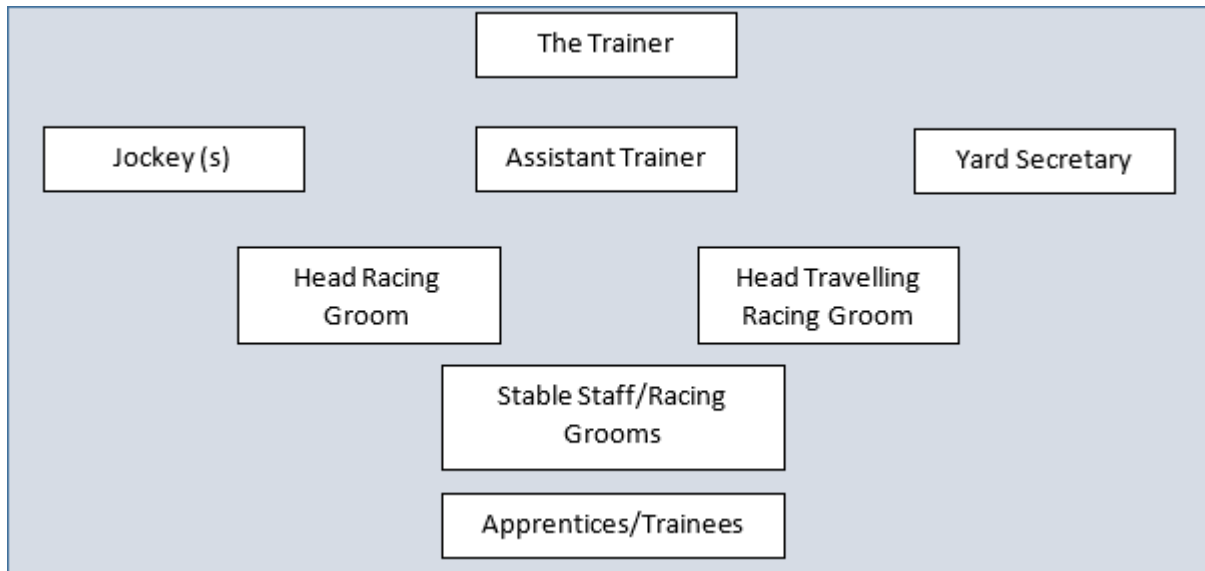

Figure 1: The hierarchical staffing structure of a racing yard (adapted from Blunt, 1977)

The working relations of the yard operate through patronage, gender and more recently, migrant labour (Butler, 2011). The importance of the migrant workforce was emphasised during the Brexit debate (Stokes, 2017), and it is realistic to assume that the stable staff shortage could be made worse by Brexit, which has been identified as a major threat to racing's already stretched workforce**.**

Horseracing Industry and the Stable Staff Shortage

Historically, the racing industry gave working class "boys" an opportunity to achieve through an indentured apprenticeship, not too dissimilar to young football academies today (Butler, 2014) or boxers (Wacquant, 2004). Yet, one of the most dominant challenges to horseracing is the recruitment, training and retaining of stable staff, which are all interrelated and therefore require a focus to be placed on all three areas to achieve a sustainable strategy to improve the staffing levels. The need to bring racing's human resources practices into line with the more modern ways to recruit, retain and train people could consolidate the current practices in the horseracing industry. The increased focus on staffing was highlighted as a major area of attention at the annual British Racing Industry Roadshow and chosen as a principal theme in 2018, due to the alarming rate of attrition, which is often referred to as the "leaky bucket" in contrast to the "pregnant pipeline" that feeds it. In a similar way to other

industries such as construction and hospitality, racing has to compete for people, especially young people, because the environment has become much tougher, with changes in attitudes towards work, government policy raising of the participation age, and the funding cuts for training.

The former Chief Executive Officer of the BHA, stated:

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In light of this information, the Racing Foundation was established in January 2012 by the British Horseracing Authority, The Horsemen's Group and the Racecourse Association, with an endowment from the net proceeds of the UK government's sale of the Tote. Its principal aim is to support charitable purposes associated with the horseracing and thoroughbred breeding industry. In 2017 the Racing Foundation published the findings of a survey, completed by 457 trainers and 936 racing staff, on recruitment, career progression and retention of those working in racing, which would provide the basis for a £1 million initiative it is funding to support the development and retention of racing's workforce. The results of the research showed the difficulties racing faced compared to other industries, with trainers saying nearly half of all jobs (48 per cent compared to 33 per cent nationally) were hard to fill because of a lack of skills and a low number of applicants, mostly for jobs that required skilled riders. Other factors that were cited in the results included lack of experience, stable location or lack of accommodation, working conditions such as low pay and long working hours, and attitude or motivation issues. In an effort to address the staffing issues, the Racing Foundation is supporting a number of initiatives that will provide training for stable staff, a careers service, and personal development training for jockeys as well as better careers marketing. From the point of view of recruitment as an industry, it needs to be demonstrating to the outside world, to potential recruits, parents, careers advisers and schools, that racing provides a good working experience and is putting in place things that help trainers provide that good working experience.

The BHA commissioned a further piece of research, which was reported on the ITV *Morning Show* in 2018 that there were 6,734 registered staff in Britain, and the estimated shortfall is said to be 1,000 spread evenly across the country. Interestingly, a racehorse trainer, believes that blame cannot be attributed to any one party [for the stable staff crisis], nor does he believe pay is the sole issue in retaining staff, with the hours another factor pushing people away as they get older. There is renewed interest by the racing and sporting media around this phenomenon, with multiple suggestions being made to explain the shortfall. A trainer suggested that young would-be jockeys and work riders are

taller than they were fifty years ago but do not have the strength to go with it; REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Although there is no gendered data available on the 2020 statistics (table 2), the numbers of people registered in the listed positions, reflect a similar trend to those shown in table 1.

TABLE 1: STABLE STAFF STATISTICS (BHA 201

TABLE 2: 2020 STABLE REGISTER STATISTICS, (BHA, 2020)

Role	Total number of people
Apprentices/Conditionals	137
Assistant Trainer	350
Employed Horsebox Driver	176
Farrier	37
Feed Person	6
Gallop Person	54
Head Groom	239
Hostel Employee	6
Other	524
Pupil Under Training	121
Racing Groom	2030
Trainee Racing Groom	131
Racing Secretary	269
Travelling Head Groom	201
Work Rider	1011
Yard Security	40
Yard Staff	585
Total stable staff registered	5,917

The concept of employability has a crucial role to play in informing labour market policy in the UK and the European Union (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005) because it relates to both unemployed people who are seeking work and employed people who are looking for a different, better job.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. In addition, employability has had an increased focus, especially in education, to mean the capability of people to enter and sustain work (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005). The ability to gain employment or access to certain occupations can be viewed in narrow terms to be predominantly supply-side factors or more broadly, in a framework or training system which acknowledges the importance of all the factors which contribute to an individual's employability (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005). In this following section, I will provide a brief history of female jockeys in order to explore the historical barriers that aspirational women have faced in the racing industry.

A Brief History of Female Jockeys

Women were unable to ride in races until the 1950s, when they were allowed to race against men in point-to-points (amateur steeplechases). This was seen as a "startling innovation" (Smith, 1986) which initiated a change in the rules confining them to ladies-only races (Huggins, 2003). As previously mentioned, point-to-point races are intrinsically linked to the hunting field, which emphasises that the first female jockeys to ride in these races would have had the correct economic and social capital that would have given them access to the opportunity. It was not until 1972 that the first ladies-only flat race at Kempton Park, which was the first phase of a twelve-legged series for amateur lady-jockeys. This series had been developed due to the increasing number of girls entering the racing workforce as stable staff and work riders, to incentivise them to stay in racing and compete as an amateur, for fun, in a race. The reality of this series was that the women who were able to ride in this amateur series tended to be those who had the social, economic and cultural capital to do so, which contradicted the reason for the female series being started. This ladies-only series was introduced during a time when there were significant organisational changes and gender legislation was being introduced, most notably the Equal Pay Act, 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (Butler, 2011). There was a shift of gender makeup in the horseracing industry due to a number of factors, the most relevant to this study being the increased demand for women wanting to ride in National Hunt races, that is, over obstacles, which was seen as more dangerous than riding on the flat. In the first instance, there was resistance from inside racing and the Jockey Club. Anne Alcock, a former National Hunt jockey and then journalist, has written an account of the obstacles that women had to overcome in order to be allowed to ride over jumps and be taken seriously. Writing from her perspective and as a woman, her writing was informed by the stereotyped understandings of "femininity" and "masculinity" that are reproduced in this field of power. Alcock (1978: 62) recalls that some people saw jump racing as too masculine for women, but her view was one that, when it came to femininity:

> '…[women] are not beaten, horse-faced, tough old hags. Their features may be disguised beneath skull caps…but they come bouncing back with pretty smiles' (Alcock, 1978: 62).

This view does support women; however, it also highlights that women should remain feminine, which reinforces the stereotypical order, although she does acknowledge symbolic violence by highlighting that they "[come] bouncing back with pretty smiles." Alcock recognises that men were uncomfortable with riding as they thought that they should not be put in that increased place of danger. Although this report was written over three decades ago, similar reports can be seen in the more contemporary literature.

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At the time she was riding regularly there was an increase in media coverage that highlighted a prejudiced world where all manner of fathers, including motorbike racers, rugby union players and notable jockeys are indulged when they imperil their health, lives and careers. This is in stark contrast to the discussions around a woman, or a mother, in the same arena; she was regarded as irresponsible or a "sporting scarlet woman". Despite all of these views, in the last ten years there has been a marked improvement in attitudes towards women jockeys being able to compete in these competitions. Women are allowed to race ride over fences, although there are only a few which highlights the disconnect between women in the pregnant pipeline, early employment and then on the track as licensed jockeys.

Contextual Section Summary

This section has highlighted the wider racing, political and employment context in which this research sits. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

The assumed link between the stable staff shortage and increased focus and pressure on the horseracing labour force due to the current welfare debate emphasises the political importance of

"getting it right". I am passionate about improving the experiences of young females in their early horseracing career, and an intended positive side effect is the development of an identity that is conducive to remaining in the horseracing industry. The focus of this thesis is on the development of gendered identities, and how young females form their sense of self.

Therefore, the wider sporting and employment fields are crucial when exploring how young females develop the "correct" behaviours, language and representations of gendered bodies. From my own experiences in the horseracing industry, the early experiences have the potential to foster positive experiences for young people; however, as the empirical data in this research will testify, this is not always the case for all young people and is often moulded by greater societal and gendered expectations. I will now outline some of the key terminology used in this thesis due to the well reported complexities associated with exploring the lived experiences of young people as well as, status and class.

<div style="background:#eee; padding:8px; text-align:center">Terminology</div>

Young people, and more specifically young aspirational females, are central to this research. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR . There is some key terminology used throughout this thesis that will be helpful for me to clarify here:

- **Young people/men/women;**

    - INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR
    - The choice of language is deliberate to emphasise that all views and thoughts are valued and credited (Metcalfe, 2018). Due to ethical constraints, I was unable to exclude any males from my focus group; therefore, some responses are shared from a male perspective. However, it is felt that this contributed to the gendered conversation.

- **Adolescents;**
    - INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR Arnett (2000) highlighted that adolescence represents a period of extreme uncertainty, transition and fluidity in relation to one's identity.

- o INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

- **Social class**
  - o Throughout this thesis, I reference class albeit occasionally, and this is referring to the value of social class as implemented by Goldthorpe, (2016;2020) and Budoki et al. (2020).
  - o Although class is not always directly referenced through the written word, the analysis has been considered in relation to the status and class of the individual, if relevant to the wider research questions.
  - o Both status and class are used as a *relational* term rather than an *attributing* term of social inequality (Goldthorpe, 2020).
  - o Similarly, I use Chan and Goldthorpe's (2007) definition of social class to refer to those individuals who are in the *more* or *less* advantaged positions in labour markets, workplaces and, of particular interest for this study, employment/employer relations.
  - o However, I do note that feminist scholars have been critical of any social class descriptor because they have been informed by an algorithm that focuses on social mobility among men (see Acker, 1987; Gimenez, 2018).
  - o The male default seen in Goldthorpe's (1997) class scheme is said to make the categories (and any analysis on which they are based) sex-specific (Bergmannn et al., 2002).
  - o In regard to the use of social class appropriate for research purposes, a combination of occupational and employment status has been shown to be useful, as seen in the National Statistics Socioeconomic Classification (Rose et al., 2005).
  - o INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

- **Social Status**
  - o According to Goldthorpe (2020:2):
    '[social] status refers the more or less advantaged positions that individuals hold in relations of perceived, and in some degree accepted, social superiority, equality, and inferiority as expressed in differential association the more intimate aspects of social

life and, in particular, in commensality and connubium- who eats with whom, who sleeps with whom.'

- o Chan (2010) explained that measures that are result of the occupational structure of a close friendship, marriage or partnership must be understood to make the concept of status operational.

- o Therefore, throughout this study, class and status will be referred to separately because class advantages, and disadvantages, can reinforce certain behaviours and can be translated into status advantages, and disadvantages, and vice versa (Goldthorpe, 2020).

Methodological and Theoretical Framework

Braun and Clark (2019) have highlighted that it is critical for researchers to explore their own assumptions and starting position. In Chapter 2, I explain my theoretical position and discuss Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts that are used as a theoretical framework for this PhD. In addition to the Bourdieusian framework, I integrate elements of intersectional feminism, mainly the work of Crenshaw (1989;1991), Collins (1992) and Connell (1987;1989; 2007;2019) with Messerschmidt (2005) where needed, to explain the way young women in the horseracing industry reinforce and create their gendered, racing habitus. The way that these concepts overlap and run parallel is discussed in greater detail in the dedicated theory chapter. Here, you will find the link between behaviour, expectation and gender justified as well as the use of a social constructivist scaffolding that gives voice to individual young women and their experiences in the horseracing sector. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

The micro-longitudinal study that considers the lived experiences of young women throughout their early experiences in horseracing highlights the importance of socialisation on the construction of legitimate versions of gender.

My understanding of gender is covered later in detail (see chapter 2) however, the undercurrent of a gendered identity is related to both psychological aspects (gender identity, gender-related self-concept) and to social aspects, for instance, the social construction of gender such as gender roles and gender role expectations (Clarke et al., 2006; Abele and Spurk, 2011). This research discusses the lived experiences of women developing their own racing identity using Bourdieu's field theory, which emphasises challenges and tensions in defining what is viewed as "legitimate" and becomes an important tool for exploring the specific experiences of young people in tandem with Intersectional

feminism. I have used intersectional feminism because, as Hesse-Bieber (2011:3) puts it, 'all [feminist research] recognise[s] the importance of women's lived experiences to the goal of unearthing subjugated knowledge.'

I will explain my methods in further detail in Chapter 4 but, for ease of understanding, I have utilised qualitative research methods to explore the development of the gendered racing habitus.

Gender, however, cannot be reduced to generalised statements and hypotheses, although it could be said that solely focusing on dominant discourses is deterministic, and lived experiences are not universal. Therefore, this study is based on interpretivism and constructivism, both of which stem from the idealist outlook (Sale et al., 2002). Idealism is the ontological position that there is no single reality, but many realities depending on the construction and interpretation of reality (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Consequently, reality is generated by its participants depending on their intersubjective understanding (Hellström, 2008), and the context in which constructivist idealism research is executed, and by whom, is fundamental as it must be completed and analysed in context.

The primary aim of using this methodological approach is to gain an informed understanding of the lived realities of the participants (Bryman, 2012) with an increased focus on gathering rich data and descriptions to enable an accurate and thorough interpretation of context. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR . The development of generalised assumptions should be avoided, as it creates opportunity for stereotypes and assumptions to be reproduced, which over time become embedded "taken-for-granted" norms.

Chapter Summary and Thesis Structure

I am a member of the horseracing workforce and an avid racing fan; therefore, I decided to break my thesis down into five sections, each of which will signify a phase of a horse race. A horse race officially starts when the horses are approaching the start line, before the flag is raised, when the "runners and riders" are considered "Under Starters Orders". In a racing scenario, when the horses are put under starter's orders, they have been working hard to prepare for the race at home, prior to the day, and, at this stage, they are included in the betting, the jockey will be paid and they are under the rules of the Stipendiary Stewards; in short, they cannot back out. In this thesis, it is where my introduction provides a contextual backdrop for the whole project, including an overview of the racing governance structure. The wider context is particularly pertinent when exploring the lived reality of young women in the racing industry due to the interconnecting fields of practice.

This PhD research is set in the context of a stable staff shortage "crisis" that has been reported. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Therefore, this research is important to enable an understanding of the behavioural practices and experiences that result in such a high attrition rate. In this chapter, I have explained my position and reflected on my own beliefs and experiences, to encourage transparency of the perspective from which I write this research.

Once the horses have been called forward and the starter flag has been raised, the commentator will always exclaim "And…They're Off!" to signify the start of the race (and the betting is closed). During this time, the horses are encouraged to settle into a steady rhythm and use the other horses to pace themselves, the jockeys think strategically and find their space. This section in the thesis includes an explanation of theoretical orientation (Chapter 2) as well as a literature review (Chapter 3) to show how this PhD research provides an original contribution to a range of relevant research fields (including employment, sport, and interspecies literature). My literature review identifies the gaps which enable this research to have a unique position and supports the use of Bourdieusian and intersectional feminist concepts to address my research questions.

"The Race" is used as a metaphor for the act of carrying out the research through a micro-longitudinal approach. In Chapter 4, I consider the methodology and methods that I employed to complete the research, and my justifications for these choices to ensure that I gathered the most effective data possible.

The penultimate part of this thesis is "The Photo Finish", Part 4. These chapters are reflexive of the time when the race has finished, but there is as yet no clear result. A further discussion and lens are required to analyse the correct result. This part is made up of four chapters that all consider how an aspirational female attempts to prepare for entering the workforce, using a different theoretical focus.

Throughout the discussion chapters, there is an interwoven thread of young women feeling "othered" within their racing habitus. This fear of being the "other" is used to explain why aspirational females present themselves in a manner that aligns with the culturally constructed norms within racing.

The final part of this PhD is titled "The Stewards Enquiry". Continuing the racing metaphors, the enquiry represents a time when, if there has been any improper conduct during the race, the jockeys are called to consider the best way to proceed before a final result is announced. In this section, I present my concluding discussion and concluding statement to highlight the significance and policy implication of this study to policy and practice.

PART 2: AND THEY'RE OFF

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Introduction

This chapter explores and justifies the theoretical choices used to explain the experiences of young people in the early phase of entering horseracing.

This research addresses gendered nature of the horseracing industry by focusing on the work of females in the horseracing industry. Gender is the foundation principle for exploring young people's experiences in this doctoral research, and this chapter will outline my viewpoint on what gender means and will review current gender theories and how they can contribute to this thesis and topic. The theoretical framework is centred on the conceptual explanations of Bourdieu and, within this chapter, I summarise this framework, and highlight how elements of Connell's theory of gender order and intersectional feminism can be integrated into a Bourdieusian explanation of experiences within a gendered horseracing habitus. I have structured this chapter to address the broader theoretical concepts of gender before moving on to how gender can be applied within a Bourdieusian framework. I continue to discuss the advantages and intricacies by combining principles from Bourdieu's toolbox and the wider literature on intersectional feminism.

The social world is complex, and supports the need for an advanced theoretical examination of the multiple and varied components which contribute to one embodied identity. Bourdieu developed the theory of field, which emphasises the hierarchal and interconnected characteristics of social fields, as well as allowing for a theoretical platform which can be used to explore the complexity of the horseracing industry and young aspirational females (Butler, 2011). This chapter, therefore, highlights how the use of both Bourdieu's and an intersectional feminist framework is fundamental, allowing us to concentrate more specifically on the powerful nature of field and habitus in providing a structure to explain how dispositions and norms become taken-for-granted knowledge, or doxic (Bourdieu, 1980; Skeggs, 2004; Butler, 2013a). This chapter focuses on the combination of Bourdieu and intersectional feminism in a theoretical negotiation to enable an accurate explanation of the experiences of young females, through practice. When considering the critiques of Bourdieu and intersectional feminism, I argue that, by amalgamating the two theoretical frameworks, this chapter presents a method to understand young people's behaviour when entering the horseracing training and employment system, which includes micro, macro, collective and personal experiences. Bourdieu,

in particular, highlighted the flexibility of his concepts and encouraged researchers to mould his ideas to their own needs to explore individual experiences (Skeggs, 2004; Butler, 2011; Hunter et al., 2015).

From an Epistemological point of view, it is important it is important to ensure that the empirical data are sufficiently informed by an appropriate theoretical orientation. The value of a study is largely based on the blend between empirical rigour and the theoretical approach adopted (Bloyce and Murphy, 2008). It is the relationship between social constructs and a theory that enables researchers to develop an explanation of how, why, and when phenomena occur (Cunningham et al., 2016), which is a fundamental mechanism when progressing within any academic discipline. Kerlinger and Lee (2000) argue that theory represents the fundamental aims of research and science, which further highlights the significance of understanding theories and sociological concepts. Therefore, the research process should involve a blend of theoretical orientation and empirical rigour. More specifically, in this study, it should include the analysis of habitus, field, symbolic violence and capital. I have also utilised intersectionality as a feminist theory to describe how gender intersects with other social relations of difference, such as class, race, and age.

An Introduction to Gender

Hargreaves (1990) stated that gender strongly influences an individual's life chances and opportunities and, therefore, 'gender is a primary cultural frame for coordinating behaviour and organising social relations' (Ridgeway, 2009, p.145). The relevance of gender to young people can be seen through their increased awareness of how gendered performances correlate to social acceptance. I will also utilise the work of intersectional feminist and feminist scholars to support the Bourdieusian framework.

Intersectional Feminism and Gender

Gender theories have been led by feminist literature, of which the key writers I turn to are Kimberle Crenshaw (1991), Patricia Hill Collins (1998), Leslie McCall (2005) and Ange-Marie Hancock (2007). I will return to these scholars in greater depth in Chapter 3. Patricia Hill Collins (2012, p454) explains:

> 'Intersectionality's ability to draw attention to and account for inter-social relations—including those on the margins—challenges binary thinking, shifting the analytic focus on the fluidity among, interrelationships between, and co-production of various categories and systems of power. As a result, epistemologically, intersectionality highlights the various

standpoints that "inter" social locations occupy; these alternative standpoints challenge truth claims advanced by historically powerful social actors.'

These feminist scholars have been influential when using intersectionality as a metaphor for the ways that different sections of power structures interact, and how these fit within the general theoretical setting of coherent structuralist ontology. The key concept within intersectional feminism, which I include within my Bourdieusian analysis of gender, share a common starting point whereas gender is not treated in isolation. Maynard (2002:33) argued that 'difference is one of the most significant, yet unresolved, issues for feminist and social thinking at the beginning of the twentieth century.' Butler (1990) explained how intelligible bodies are constructed as heterosexual, using a heterosexual matrix to explain how binary our understanding is of male and female. Butler (1990) presented her fundamental theories in Gender Trouble, proposing that gender was performative and not biologically determined (Butler, 1990:2):

> 'Performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act", but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names.'

Butler's (1990) work reinterpreted Simone de Beauvoir's (1949:301) statement that that 'one is not born a woman, but rather becomes one.' In Butler's (1993) follow up work, *Bodies That Matter*, her discussions focused on the discursive limits of sex and that gender is a daily choice made by individuals. It is for these reasons that intersectional feminist scholars reject the generalisations made by some women for all women (Moganty, 2003). Feminist intersectionality has been central to the debate to establish if it should be regarded as a common platform for a new paradigm that could replace gender research (Hancock, 2007; Carbin and Edenheim, 2013) or as a new branch for gender researchers (Lykke, 2005; Bilge, 2010). This recognises that there is more to an individual than their gender, which is consistent with the concept of habitus, field and game of culture which, Bourdieu (1984;4) states, 'there is no way out of.' Often, feminist scholars overlook Bourdieusian tools for Foulcauldian and Neo-Marxist concepts; however, I will continue later in this chapter to amalgamate Bourdieu and intersectional feminism under the umbrella of habitus, embodied capital and field.

What is Gender?

Gender surrounds us, even when we first enter this world (Eckert et al.,2013), girls are often described as only 'sugar and spice and everything nice' (Underwood et al., 2001), highlighting that gender is consistently in humour, conflict and conversation. Gender is embedded within our actions, beliefs,

and institutions and, therefore, it is accepted as completely natural. Brittan (1989:1) stated that '[g]ender does not exist outside history and culture', further supporting that gender is socially constructed, through cultural interactions, to create stereotypes and acceptable displays of gender. As a result of gendered assumptions being commonplace, we accept that they are true and even, sometimes, scientific fact (see Butler, 2011; Wayne, 2018). This information, however, further highlights that students and scholars alike must extend their gaze beyond the beliefs of gender that have been subconsciously accepted. It is precisely because gender seems "natural" and stereotypical assumptions are considered true, that it is imperative gender is observed from multiple perspectives.

It should be noted that gender is complex, especially because it is so central to our own personal being and, therefore, reflexivity is critical in exploring the process of construction- to observe gender as dynamic or fluid (Arnot, 2002). Gender is not an accepted truth; it is not just individual, but social (Eckert et al., 2013). As Arnot (2002) discussed, sex is a biological categorisation determined by the potential to reproduce whereas, Gender is not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do (West and Zimmerman, 1987) – something we perform (Butler, 1990). Unsurprisingly, therefore, wider cultural heterosexual norms are regularly communicated as gender, and reinforce an ideology of difference (Arnot, 2002) that are non-compatible identities. When the notion of femininity and masculinity remain unquestioned, they remain considered binary and discrete, of each other (Butler, 1988) and only serve to reinforce stereotypical notions of gender. Some people consider gender as socially constructed and accept it is fluid, but as a by-product of nurture (whereas sex is attributed by nature) (Eagly and Wood, 2013). There is however, no visible point where sex "stops" and gender begins because gender can be different in different contexts (Arnot, 2002) and respond to personal ambitions (Metcalfe, 2019). To this point, I have highlighted how complex gender is and the wide held beliefs in relation to gender. In this study, it is important to understand the way gender is presented is governed by field, habitus and capital. As described above, gender is not widely understood and, therefore, presented as oppositional and linked to heterosexuality. What is considered appropriate representation of behaviours is challengeable, and people regularly do so. This behaviour reinforces the collective, taken-for-granted power than gender bears on young people and keeps gender at the centre of our social world. Thus, opportunities are regularly taken to map the biological world onto gender arrangements to explain current behaviours, or those of the past (Eckert et al., 2013). Consistent gender monitoring can be used to explain the theory of stigmatisation (Link and Phelan, 2001) and it can, therefore, be intimated that young men

and women are subject to societal pressure to present an explicit heterosexual gendered identity (Metcalfe, 2018).

Horseracing provides a particularly challenging back drop for exploring gender due to the contrast of gendered expectations; for instance, a male jockey needs to be light in stature, albeit strong. This permeation of gender is often stigmatised in the wider culture (Halberstam, 1998), and this othering would represent a powerful factor in bolstering socially acceptable behaviour which reinforces heteronormative standards. Thus, when young females are gaining access into a male-dominated sporting arena, they have to navigate their own gendered identity against a complex and contradictory norm. The labels of masculine and feminine can be toxic and have been constructed as "real characteristics" (Metcalfe and Lindsey, 2020) and create an opportunity for stigmatisation and alienation should a member of either homogenous group act in a different way. Therefore, it can be concluded that any oversimplification should be avoided (Link and Phelan, 2001).

This section has allowed me to provide and outline of my own understanding of gender and consider how, by ensuring that young people's experiences are valued, this research is well-placed to identify their lived experiences and their negotiations with gender in a male-dominated field. I will now continue to discuss the importance of the body and the hegemonic gender order.

Embodied Gender

Bourdieu observed that subjects who were engaged in practical action did so through embodied practice and, in the most part, it was not consciously known (Adkins, 2004), which, in turn, afforded the body with power. The way that the body is visually received, or the appearance of the body, is often indicative of gender (Halbersram, 1998) and Bourdieu's social theory provides multiple interconnections with feminist theory due to the focus given to cultural acceptance and recognition of social position (Hayles, 1999). Significantly, for Bourdieu, a body is not only a body in action due to his belief that embodied action is a result of (usually forgotten) accumulated history (Adkins, 2002). Therefore, embodied gender is both practical and generative, but also a product of past experiences and belief. It is with this information that Bourdieu aims to explain the motivation of people who are "game-playing" to increase their capital accumulation using their body. The body, therefore, is seen as the "home" of the person (Bordo, 2003:73), consolidating the fundamental relationship between gender and the body. West and Zimmerman (1987) proposed that gender should be considered an action, or a verb, to acknowledge that the gendered self involves a performance. Butler's (1990) research is fundamental when considering the different ways that gender is shown, and it is

particularly useful for understanding how young people show their gendered identities for external judgement and acceptance.

I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3 how research by Deborah Butler and colleagues has explored how women negotiate masculinity in the racing field and how they adopt a doxic attitude. In other words, women must (and want to) be "one of the lads" in order to be accepted, which involves unconscious and bodily submission to a set of deep-founded universal principles and conditions which form the fundamental core values and discourses articulated by the racing field and are seen as necessary and true, but are quite contingent and arbitrary.

An important assumption that also underpins this PhD is the way in which capital (cultural, social, economic and physical) can influence how young women present their gendered racing identities. The need to avoid being penalised for presenting an incorrect gender further highlights the importance for young people to stabilise the gender norms. As a result of the increased pressure felt, to present this "correct" gendered self, young women often attempt to present multiple versions of themselves, depending on the situation (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Williams (2002: 30) suggested that, during adolescence, young females '"try on" their gender in a process of anticipating, experimenting, retreating and resisting', which supports the suggestion of that gender should be treated as a verb.

This notion is of particular interest to this PhD because it highlights that it is possible for individuals to have a choice in choosing one's gendered appearance; however, in horseracing, the available choices are restricted by socially constructed expectations of a gendered sporting field. Historically, the equestrian field is masculine; horses have played a key role in the military, agriculture and as visible bodies of class, status and position (Dashper, 2012). However, horseracing, like other equestrian sports, is unusual in that women and men work and ride against each other on equal terms, for the same prize money. Despite this formal equality and common rules, a gendered order exists where women occupy subordinate positions within the different occupational sub-cultures, where attitudes, dispositions and tastes are rooted in a male perspective (Plymoth, 2012).

There have been multiple suggestions of why women face discrimination in horseracing; most commonly it is accredited to factors such as women's alleged lack of physical strength and their body shape; reasons that were given for limiting the career trajectories of women jockeys (Butler, 2013b). This PhD aims to consider the negotiation of gender by young females while in the horseracing industry.

My two principal fields of analysis that I will focus on in the literature review are:

1) the contradictory requirements of the body in horseracing (Butler, 2012;2013),

2) how a specific habitus is formed by a female in a male-dominated occupation.

The next section provides further detail about Hegemony and Connell's gender order in the wider context and application of the horseracing industry.

Hegemony and Connell's Gender Order

The concept of gender order was developed two decades ago and has consequentially influenced recent thinking about gender and social hierarchy (Connell, 1983; Connell and Messerschmidt. 2005). Connell's gender order has informed feminist accounts of patriarchy and sociological explorations of gender (Phoenix and Frosh, 2001) in a range of research fields, such as work place (Fagan, 2001), sport (Krane, 2001; Mennesson, 2012) and management structures (Abrahamsson, 2002). This research indicates the importance of a gendered hierarchy for young, aspirational females within this PhD.

Connell (1987) critiqued the sex-role theories, which were based on biological determinism (Demtriou,2001) and concluded that they were fundamentally static and undermined the role of power in gender relations. Whereas Connell's gender explained that '[t]here is an ordering of versions of femininity and masculinity' (Connell, 1987:183). In short, Connell's (1987) gender order is made up of four key gendered identities (Phoenix and Frosh, 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), which are:

• complicit masculinities

• hegemonic masculinity

• subordinate masculinities

• femininities

Within these four identities, the non-dominant masculinities can either be subordinated or marginalised, conferring an inferior status on femininity and non-hegemonic masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). For this study, it is important that hegemonic masculinity is understood as 'a pattern of practice [and] most honoured way of being a man', (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 823) that reinforces male dominance and allows the associated behaviours to prevail. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) continue to explain that hegemony does not always imply violence, but can mean dominance achieved through culture and institutions. In a similar way to Bourdieu's concept of embodied action, Connell's (1983) gender order was open to change due to the historical nature of

absorption, which further emphasises the use of Connell's gender to explain how, in different situations, versions of gender may be embodied.

The importance of this concept in relation to my PhD is directed by the relationship between social norms and the dominant expectations of masculinity coupled with the doxic attitudes, which highlights the notions of hegemonic masculinity within the horseracing field.

Historically, the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity included muscularity, strength, aggression and sporting prowess (Bird, 1996; Coles, 2009). Although hegemonic masculinity is widely regarded as the top of the gender order, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) suggest that very few men embody these characteristics, although it is considered normative. In contrast, Butler (2012) contradicts this by highlighting that women in the racing field will often replicate this physical attitude, that of being tough, hardworking, able to give as good as they get, stoical and impervious to pain, ultimately displaying expectations of hegemonic masculinity that would be considered the norm. The research of Schippers (2007) is of particular interest because she reworked gender hegemony to place the feminine other at the centre of the concept. Throughout this PhD, I refer to the" other" as linked to Shippers' (2007: 90) definition:

> 'use of the term "other" refers to the ways in which the feminine and femininity have been defined or displaced in work on masculinity.'

Through practice and responding to the masculine racing field, women are doing the same work as men in order to be accepted, which highlights the fear of the feminine within hegemonic masculinity and, by association, the homosexual. The subordination of homosexual characteristics is emphasised by Bourdieu (2001: 84), for whom the 'worst humiliation for a man is to be turned into a woman.' The supreme power of hegemonic masculinity and associated compulsory heterosexuality, which correlates with representations of the ideal body, all contribute to the socially constructed interpretation of how young people understand their gendered identities.

The complexities of gendered embodiment within horseracing is further deepened by sexual harassment, which emphasises the young women's differences from the men they work with and, therefore, they embody elements of both masculinity and femininity; rather than embodying a completely "masculine" habitus, their habitus can be seen as contradictorily gendered, which adds a further intersectional dynamic to this PhD research. By addressing the critique of hegemonic masculinity, the revised concept by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) attempted to overcome the simplicity of the initial model. One of the most relevant changes to the concept was the static nature

of hegemonic masculinity and their aim of reducing the simplified statements about gender, which typically associated hegemonic masculinity with males. Through the creation of dualisms and binary concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, the ideology of difference between women and men is maintained, ignoring how men can demonstrate femininity and females masculinity, which is particularly topical with male dancers. However, despite the potential to shrink the gender order to binary thinking (Jewkes et al., 2015), hegemonic masculinity is of interest to my theoretical framework through its heightening of the power of desired characteristics of gender that most men and women within horseracing attempt to emulate to try and fit in. I will continue to explain how Connell's gender order can be used alongside Bourdieu's work in specific reference to physical, embodied capital and intersectional feminism.

For this study, it is important to consider how femininity is situated within the gender order as relational and inferior to masculinity (Connell, 1987; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The notion of emphasised femininity relies on an identity and set of behaviours that are designed to accommodate men (Connell, 1987; Metcalfe, 2018); therefore, assuming that the underpinning strategy for "girly-girls" (Butler, 2013; Holland and Harpin, 2015) is to attract male attention and protect heterosexuality within the gender order. In turn, this reinforces a sexual double standard where the sexual achievements of men are rewarded, and even celebrated (McCall, 1992).

In response to the expectation of heightened femininity, young women will emphasise their femininity through hair, makeup, jewellery (Musto and McGann, 2016), reaffirming that women are defined in relation to their bodies. In some sporting literature, sporting excellence and associated physicality has been viewed as non-compatible, which has led to some females in sport having their sexuality questioned (Bordo, 2003; Caudwell, 2003). This area of research is of particular interest due to the unique demands of working in horseracing, where being small-framed and light is a particular advantage, but not readily associated with masculinity.

It is widely accepted that the post-feminist presentation of femininity generally required that girls were hyper-feminine and heterosexually desirable, whilst maintaining a sense of respectability and independence (Holland and Harpin, 2015). Potentially, it is this very issue which females within the racing industry find themselves facing. This type of femininity has been described by Griffin (2005) as 'as the impossible space that girls cannot occupy successfully' and highlights that consumption of femininity is the key to the development of contemporary femininity.

It is for these reasons that I feel Connell's gender order is an appropriate choice to conceptualise gender within this PhD, as well as explain how the binary continuum notion, on which the gender order is reproduced, is problematic due to the historical inequalities between gendered lived experiences, especially within horseracing.

Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu's work has influenced many empirical and theoretical inquiries into the cultural and social representations of bodily practices in a range of areas of social research, including education (Harker, 1984; Reay, 2004; Ingram, 2011), sport (Tomlinson, 2004; Brown, 2006; Pringle, 2015) and gender (McNay, 1999; Adkins, 2003; Chambers, 2005; Butler, 2013ab). Most notably (for this research), Bourdieu continually discussed how he viewed his concepts as fluid and adaptable to different situations or in combination with other theorists (Skeggs, 2004). Bourdieu primarily considered the role of social class as a key tool of differentiation, exploring how class differences influenced and structured how one exists and, thus, views the world (Brubaker, 1985). A fundamental element of this concept is connections, to ensure that sporting practices and their implications are recognised as part of a wider cultural and social entity (Thorpe et al., 2017) and that sport should not be analysed in isolation. A more integrated and analytical approach towards information should be used, such as overlapping historical, anthropological and sociological analysis of practices to allow for development and a deeper understanding of social inequalities within societies and sporting fields. Consequently, the developing body of literature that utilises Bourdieu to explore gender and sport demonstrates the increased value of the concepts of habitus, field and capital in exploring the lived experiences of young females in this PhD. Bourdieu himself did not write in explicit detail about gender, and what was written was from an androcentric position in his work *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001).

Within this section, I will outline Bourdieu's main theoretical concepts and then continue to demonstrate how these can be applied to gender and horseracing. It is not possible to provide a full summary of all of Bourdieu's literature; however, I will identify and discuss the elements most relevant to my PhD research area. The ideas of Bourdieu in particular have been successfully applied to women in sport by Thorpe et al., (2017) and have been successfully applied to experiences of females within horseracing and other sporting fields by, amongst others, Butler (2011;2012; 2013b), Butler and Charles (2012), and Velija and Flynn (2010). However, Bourdieu and intersectional feminism have not been used to shed light on the real lived experiences of aspirational females INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Promoting this two-

way traffic between theory and data can help us move beyond descriptive accounts of the issue and better explain the experiences of horseracing processes more generally (Bryman, 2012).

Bourdieu's Conceptual Tool Kit

'I can say that all of my thinking started from this point: how can behaviour be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?' (Bourdieu, 1990a: 65)

This quotation above emphasises that understanding behaviours in any given context requires an understanding of the wider culture that it is operating in, which will prevent reducing any analysis of power into a discreet, unconnected arrangement. Bourdieu's scholarly trajectory represents logical consistency (Navarro, 2006) to conceptualise a suite of autonomous, yet structurally homologous fields of production and consumption (Butler, 2012; 2013). Bourdieu created a theory of practice that amalgamated material and social elements to highlight social life. In Bourdieu's book Distinction, he proposed innovative concepts that could be utilised in explaining and interpreting the different elements of theoretical models. Bourdieu offered the widely quoted formula that emphasises the main concepts and how they are related:

$$[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice$$

This relationship with practice has been summarised by Dumais (2002:46), as: 'one's practices or actions are the result of one's habitus and capital within a given field.'

Crossley (2001: 96) proposed that:

'practice is the result of various habitual schemas and dispositions (habitus) combined with resources (capital), being activated by certain social conditions (field) which they, in turn, belong to and variously reproduce and modify.'

Ultimately, Bourdieu's theory of practice provides a method for attempting to understand the embodiment of social structures. The process by which practices are incorporated within the body is then regenerated by the embodied work, and the competence of the body is reinforced by the accounts of habitus and illusio (Butler, 2011). On this point, Bourdieu (1968: 689) emphasised how 'social relations…appear to individuals as natural.' Doxic knowledge, in relation to gender norms, aligns closely with Connell's gender order, which demonstrates the embedded reproduction of gender, which is particularly important when exploring how people negotiate their gendered selves in different situations. A social field is made up of many different parts - it is a social setting (social space)

with relative autonomy, specific entry routes, a recorded history and explicit capital, for which groups compete (Bourdieu, 1990; Kitchin and Howe, 2013).

Placing this concept of practice within the wider concept of social field allows us an opportunity to look further than 'ground level of immediate visibility of the body and to locate the agent within the broader games in which they are involved' (Crossley, 2001: 106). This version of practice theory has been used to provide an explanation of everyday life and situations (Kitchin and Howe, 2013) which, subsequently, allows for a critical and stratified analysis. Bourdieu's analysis of practices in sport has established the value of a multi-dimensional approach. Sport is not researched in isolation from additional practices that confirm status and division of social groups (Mennesson, 2000) suggesting that it, as with other body-orientated activities, is class-based.

Historically, class was an obvious source of identity and a catalyst for both historical and social changes. It has been suggested by Ohl (2000) and Thorpe et al., (2009) that class is not necessarily an element that contributes to the development of society or, directly, to the formation of sports groupings. It could be argued, however, that due to the nature of equestrian sports, there is a level of economical capital required to be in a decision-making position which, when considered collectively, can be classified as a "group". In the interest of brevity, I will be unable to discuss all the elements Bourdieu's toolbox; instead, I will provide a brief explanation of each concept and demonstrate how aspects of Bourdieu's theory of the social world can be applied to my research.

The habitus operates at both a conscious and unconscious level, whereby the 'habitus has the function of overcoming the alternative between consciousness and the unconscious' (Wacquant, 1989: 42). The habitus reflects 'systems of durable, transposable disposition…principles which generate and organise practices' (Bourdieu, 1990:53). These are developed through socialisation processes so that a specific habitus is "acquired" and learnt (Bourdieu, 1990:90). Therefore, habitus is both the medium and outcome of social practice (Wainwright and Turner, 2006; Wainwright et al., 2006), a set of socially internalised dispositions that inform a person's perceptions, feelings and actions (Tomlinson, 2004), and it expresses the way that individuals become themselves and engage in practices (Webb et al., 2002). The Bourdieusian concept of habitus can be used to understand the minor details associated with decision-making and how this can have consequence through repeatedly engaging with forms of structure and influence.

It is important to note that habitus is reproduced and evolves over time through the interplay of the unconscious during various encounters within social structures, further emphasising the ambiguous

nature of this concept. A key idea that has been commonplace amongst multiple authors and sporting literature is that habitus is embedded within individuals and that flair, feel and understanding are often mistaken as natural abilities instead of capacities which have been culturally developed (Ceron-Anaya, 2010; Butler, 2014). In the horseracing industry, the body is a sensing instrument, and it has often been said that the best jockeys (or work-riders) become part of the horses they ride (Butler, 2011), which implies an embodied understanding that makes effective riders 'look like they are not doing anything' (Hearne, 2007: 121). Bourdieu (1994) further highlights the perception of mastering a skill or action when he argues that knowledge and belief are gained through practice.

Using the concept of habitus, Bourdieu (1977 :261) would highlight that practice is:

> '… the product of a dialectical relationship between a situation and a habitus, understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions which, integrating all past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions, and make it possible to accomplish infinitely differentiated tasks, thanks to the analogical transfer of schemata acquired in prior practice.'

Bourdieu used the analogy of "getting a feel for the game" when defining practical mastery. Le sens pratique is a form of knowledge that is learnt by the body, but cannot be articulated explicitly (McNay, 1999). This contemplation of dispositions, working at both a conscious and unconscious level, displays the strength of the habitus in influencing behaviour, where social norms and beliefs hold greater power due to being followed without conscious thought (Bourdieu, 1984; 1990; Tomlinson, 2004; Weininger, 2005).

A central pillar of this PhD is that, through the development of habitus, individual agency in how one shows their gendered identity is governed by social norms and gendered expectations which determine how racing habitus is displayed. The familiar and unchallenged understanding of gendered expectations can become doxic, acting as a widely accepted belief system misrecognised as a universal point of view (Bourdieu, 1998).

Field is also Bourdieu's most commonly used concept, due to the complex nature of the relationships involved in any sporting forum whilst acknowledging that there is an objective, structured system that governs the operating logic of professional sport (Sherwood et al., 2017). It is important to note that each field is characterised as the 'site of a more or less overt struggle over the definition of the legitimate principles of division in the field' (Bourdieu, 1985: 34). INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. It is important to

acknowledge that fields are numerous, relational to each other and each features symbolic challenges within them, which subsequently influence an agent's perception, which would be fundamental for a female to gain a competitive opportunity.

Lois Waquant understands Bourdieu's definition of field as;

'[…] a network or configuration, of objective relations between positions, objectively defined, in their existence and the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions.'(Waquant, 1989; 39)

This has further been described by Thorpe et al., (2004) as a network of current and historical relationships between objective positions that are anchored in capital. It is important to note that fields are places of conflict and completion where agents compete to gain the monopoly over another, as seen in Premier League football ticket prices (Cleland and Cashmore, 2016), media coverage in windsurfing (Potts and Thomas, 2015) and geographical location in baseball training (Ross, 2008).

Each field is characterised by its own rules, which demonstrates the variability between fields and means that '[t]he same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields' (Bourdieu, 1984:87).

When considering the topic of gender, the concept of field emphasises that gender can be displayed differently in different situations; for example, masculinity and femininity may be celebrated within sport, but penalised in a social or work environment. Bourdieu's construction of social space contrasts with Marxist theory as social spaces are viewed as multidimensional and, subsequently, field theory is used to analyse social spaces rather than economic struggles (Ohl, 2000), demonstrating that sport should be analysed as a culture to explain the distribution of social groups.

It is has become clear that fields transform, in an understated manner, and social struggles between agents change into symbolic and meaningful relations. Bourdieu perceives the field as a "field of forces", partially self-controlled, in which positions are vulnerable and determined by the allocation of capital (Kitchin and Howe, 2013). The attributes of the field can allow particular dispositions to be embedded as a result of dominant social values and practices, which can be used as cultural markers, which, in turn, can reaffirm distances between social groups. Linked to the concept of the field is Bourdieu's illusio, which 'is the fact of being caught up in and by the game' (Bourdieu,1998 :76). The

games being played within a field are significant to an individual because they are intrinsically linked to legitimacy and capital.

At the centre of Bourdieu's construction of social field is the concept of capital (Bourdieu, 1985). Capital refers to the multiple forms of power retained by social agents which are proportionate to their positions held within the field. Like Marx, Bourdieu suggested that one's capital creates the scaffolding and hierarchy of one's social circles. However, Bourdieu extended this idea of capital to acknowledge symbolic domains of culture. Bourdieu (1986) identifies various forms of capital (power), including economic (e.g. money and assets), social (e.g. connections), cultural (e.g. taste), symbolic (e.g. status and titles), academic (e.g. qualifications) and corporeal (e.g. physical attractiveness). In horseracing, females accumulate symbolic capital by demonstrating, on multiple occasions, their commitment and ability. The value of capital varies between fields and, although capital has value in all fields, it varies in quantity and importance (Huppatz, 2012a). The concept of capital largely focused on capital being distributed dependent on class and age (Bourdieu, 1985), which further emphasises the importance of researching adolescents, as a separate group from adults. It is also implied within the literature that women are not naturally capital-accumulating, but, rather, capital bearing, due to the social groups they belong to, such as family (Lovell, 2000; Skeggs, 2004). In contrast, feminist research preserves the thought that women can and do maintain strategies to accumulate capital (Adkins, 2000; Lawler, 2004). Symbolic capital is maintained when economic, social and cultural capital are perceived as legitimate (Mottier, 2002). In some sporting domains, this lack of understanding can lead to the acceptance of social inequality due to the popular belief that some people are naturally disposed to certain capabilities, such as men being better jockeys. This concept is clearly outlined by Butler and Charles (2012), who describe the racing habitus as gendered, classed and raced and is something which is often gained through the involvement of discipline, specific practices and social values which, subsequently, become ingrained in the field, which can also be classified as symbolic violence. The nature of symbolic violence is subtle and such violence is often embedded into everyday practices and attitudes, which results in structured inequalities and remains a mode of domination that goes unnoticed (Morgan and Thaper-Bjorkert, 2006; Menendez-Menendez, 2014). Due to the symbolic nature of this concept, it is not visible and is assumed to not be threatening or aggressive towards an individual or field. In reality, it has more opportunity to have an impact than open or direct exploitation. Symbolic violence is a systematic category that allows the detection of practices that contribute to violence against women and is concealed in tolerance towards specified types of aggression and the acceptance of stereotypes (Menendez-Menendez, 2014).

The nature of the framework is influential in exclusion and selection and it enables the formation of social classes, of a random or prearranged nature, from which mutual understandings are established, and encourages social integration (Bourdieu, 2001). Morgan and Thaper-Bjorkert (2006) recognised that a wider understanding and conceptualisation of symbolic violence is needed as "emotional bruising" can be mistaken for something else, such as tiredness or illness which, in a sporting context, can be seen as a weakness or "emphasised femininity". A central idea within symbolic violence is that the dominant group accepts its own power, but does not use physical violence or intimidation (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

As a consequence of the lack of women being regularly subject to symbolic violence, this PhD supports the legitimisation of gender norms through all forms of capital to control the position of the legitimate cultural system as dominant in horseracing.

Bourdieu and Gender

Within Bourdieu's writing, gender was only mentioned a few times because of him considering gender as a secondary organising principle (Butler, 2013). One of the most quoted references to gender was under the umbrella of sexuality: '[s]exual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of a lemon from its acidity…This is why there are as many ways of realising femininity as there are classes and class fractions' (Bourdieu, 1984: 102). This quote does cement the potential for use of Bourdieu to explore the lived experiences of women in horseracing because it recognises that there are multiple expressions of femininity. In addition, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) identified that, throughout history, there have been oppressed and subordinated women; this represents the paradigmatic form of symbolic violence. The feminist scholars who have looked to Bourdieu's perspective (see McNay, 1999; McCall, 1992; McLeod, 2005; Krais, 2006) have prioritised the value of the body in their analysis of power and social reproduction. Therefore, the symbolic gender order and unconscious nature of the embodied habitus, the racing habitus and capital reflect the historical power relations in their production and legitimation (Mottier, 2002).

Bourdieu (1968: 689) stated that 'social relations and institutions…appear to individuals as natural', which implies that gender was considered a social relationship. It has also been said that gender functions as a secondary organising principal because social class operates as a hidden form of cultural capital resulting in the misrecognition of gender (Skeggs, 2004).

The embodied capital of a woman is perceived as biologically attributed rather than socially constructed (Bourdieu, 1990, 2001) which, in turn, reinforces the veiling of the social process and structures of production and reproduction (McCall, 1992). The pre-reflexive and unconscious characteristics that make a habitus aid the explanation of the development of gender as a natural, taken-for-granted phenomenon through a difference of femininity and masculinity-femininity (Arnot, 2002; Schippers, 2007). It has been emphasised by Bourdieu that it is through the process of legitimation and misrecognition that the dominated unwittingly contribute to their own domination and subjugation. Gendered stereotypes legitimise the heteronormative expectations of femininity and masculinity by being seen as accepted, expected or normal.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The naturalness of a gendered habitus is emphasised by McNay (1999:103), who stated that 'men and women have deep-seated, often unconscious, investments in conventional images of masculinity and femininity which cannot easily be reshaped', which promotes the role habitus plays in reproducing the expectations of masculinity and femininity (Huppatz, 2012). These ingrained representations of masculinity and femininity correspond with Connell's concept of gender order, namely hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, which promotes the value of combining Connell's gender order within a Bourdieusian and intersectional feminist framework. The accepted nature of legitimate gender creates a link to the concept of the embodied habitus. Bourdieu (1990) emphasises that the body is essential to the habitus because both are expressed through the body (Gao, 2015).

According to Bourdieu (2001), women occupy the position of dominated in social spaces as bearers of the feminine habitus. which signifies oppression even when they have the same high levels of social, cultural and economic capita as their male counterparts. This has been evidenced in Butler's (2013) study on women's participation in horseracing.

The embodied habitus is fundamental for exploring the relationship between body and mind, in relation to which Lawler (2004) suggested that habitus can cut across the conventional mind and body split by incorporating physical embodied aspects (movement, posture, dress, appearance) with cognitive processes (dispositions, attitudes, tastes) (Metcalfe,2018). If a habitus is embodied within different fields, then a consideration of the way the individual makes choices can alter depending on other social factors (including class or race) in any given situation. Therefore, one's social position can be translated into a set of choices, through which the habitus decides which actions are acceptable or vulgar (Bourdieu, 1998).

Linking Bourdieu's gendered habitus to this PhD research and Connell's (1987) gender order concept, there is a hierarchy of gendered characteristics which are given legitimacy through the allocation of capital in each field. As briefly outlined above, each field has a struggle for legitimacy and capital, which results in each field requiring a certain form of masculinity or femininity which will be desirable or advantageous (Lawler, 2004). In relation to capital and the importance to this study, the relationship with the body appears fundamental, on which researchers in the area of women in racing, such as Deborah Butler (2011), have largely based their research. First, Bridges (200: 84) considers "gender capital" as an amalgamation of cultural capital and hegemonic masculinity, as 'the value afforded contextually relevant presentations of gendered selves.'

In addition to the development of gender capital, Shilling (1991) coined the term "physical capital" where the body signifies a specific form of capital through an interconnection between social position, habitus and taste. In horseracing, the body has an increased value because females can exploit their lighter, smaller frames to achieve increased success through accumulating various forms of capital. Due to physical capital, as a 'concept' is viable not only because it illuminates the increasing centrality of the body to consumer culture, but because of the body's importance to the production and accumulation of any form of capital' (Shilling, 2004:479), this study must recognise and explore the role of the body in the lived experiences of aspirational women.

Physical capital is of heightened importance to the primary focus of a rider due to the explicit need to be strong and light to be successful. Not only do work riders/jockey risk catastrophic injury (Waller et al., 2000), many people use unhealthy practices to obtain the low body weight required to race. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Chronic weight loss, and related behaviours, may compromise people's physical and mental health (Wilson et al., 2014; O'Conner et al., 2017; 2020). The riding posture requires flexibility (Pfau et al., 2009), which favours women, while the sport's quick pace and crowded fields reward quick reaction time, which favours men (Der and Deary, 2006; Lipps et al., 2011). Then, men, who tend to be taller and heavier, resort to unhealthy practices to maintain weights that would be more attainable for women (von Hippel et al., 2017). Males have lower body fat and greater lean body mass than females at the same weight, which indicates greater strength, but females have higher bone density, greater metabolic energy (Wilson et al., 2015) and a lower risk of being underweight. I will now consider the limitations of Bourdieu's work in specific reference to sport.

Overcoming the Limitations of Bourdieu's Work in Sport and Gender

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR .Although I have described (above) the adaptability of Bourdieu's concepts, it would be incorrect to omit the criticisms of his concepts and theories due to them being considered 'too materialist, structuralist or determinist' (Yang, 2014:1523). Specifically, Bourdieu's concept of habitus has faced most criticism: '[s]tructures produce the habitus, which generates practice, which reproduces the structures, and so on' (Jenkins, 1982: 273). In an Outline of a Theory of Practice (Bourdieu, 1977: 72, original emphasis), habitus is defined as:

> '... systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles of generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.'

In the description provided above, it could be seen why they have been interpreted and critiqued as too deterministic; however, on further inspection of some of Bourdieu's later work (see Pascalian Meditations, 2000), the dispositions described are inclusive of the entire set of relations between the agent and field(s) of existence.

In addition, the habitus is made up of multiple available dispositions, which implies some choice exists . Thus, it cannot be wholly deterministic in a scenario where an individual has a choice. In support of the use of Bourdieu in this study, the determinist viewpoint suggests that there is no choice for the participants between the available dispositions – if an individual has a choice, this cannot be wholly deterministic (Yang, 2014). Although Thorpe (2009) discussed the misalignment of field and habitus in snowboarding, as it creates increased reflexive awareness, Bourdieu would maintain that habitus operates at an unconscious level unless one is moving into an unfamiliar field.

Bourdieu's lack of dialogue concerning the role of gender is a limitation commonly discussed across the sporting literature (Thorpe, 2009; Reeves, 2012). This omission has anecdotally created a conceptual weakness in understanding the operations of distinction in a social space and, in turn, is in danger of placing sex/gender, race and sexuality second to social class (Lovell, 2000). Specifically, in relation to gender, Bourdieu's work has been heavily critiqued for presenting an androcentric representation of society (Huppatz, 2012b). For example, the stand-alone piece titled Masculine

Domination (Bourdieu, 2001) viewed gender and sexuality through the lens of the Kabyle woman and Virginia Woolf's *To The Lighthouse*, thus omitting the experiences of modern women in Westernised societies (Krais, 2006). I support this criticism of Bourdieu's work and have embraced the need to utilise elements of intersectional feminism when completing this PhD. However, I also value Boudieu's research due to the androcentric reality that men have/had held power and authority and, therefore, accounts have been reported from a male perspective. Whilst I accept that this androcentric account does not recognise the achievements of females, it is also an accurate representation of how males have benefitted from androcentric dominance. The title alone, Masculine Domination, implies that those who possess masculine traits are in a position of dominance which, historically, was a male preserve, regardless of their presentation of gender (Metcalfe, 2018) . Therefore, it is important to ensure that I remain aware of the use of "masculine" as this reaffirms a blend of sex and gender which, as previously discussed, can be damaging; although, I would argue, is reflective of the current situation within the horseracing industry.

Although there are many strong arguments in relation to Bourdieu's androcentric, the aim of my research is to use Bourdieu's concepts to highlight how a gendered habitus has changed and developed over time because of the methods of reproduction within the racing habitus.

Intersectional Feminism

Recently, feminist sport studies have become a popular transdisciplinary area that has enabled complex theoretical reflections on pleasure, power, bodies and gender, whilst encouraging empirical research on experiences in the sporting field (Adelman and Nijnik, 2013). The theoretical concept of intersectional feminism can be readily applied to elements of contemporary sporting and working culture and, in this case, horse racing for reasons including females have already successfully broken barriers through their participation in sport; the experiences and treatment of women in this sphere can be compared to that of males because horseracing has a long history that is entrenched in a particular white, upper-class setting that still pervades the sport, and that there are people who are entering horseracing who are marked as different against the aforementioned backdrop, and who may face cultural barriers or repercussions. Therefore, horseracing offers a potential opportunity to explore processes of exclusion and subordination through an intersectional lens.

The concept of intersectionality identifies that women experience oppression in multiple ways and with varying degrees of intensity. Some patterns of oppression are not only interrelated but also interwoven and influenced by intersectional societal systems, such as race, class, ethnicity and ability

(Harris and Leonardo, 2018). In simple terms, this concept acknowledges that there is no one-size-fits-all type of feminism and certain women have a set of multi-layered component parts and that different types of prejudice can be intensified when put together. As Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge stated: 'intersectionality's core insight [is] useful: namely, that 'major axes of social divisions in a given society at a given time, for example, race, class, gender, sexuality, dis/ability, and age, operate not as discrete and mutually exclusive entities, but build on each other and work together' (Collins and Bilge, 2016: 4). The common interest of how to conceptualise the relationship between different social groups and recent gender theories has addressed these issues under the subsection of "intersectionality"; however, there was a long tradition of analysis before this term was introduced (see Hartmann, 1976; Hancock, 2007; Kirabo, 2017).

Intersectionality and Gender

The intersectionality of gender, where gender cannot be extricated from concepts of class or race (Crenshaw, 1989; Hargreaves, 1990), is often disregarded in how hegemonic masculinity is defined.

Patricia Hill Collins (2012: 454) explains this as:

> 'Intersectionality's ability to draw attention to and account for inter-social relations— including those on the margins—challenges binary thinking, shifting the analytic focus on the fluidity among, interrelationships between, and co-production of various categories and systems of power. As a result, epistemologically, intersectionality highlights the various standpoints that "inter" social locations occupy; these alternative standpoints challenge truth claims advanced by historically powerful social actors.'

Collins and Bilge (2016) explored the use of intersectionality as a modern-day concept and highlighted that it has been used in a multitude of contexts including the academic, political and the everyday conversations. They reported that intersectionality was able to disrupt group-based constructs such as "women" or "sexual orientation" in three ways. Firstly, intersectionality can be used to highlight social identities that are regularly treated as "other" or invisible, often because they are a subdivision of a wider, more significant group. Secondly, intersectionality is particularly of relevance to this study because it recognised the complexities of power relations and theories of oppression as described above by Collins (2012). The recognition that people can be oppressed, or marginalised due to more than one characteristic recognises that no form of subordination is more important than others (Harris and Leonardo, 2018). Thirdly, the use of intersectionality emphasises the gap between social

categories and lived experiences therefore, no single explanation can provide for, female, bisexual, poor, slim and therefore, not analysis or label can ever be definitive or complete. Consequently, intersectionality has become powerful within academia, as scholars have been able to acquire new perspectives on long-standing issues that require attention, which in the horse racing field is currently invisible. Therefore, Intersectionality, has been productive for researchers in multiple ways including the need to identify forms of subordination that are hidden by hegemonic formulations and increase understanding of the complex workings of cultures (Harris and Leonardo, 2018). In addition, the increased awareness of intersectionality has encouraged researchers to acknowledge the structural workings of oppression (Matambanadzo, et al., 2016: 445) declared their commitment for 'critical engagements of sex, gender, and sexuality, together with race, gender, and class, as interlocking categories and systems in programmatic terms.'

In short, Intersectionality provides a less cynical way to explain the development of new perspectives and fields of study within academia.

This perspective assumes that the various identities can be conceptualised and operationalised, in study terms as separate dimensions that, in this case, function multiplicatively: for instance, with one minority identity exacerbating the effect of another (Parent et al., 2013). It is important to explain that identity is understood as an individual's claims of membership of, and meanings associated with, particular social categories (Shields, 2008). Jones (2009) and Bowleg (2012) distinguish between "visible" social categories or social identities (such as race and ethnicity) and "invisible" ones (such as sexual orientation, social class, religion and disability).

The intricacy of the intersection of masculinity and social class is evident: for example, in one's approach to academic work (Connell, 1989; Phoenix and Frosh, 2001; Francis, 2009) or in the type of sporting prowess valued (Bourdieu, 1978; Laberge and Albert, 1999; Metcalfe, 2018), which is further heightened in horseracing (Butler, 2011).

Intersectionality and the Ideal Worker

The concept of the ideal worker is made up of a 'clear, relentless commitment to paid work' (McClintock-Comeaux, 2013: 22), where working long hours is expected and distractions outside the paid work environment which may interfere with the role, including family and personal facets of life, are not allowed. One element that contributes to gender differences in occupation attainment within the UK has traditionally been linked to a woman's tendency to have a fragmented career or periods

of part-time work due to domestic responsibilities. This thought process is built on an assumed separation between work and family domains, as well as a reflection of the traditional gender division of labour. It is a traditional male model of work (Pleck, 1977; Cook, 1992; Steele, 2019) that constructs the concept of the ideal worker and, even in the twenty-first century, it is still present, albeit in modified terms. It has become increasingly inappropriate, not only because of the growing numbers of women with children within the generic labour force but also because the assumed model of a continuous career based on an androcentric linear model is no longer suitable for women's or men's experiences in the contemporary labour market (Halford et al., 1997). A particular area of interest is how the concept of the ideal worker can be applied to the sports setting because of the integration of many factors (Maguire, 2009), and the expectation for it to 'become a way of life' (Butler, 2012). It is the gendered assumptions that reinforce other norms and values which preserve the androcentric expectation in the workplace.

The most prominent amongst these are the ideologies of time. In organisations or industries such as horseracing, the culture of long hours is the norm; long hours, spent visibly in the workplace, are highly valued because it is assumed that these represent productivity and commitment (Lewis and Taylor, 1996). Time has been defined as a commodity and "given" to paid work and/or family (Lewis, 1997), and it is often attributed to being white, male, middle-class and as a part of professional work (Kelly et al., 2010). Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity in professional organisations requires publicly privileging a professional identity that distances men from day-to-day family caregiving (Connell and Wood, 2005). This can be seen among men who identify as egalitarian husbands and active fathers; the family responsibilities are often hidden because the 'intrusion of private sphere issues into the public sphere [of the workplace] shatters the image that one is an addict, that one is always ready, willing and able to work' (Cooper 2000: 395). In short, living up to the ideal worker norm is an important way to embody masculinity and protect a privileged position. Another manifestation of assumptions about time at work is a product of the undervaluation of part-time workers and the focus on women's greater domestic responsibility. The construction of women with children or, indeed, men with primary caring responsibilities is problematic because it implies a specific social construction that favours masculine traits. Feminist scholars have long called for changes in the organization of work, including better part-time jobs, more work-time flexibility and paid family leave, but research suggests that work-family policies and flexible work arrangements have had a limited impact for several reasons. First, access to work-family benefits and flexible work arrangements is quite uneven across and within organizations. Higher-status employees with high income and better benefits are more

likely to have access to work-family benefits (Deitch and Huffman 2001; Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002; Lambert and Waxman, 2005) and to enjoy greater flexibility (Kelly et al., 2010).

The areas that have been much discussed by intersectional scholars, in relation to equity and worker well-being, are "work intensification" and "disciplined conformity" to managerial requirements (Bryson, 2010), and their gendered subtext and organizational logic (see Acker, 2012; Benschop and Doorewaard, 2012). Three areas that are particularly relevant are the concern about skills shortages, the need to recruit and retain women with family commitments and the need to reduce absenteeism (Lewis et al., 1996: Lewis, 2010). The need to prevent stress and absenteeism associated with work and family in a newly-restructured, highly-pressurized core workforce has been recognised as a justified argument for developing family-oriented policies (Lewis et al., 1996: Lewis, 2010). The limitation of this argument is that it focused on middle-class employees, particularly those with high levels of cultural capital, such as training. Currently, the business argument is being developed in line with political priorities, which represents a shift in focus to include working-class women (Kelly et al., 2010).

The Ideal Worker in Sport

In the sporting context, the often-singular trajectory in sports development creates a space for comparable issues, such as the underpinning idea that 'there exists a system of work practices for core workers in an organization that leads in some way to superior performance' (Boxall and Macky, 2009: 3). This has been described as a "fuzzy notion" (Boxall and Macky, 2009: 5) and as a concept of interest to practitioners, policy-makers and global industries seeking to retain a competitive advantage in the face of intensified global competition. The integral tensions between worker involvement, work intensification and the possibilities of "win-win" outcomes for all workers are unresolved (Boxall and Macky, 2009). *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*

In the meso-organisational level of intersection, forms of amateur sports flourish in spite of societal forces that have altered the elite counterpart into a commodity of national importance. Traditional values, such as amateurism and volunteerism, are the underpinning principles of organized sport and horseracing (Lewis, 2010). They embody the attributes that are embedded features of what is highlighted as the "sport ethic": 'A willingness to make sacrifices; a striving for distinction; an acceptance of risk and the probability of participating while enduring pain; and a tacit acceptance there is no limit to the pursuit of the ultimate performance' (Maguire, 2009: 1257).

This concept of the "ideal worker/athlete" and the unequal relationships that exist from the governing bodies down reaffirm the expectations of the ideal athlete worker. Both government and sporting governing bodies influence the behaviour of individuals within the field. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* The reality is not so clear-cut because the majority of people who work in racing are unable to maintain a realistic work-life balance. The expectation is that the "real work" will be constructed around performance in the sport; "life" is everything else. This conceptualisation of "life" in its totality, which has been suggested by Ainsworth and Flanagan (2020) in the medical profession. This conceptualisation of life has been described as fundamental by Ozbilgin et al. (2011) especially when attempting to understand the shifting work-life interface of unpaid elite athlete workers, given it is estimated to take at least ten years to "make a champion" in the wider sporting context (Maguire, 2009). This means, for example, in amateur Olympic team sports, such as hockey, amateur elite athletes are not only at a different stage in their performance journey but, also, different stages of life. This has led to recognition that athletes may need help to manage their lives and further specialised help has been seen in racing to support the athletes (professional jockeys) or amateurs (work riders, conditional/apprentice jockeys) by way of Racing Welfare, Jockey Education and Training Schemes.

This piece of research aims to explore the perceptions, experiences, and identities of the amateur athletes. The overall focus, however, is to not question structural power imbalances (Casey et al., 2016), nor question how "life" is defined, but to legitimise the organising processes that are in place; individual athletes are expected to "manage life" effectively so their unpaid sports "work" is prioritised. That the boundaries between work and life are permeable and interdependent (Ozbilgin et al., 2011) suggests elite amateur athlete's choices of how to "manage life," in other words, enact their agency, are considerably constrained by the system. One theme that recurs throughout intersectional research is the social struggle across relationships that have different levels of power. As a consequence, intersectionality has both an implicit and explicit obligation to equality (Allison and Butler, 1984). Many studies have focused on analysing multiple identity markers; however, few have fully engaged with the equally important aspect of intersectionality of how power creates our understanding of identity markers as well as how power is different across different sites. Intersectionality has been used by Ryan and Martin (2013) in the amateur elite sporting arena in New Zealand to highlight its value and expose the relationships of domination and subordination to encourage organisations to address the disconnect between desired performance outcomes and

sports career longevity. However, Intersectionality has not been used to shed light on the experiences of aspirational females when entering horseracing.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Ryan and Martin (2013) highlighted how institutional order and distribution of power is embedded in the delivery model of elite sport, and they construct an ideal athlete worker. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Amateur elite sport allows an interesting context for researchers (Rodriguez and Holvino, 2016) to include the shifting boundaries in sporting organisations (Gilmore and Gilson, 2007).

In a similar way to organizational studies, the not-for-profit sporting context could benefit from the explanatory power relations offered by an intersectional methodology (Ryan and Martin, 2013). As previously discussed, feminist researchers have long acknowledged the need for an intersectional methodology to explain inequalities and discrimination in wider societies and working organisations (see Acker, 2012; Holvino, 2010). Even though this knowledge has been widely shared, there is little sporting literature using a multi-level, intersectional methodology to investigate inequalities in the sporting arena. As McKay (1991) states 'sport is seen both to shape and be shaped by the inequalities of gender, class, age and race which pervade all other spheres of society' (McKay, 1991: 16). Intersectionality can highlight the interplay of dynamic forms of inclusion, exclusion and inequality, which can be seen in media headlines and stories such as *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* . We know that horseracing and sport do not exist in a vacuum; they are not separated from wider historical, political or social realities, and sport is often presented as a microcosm of wider society (Dashper and Fletcher, 2013).

Intersectionality as a Theoretical and Methodological Approach

Intersectionality as a methodological and theoretical standpoint to understand inequality can be applied in different ways (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Healy et al., 2011; Winker and Degele, 2011). As previously stated, there has been considerable debate over the strengths and weaknesses of intersectionality (see McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Naples, 2009;Bilge, 2010; Holvino, 2010; Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011; Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006; Acker, 2012) due to its open-ended nature. Acker (2012) uses intersectionality to explain the positioning of inequalities within organisations, more specifically, the gendered subtext. As the exploration of the literature and theoretical orientations have signalled, it is the approach of Choo and Ferree (2010) and Ryan and Martin (2013) that has termed the process model of intersectionality. This model of research design

'places primary attention on context and comparison at the intersections as revealing structural processes organizing power' (Choo and Ferree, 2010:134). My research aims use intersectionality to capture some of the complex dynamics of how the identity of an "ideal" member of stable staff (with aspirations to become a rider) has been constructed through the power relations between the macro-institutional and meso-relational organisation levels.

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Ongoing Challenges of Intersectionality

Intersectionality does, however, have limitations that have led to some researchers to declare a "post-intersectionality" moment (Levit, 2002). Other critics (see Kirabo, 2017) have challenged the "intersection" metaphor itself that Crenshaw (1989) conceptualised in an article:

> 'Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them.'.

In response to this, there has been the rise of "multidimensionality" as an alternative phrase (Hutchinson, 2000) to remove the mental image of a two-dimensional space. Similarly, Williams (2002) highlighted that the use of a road intersection does not acknowledge the context that the subordination exists i.e. race can act on an institutional, individual, and interpersonal level at the same time. Therefore, the use of intersectionality can prioritise identity over structural subordination. The limitation of this metaphor, that I had personally found myself needing to work, was that unlike the roads, the subordination that is reported is not fixed and can shift in response to economic, political and social conditions. It was reading the works of Francis (2008) that highlighted the dynamic nature of intersectionality. Francis (2008) identified that some of the reoccurring questions for feminism shroud the role of the material body within gender relations. The different ways in which feminism considers the material body are challenged in multiple ways. For example, in early feminist theories, a persuasive argument was presented around the concept of gender, separate from sex, being used to explain the different ways in which differences between women and men were socially constructed, not biologically allocated (Flintoff et al., 2011). The terminologies of feminine and masculine are now used regularly to highlight their social construction and identify the differences within, as well as

outside, sex groups.   Although, Francis (2008) argues that these categorical descriptors of "masculine" and "feminine" are also problematic because either one is the result of the body (sexed) shaping the way gender is constructed, mutually by both the self and others. Furthermore, there is the issue of deciding what constitutes masculine and feminine. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*. There have been multiple studies of young people's experiences that accentuate the importance of embodiment in their identities and education (See Gorely et al., 1989; Evans, 2006; Scraton, 2018; 1989). The body, and different bodies, are important in physical education; how they move, and look is crucial to individuals if they feel comfortable in that setting and are being judged on ability and consequential status in the subject (Evans, 2006). This relationship between sport and masculinity (and the associated dominance of sport) (Evans and Penney, 2009) has added to the gendered body in physical education activities. However, what has not been given as much attention is the way that gendered bodies are also disabled (or non-disabled) bodies, classed and racialised. Examples of intersectionality being effectively applied is research that focuses on young people's lived experiences for their insights into the embodied self along with proposals that research in this area can contribute to the continuous debates around categorical descriptors of "masculine" and "feminine", as raised by Francis (2008) (see Oliver and Lalik, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2005; Fitzgerald and Wilkinson, 2010).

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR .Although part of a broader study, it is possible to use examples of research such as Oliver and Lalik's (2004), which illustrates that a school's fundraising "beauty contest" can highlight the differential valuation of racialised bodies. The research goes further to explore the "hidden curriculum" of this popular school practice and identify how the concepts of beauty were highly racialised. This example of intersectionality, applied to an education setting, revealed resistance and challenge by some of the students; however, the majority still supported the competition, which further emphasises how it reaffirms the status of heterosexualised, engendered bodies as well as how similar this is to the discourses of heterosexual femininity and attractiveness (see Scraton, 2001). The intersectionality research has highlighted the significance of embodied experience by attending, observing and participating in the everyday lived experiences of people unrestricted by the availability of learning opportunities in order to improve. Marks (1999) highlights the significance of embodied experiences by attending disabled pupils real-life, everyday experiences of PE. It has been well researched (see Metcalfe, 2018) that, within the physical education setting, boys, in particular, value bodies that are high status, have ability and are muscular, especially in sports such as rugby, dance

and horseracing, where a competitive physicality is required for success. As Flintoff et al. (2011) reported, physical education is one particular area of education that is "gender saturated"; gender is strongly marked and, therefore, so is the link between hegemonic masculinity and embodiment INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR it is possible to demonstrate the centrality of the material body to the young person's sense of self and identity, as well as recognise the link to physical and social capital (Vinnicombe, 2010). Researching experiences within specific spatial contexts is an area that Valentine (2007) was passionate to see developed. This research would help establish that the way that different individuals see themselves in varying spaces (e.g. when at home, when and then when in horseracing) would contribute to the continuous debates around identity power and embodiment.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has detailed the theoretical concepts I will use to explore how young aspirational females navigate their racing habitus in a gendered field. Through exploring the gendered reality (conceptualised as multiple, fluid and dynamic, and not conflated with sex through biological essentialism) (Metcalfe, 2018) using a Bourdieusian outlook, I will incorporate elements of intersectional feminism to provide theoretical explanations for actions and experiences which can be used to navigate one's gendered experience within the racing industry. In other words, I will be adapting a Bourdieusian framework to include gendered practices and significance of the body through the work of Connell and intersectionality. It is thought that this framework makes ontological sense as all of its concepts are said to describe the existence of many and overlapping forms of submission which intersect in different configurations for each individual and which, in turn, create unique experiences and subsequent gendered social barriers. In turn, this PhD will be able to contribute to the wider research concerning the role of the material body in the wider demands of young aspirational women. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* A focus on capital and intersecting differences will ensure this project is suitably situated within their wider social contexts, and should offer an insight into the reality of life as an aspirational woman.

In this chapter, I will explore previously published research and literature regarding women in male-dominated occupations, women in sport, and how young aspirational women understand and experience gender.

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Therefore, I start by reviewing the role of education in the development of the gendered self before examining historical entry routes and recruitment strategies to understand how horseracing has encouraged a wider demographic of people to master a skilled trade synonymous with patriarchy. I have identified the social location of women in the wider equestrian and sporting sphere and highlighted the sporadic way that females have gained opportunities to participate and, more specifically, the importance of financial and cultural support. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* There is an extensive amount of published research in these disciplines; therefore, this literature review can only highlight the most relevant pieces that contribute to the originality and significance of my thesis. I am fortunate that authors before me (see Butler, 2011; Butler and Charles, 2012) have researched the racing field using first-hand observations and interviews to ascertain the lived experiences of indentured and "modern" apprentices. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* However, the integration of the female experience in the different fields and the blurred boundaries between *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*, provides an initial gap for this doctoral research to explore the gendered experiences of women in horseracing. This chapter is informed by a Bourdieusian framework, with elements of Connell's (1987; 2007) gender order and intersectional feminism (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991), to explain why women experience oppression in varying forms of intensity. I conclude this chapter by discussing the way that women have coped with working in predominately masculine occupations, as well as the sporting field.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Due to the complexity and multidisciplinary nature of this PhD research, I have read, and reviewed a literature from a variety of research areas. I start this chapter with education literature where I discuss the role of education, post compulsory education and the impact of gender and class on career aspirations. The second part of this chapter focuses on women in sport, gendered ideologies of sport and then the interplay between interspecies sports and gender. The third and final part of this chapter reviews literature that discusses the role of women at work, the gendered ideologies that are reinforced through the workplace and finally lived experiences of violence against women. In addition, I will conclude the chapter with a review of contemporary literature that considers the #metoo movement and more specifically sexual harassment at the intersection of the aforementioned research fields. There has been extensive research published in all these areas; therefore, this analysis of literature highlights the originality of my thesis to this scholarly space. This chapter addressed each of the topics separately, to reflect the individual topics central to the research. With that said, the integration of the young people's experiences within the racing industry has blurred boundaries *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* which creates an initial gap for this PhD research to explore the lived experiences of aspirational females.

Education

I aim to explore the reproduction of gender throughout the chapter and will, therefore, analyse research which has explored the construction of gender by and in education, work and sport. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Within Bourdieu's conceptual framework (Bourdieu, 1984), it is through formal education and training that learners gain recognised educational qualifications, which directly translate into a form of cultural capital. In simple terms, the ethos and practices within an educational establishment are underpinned by a focus on developing skills, knowledge and achievement. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This research highlights the important considerations of how young people explain their own lived experiences. The relationship between physical education and masculinity is consistently referred to and, therefore, the gendered habitus which promotes masculinity emphasises the social expectation for males to demonstrate physical skill and ability to succeed. Further research by Bramham (2003) highlighted that males who do not conform to the expected skill level in physical educations are also marginalised. Despite this, research which considers female and male physical education performance in isolation

is unable to explain the intricacies of physical education practices when developing a gendered habitus which reinforces behaviour for young people. Importantly, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital have been used to research the development of skill in physical education. The habitus has been used to indicate the way in which more skilled students and their tutors often share a set of beliefs, this shared habitus often determines which bodies are rewarded (Gillen and Lefkowitz, 2006; Flintoff, 2008; Redelius et al., 2009; Hay and MacDonald, 2010). Interestingly, Wilkinson et al. (2013) used a systematic appraisal of articles that documented the construction of ability in physical education. The way that adolescents view, and measure, success in physical education environments potentially jeopardises the traditional mind/body dichotomy that requires academic success to be a priority instead of social popularity. Therefore, it is important to evaluate the relationship between physical activity (which, in turn, becomes physical labour), gender and social status, using Bourdieu's theoretical concept of habitus and capital, for young women early in their horseracing career.

The prevailing educational discourse promoted by schools, is one of academic achievement. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*. The literature reinforces that the primary messaging around ability reinforces a binary relationship between gendered bodies within sport at school. This discourse reinforces the "problem" of girls as being limited in ability, as well as the negative assumption of ability-as-male on both females and un-"able" males which, consequently, reinforces the importance of challenging the presumed differences between young men and women as homogenous categories (Metcalfe, 2018).

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Women in Sport

There is a common belief that sport has the power to make for a more equal society (Spaaij, 2009), and multiple studies of sport and the body have been able to demonstrate that there is a changing dynamic of gender representations and practices in contemporary sporting arenas (see Wilson, 2002; Roberts and MacLean, 2012). The sporting field, according to Bourdieu (1978), is linked to a political philosophy of sport where the idea of amateurism is one part of an aristocratic philosophy of sport as a disinterested practice - a will to win but within the rules. At a social level, the field can be viewed as the source of struggles, where what is at stake has the capacity to impose a definition of the legitimate function of sporting activity: 'the legitimate body and the legitimate use of the body' (Bourdieu, 1978:826). It could be argued that "legitimate use of the body" could be linked to the amateur and

professional status, illustrated within the racing field, where it is possible to follow the links between amateur and social, economic and cultural capital. Sport is an area of particular importance because it is an arena where traditional gender identities are constructed, reinforced and contested (Meyer,2010). This has been further supported by authors particularly interested in sport's roles in constructing masculinity (see Krane et al., 2004; Yungblut et al., 2012; Li, 2014; Fink, 2015). As a result of the increased attention given to women's participation in sport, there has been further research focusing on gender equality at all levels of sport to investigate the experiences of female athletes, whilst promoting the female voice throughout the literature (see Douglas and Carless, 2009a; Adriaase and Schofield, 2013; Fink, 2015; Franks and O'Neill, 2016). In this section, I agree with many of Connell's critics whilst promoting the notion that a feminist reading of Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, habitus and capital may allow further insight into the fluidity and stratification of gender relations in sport and other physical cultures. Not only do I focus on gender formation but gender differences in sporting achievement (Channon et al., 2016), despite recent increases in female sports participation, boys and girls still do not participate equally in the same sports activities (Slater and Tiggemann, 2010; Thorpe et al., 2017)- as well as the role of parental influence on achievement within sports or cultural capital (Wilson, 2002; Butler, 2013) due to the invested time, emotional support and capital which increases the likelihood of success. It is generally accepted that parents are usually the primary catalyst for an initial introduction to sport and sporting skills (Côté et al., 2016) and many athletes stress the supportive influence of their parents during their early careers.

Gendered Ideologies Reinforced Through Sport

This literature review and research aims to contribute to any debate among supporters of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, as exemplified by Connell (1987). The influence of the concept of gender order and hegemonic masculinity on gender research in sport cannot be highlighted enough. Initiated in the late eighties, Connell's concepts of gender order have aided the understanding of the gendering processes linked to sport, especially the 'critiques of heavy contact, male-dominated sports such as American football and rugby union and the sexist and violent cultures that support such sports' (Pringle, 2005: 257). In short, the research on men and masculinities in the 20th century has been characterised by a focus on the social problems of masculinity, both in terms of the privilege gained by men through their gender (Lorber, 1994) and the social costs, not least related to the oppression, subordination and exclusion of gay men (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2012). A fundamental theory proposed to understand the social processes associated with these issues was hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Although there is continued support for Connell's

concepts amongst sporting scholars, it is important to highlight that the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and gender order represent fundamental weaknesses and inconsistencies when applied to the fluid and dynamic relationships between political categories of gender and individual women and men in more contemporary sporting cultures (Thorpe, 2010).

An area of particular interest to this study, and the unique nature of horseracing, is that Connell's relatively dualistic model of power does not provide scope for explaining the agency of sportswomen or the personal gendered experiences of young women or men who have hailed from different cultural, social and political contexts or had different gendered experiences or sexual orders (Pringle, 2005). This complex topic demands the need to explore masculinities and the gendered body in contemporary sport and physical culture, critical sport sociologists are using diverse theoretical, empirical and conceptual approaches (see Anderson, 2015; Messner,1990; 2014 Robinson, 2008; Wellard, 2012;2015). Some are going further and developing their own conceptual and theoretical approaches, such as Anderson (2015), who has developed an "inclusive masculinity". This theory can be used to understand the changing relationship between adolescent males and their masculinities in modern-day physical cultures. Ultimately, it was developed to explain sport and community settings where the social dynamics were not predicated on homophobia, stoicism or rejection of the feminine. Anderson (2015) argued that in the absence of homophobia, men's gender came to be founded upon emotional openness, increased peer tactility, softening gender codes, and close friendship based on emotional disclosure. At the same time, other scholars are progressing gender research in the field through intense dialogue with various critical views in the social sciences (see Hillier and Harrison, 2004; 2007; Pringle and Markula, 2005; Pringle, 2009). Until recently, the work of Bourdieu has not been used amongst critical sport scholars interested in gender. However, exceptions would include the research that offers insightful theoretically-informed analyses of the gendered sporting body and, more specifically, how male domination is reinforced and naturalized in various sporting cultures, such as skateboarding, surfing and adventure racing (see Laberge, 1995; Kay and Laberge, 2004; Brown, 2006; Atencio et al., 2009; Evers, 2009, 2015; Bäckström and Nairn, 2018). Many of the sports mentioned previously are dominated by white males, yet the voices of those female participants who do participate, albeit in smaller numbers, have the potential to offer valuable insights into the various forms of power operating on and through their bodies and the strategies these women employ to negotiate space within action sport cultures. In particular, Brown (2006: 162) uses Bourdieu to explain 'everyday embodied enactments of gender relations in sport.' More recently, Atencio et al. (2009) used Bourdieu's concepts of capital, field and habitus to provide an informed analysis of gender on

the skateboarding body, although this study omits the feminist critiques and extensions of Bourdieu's work that have been prolific. As previously mentioned, Bourdieu did not say much about gender with most of his writings framed pre-eminently in class. With that said, in the article *La Domination Masculine*, Bourdieu (1990a) uses his ethnographic research to highlight how 'masculine domination assumes a natural, self-evident status through its inscription in the objective structures of the social world', which is then embodied and reproduced in the habitus of individuals (McNay, 2000:37). It must be said that although this data was collected during the sixties, Bourdieu claimed that it exemplified the ways in which gender hierarchies are maintained in modern industrial society. According to McLeod (2005: 53):

> '[Bourdieu] writes defensively [in *Masculine Domination* and] appears somewhat oblivious to the diverse range of important feminist work that has historicized gender division. Moreover, his insights into gender reproduce standard binaries of masculine domination and female subordination as if these structures are unitary, coherent and unchanged by and in contemporary social life.'

Regardless of such criticisms, some feminist scholars who have focused on the embodied gender experiences of women — including McCall (1992), McNay (1999; 2000) Lovell (2000), Adkins (2003; 2004a; 2004b), McLeod (2005) and Krais (2006), - have recognised the potential in Bourdieu's social theory for deepening and developing" (Walby, 2005: 376) feminist theory and set about deploying, rethinking and critically developing Bourdieu's conceptual schema.

In this research, however, I argue that feminist appropriation of Bourdieu's work could be critically extended to explore some of the nuances and complexities of masculinities, as well as the relationship between masculinities and femininities, and aim to illustrate the potential of such an approach via the case of horseracing. As various scholars have discussed, physical activity and action cultures have traditionally been considered highly masculine (see Booth, 2001; Waitt and Warren, 2008; Evers, 2009) and hypermasculinity is celebrated. However, this culture may put many women off and those women who do continue to participate must develop an array of strategies to negotiate space in this male-dominated territory. In surfing, Olive, McCuaig and Phillips (2015) offer an interesting analysis of the ways recreational female surfers are differentiated and patronised and explain how some women develop unique strategies to support one another and navigate the maleness of their environment. Similarly, Olivia and Thorpe's (2011) discussion of the snowboarding fratriarchy: groups of highly committed young men in an action culture who have developed strategies of symbolic, verbal and/or physical violence in which "other" men and female participants are marginalised in the slopes,

on the mountains and in the broader culture (e.g. in many niche magazines). Consequently, many learn to accept the rules of the field, rather than challenge the structure of the field. I am particularly interested in exploring how those women who continue to pursue the practice of working in a physical culture negotiate space within the horseracing field that continues to privilege males.

On a separate note, throughout this literature review, I have noticed that in contrast to the substantial body of literature on gender in action sport cultures (Wheaton and Tomlinson, 1998; Wheaton, 2002; Atencio et al., 2009; Thorpe, 2009; 2010; Olivia, 2011; Olive et al., 2013; Roy, 2013; Backstrom and Nairn, 2018), race and ethnicity have garnered considerably less attention. As I continue through my research journey, I will reflect on the relevance of this lack of literature, especially in relation to intersectionality and gender order by reflecting on horseracing.

Interspecies Sport and Gender

Horseracing is an interspecies sport and sits within a wider body of literature that is relevant to the wider scope of this research. Therefore, this section will explore the relationship of interspecies sport and gender. The aspects of masculinity that are referred to within a horseracing context include muscularity, violence, physical strength, participation despite pain and the ability to withstand injuries (see Theberge, 1997; Mennesson, 2000; 2012; Schyfter, 2008; Ezzell, 2009; Gilbert and Gillet, 2013; Mischke, 2015). However, these are not necessarily unique to interspecies sport or equestrian employment. With that said, this perception of working in horseracing could provide one explanation for the inability to recruit or maintain skilled staff. Arguably, the whole horse racing industry should be reviewed due to the current strategy for retaining staff with their knowledge and skills sets. However, Clayton-Hathway and Manfredi (2017) have reported that currently, the horseracing industry demonstrates vertical segregation, with high numbers of men in many senior roles. Such conceptualisations assume that it is only male bodies that embody masculinity, and ignore the "masculine women" and "boyish girls" (Halberstam,1998:15). In horseracing, for example, it would be common practice for women and girls to embody "coexistent masculine and feminine identities" that involve "tension and contradictions" (Wedgwood, 2004: 155) *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* The way that gender is expressed is dependent on the situation, such as the type of riding, or discipline that is chosen to engage in. The different disciplines have dominant norms of masculinity and femininity which are locally governed by the local riding communities. Practical knowledge, such as riding a horse, requires intuitive bodily awareness which can be achieved through both observing and participating or "indwelling" (Polanyi,

1966: 6). In any of the equine industries, the body is seen as a sensing instrument and described as "part of the horse" or "sitting there and doing nothing" (Hearne, 2007). This idea of mastering a practical skill is an area that Bourdieu argued involved knowledge and belief that could only be acquired through experience. Thus, the gender-appropriate nature of jobs could have a negative impact on women who apply for male-dominated roles (Hareli et al., 2008; Koch et al., 2015).

Women in Male-Dominated Occupations

This section examines the way that gendered organisations that have been discussed in great detail by many scholars (see Cockburn, 1981; Acker, 1999; Dashper, 2020) and how reportedly gender neutral structures are in reality based on implicit and unspoken gendered norms in a similar way to hidden curricula (Apple, 1995). To describe an organisation as gendered would mean that 'that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine' (Acker,1990: 146).

Acker (1990) proposed that there were five elements that reproduces gender in certain organisations which were; firstly the division of labour, cultural symbols, workplace interactions, individual identities and organisational logic. As a result, it can be seen that gendering with industries and organisations operates in engrained, historical contexts. This explanation goes a long way to explain why horse racing is often described as a "man's game". Therefore, it is important that I examine the experience of women in male dominated occupations to contribute to the gaps in literature in relation to the lived experiences of women in horseracing. Many researchers in sociology and gender studies have investigated the position and experiences of women at work (see Cross and Bagilhole,2002; Roberts and Ayre, 2002; Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010; Azocar and Ferree, 2015). These theorists of gender and work have been focused on issues of discrimination against women in the working fields, but there is still a great deal to explore and investigate regarding the recruitment stages and then long-term retention. Some feminist interpretations of Bourdieu offer an explanation of the workplace disadvantages that are initiated by organizational structures and selection and promotion criteria (Ross- Smith and Huppatz, 2010), a lack of mentoring, and harassment, discrimination and paternalism (Dashper, 2019; Erden and Otken, 2019). Loosemore et al. (2003) affirmed that fair treatment of all employees, regardless of gender, race, class or length of service, should be the foundation of good employment practice within the construction industry. However, this is not always the case, especially when attracting new recruits who will, in turn, form the future labour force. Thus, the gender-

appropriate nature of jobs could have a negative impact on women who wish to apply for male-dominated roles (Hareli et al., 2008). A female who assumes a bodily hexis of that field is allegedly more likely to succeed in a "man's role" than a more feminine woman (Fox, 1999). Thus, it is imperative that jobs become "gender-neutral". Understanding the persistence and incidence of discrimination in everyday realities is required so that women can be supported and retained in male-dominated environments. It has been argued that gender in the workplace can be seen through performance; the investment banking environment exhibits its own set of hegemonic masculinities that dominate other versions of masculinity and femininities (McDowell, 1997). In turn, the bodies, personal appearance and attributes of individuals are central in success and retention; in this way, women are at a disadvantage. It can be said that these strongly masculine environments fuel Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1984) concept of hexis and the relationship between the social world and its impression on the body. Women with individual embodiment may be prevented from entering, thriving and retaining their place in a masculine workplace. Women who do succeed in male-dominated occupations learn to embody a particular working style to reproduce "male norms", which may be contradictory. Often, they have to challenge dominant notions of femininity and adopt "masculine" attributes, which could result in their femininity and sexuality being questioned by their peers (Butler, 2013). Gendered discrimination within relative fields is veiled, covert, thus difficult to identify and problematic to challenge (Fisher and Kinsey, 2013). A particularly intangible aspect is the supremacy and yet invisibility of masculinity when working within social fields. The social position of a man and woman are defined through the characteristics that can be identified through embodied displays of masculinity or femininity, which can create exclusion and task restrictions in the workplace. In the next section, I will discuss how hegemony is reinforced in the workforce and the way in which gender-based discrimination is seen in different male dominated industries.

Gender Ideologies Reinforced Through Work

Since the late 1980s, the concept of hegemonic masculinity, more specifically the cultural dynamics by which men establish and maintain dominance in society in different scenarios, has been influential in theorising about gender (see Demetriou, 2001; Pringle, 2005; Seidler, 2006; Thorpe, 2010). As a consequence of this, the added attention has led to notable shifts in contemporary gender relations. However, there has also been significant interest in a new generation of men and masculinities (see Hill, 2007; Harrison, 2009; Galbreath, 2014; Lingiardi, 2015; Gerdes, 2020). Consequently, there has been a critical response to any conceptual schema that locates all masculinities (and femininities) in terms of a single pattern of power— the "global dominance" of men over women (Connell, 1987: 183).

There is a perceived difference between men and women and how likely they are to succeed within given workplace conditions (Burke and Vinnicombe, 2013; Debebe et al., 2016). Hiring decisions can be influenced by the question of "suitability" and, thereby, arrive at gender-based discrimination employment decisions. Much of the research has explored women's negotiation of masculinity in male-dominated occupations and, more specifically, the perceived lack of muscularity (Butler, 2013ab). This lack of parity between genders in the workplace is not exclusive to a few sectors or organisations, adding support to the notion that gender is diffused across the social field and, although it is hidden, it is acutely structuring (Lovell, 2004). Physicians in training learn to normalise their experiences of mistreatment and see it as a necessary rite of passage into a prestigious and demanding occupation (Hinz, 2004), reaffirming the gendered power and hierarchy within a perceived gender-neutral enterprise. Similar experiences have been reported in horseracing through autobiographical accounts by Gallier (1988) and Butler (2013a) ; these workplace and associated cultures are one of the most fundamental fields of social interaction in post-modern society. Therefore, understanding the persistence and incidence of discrimination in everyday realities is required so that women can be supported and retained in male-dominated environments. The persistence of gender inequality in male-dominated professions (including engineers, project managers, designers and architects) directly affects the recruitment, retention and progress of women (see Powell et al., 2012; Diekman et al., 2015). However, much of the reviewed literature does not interrogate gender relations but focusses on women's experiences with an unexamined norm or examines why these barriers are so persistent and hard to shift. The power and gender discourses are interlinked within the organizational culture, resulting in opinions and gendered doxa based on tradition and social context (Ball and Wicks, 2002). In contrast, the British horseracing industry has recognised the lack of female jockeys but is aware of the wider prejudices and entrenched gender relations within the horse racing world (Butler, 2014), and they know that it is hard to break down doxic attitudes (Bourdieu, 2001). Doxic attitudes are reflected by accepting the racing habitus through unconscious submission in situations that are arbitrary and contingent. The literature emphasises that the gendered operational structures within the horseracing world are not exclusive but are mirrored by the wider prejudices that are ingrained within other male-dominated occupations and sporting arenas. In many jobs, there is a perceived difference between men and women and how likely they are to succeed within given workplace conditions (Burke and Vinnicombe, 2008; 2013). Consequently, hiring decisions can be influenced by the "suitability" of the applicant, thereby leading to gender-based discriminative employment decisions. The workplace and associated cultures are among the most fundamental fields of social interactions in post-modern society. Integration of key agents is readily discussed as one of the most

important sources of division within the work force culture (Weeden and Grusky, 2005) and, therefore, demands appropriate sociological attention. Loosemore et al. (2003) affirmed that the fair treatment of all employees, regardless of gender, race, class or length of service should be the foundation of good employment practice within the construction industry. However, this is not always the case; especially when attracting new recruits. Similarly, the working practices within the racing world are essentially corporeal, cultural and deep-rooted, where 'the most essential [knowledge] is transmitted, acquired and deployed beneath language and consciousness' (Wacquant, 2004: xii). Some areas of literature on women who work in male-dominated, working-class professions attributes the low female recruitment and lack of progress to the characteristics of women themselves (Butler, 2011). Broadly, what has been suggested is that women theoretically choose female, socially devalued occupations due to an innate [gendered] self (Reskin and Maroto, 2010:82). There have been other challenges to the concept of gender essentialism and barriers, such as an absence of transparency of training opportunities due to the nature of a role being masculine and physical labour being organised to suit muscularity, have been cited (Bergmann, 2011).

Women have relished the opportunity to train and take up positions in racing; however, retention and progress have not been as effective. In this situation, there could lie one potential reason that the rigidity and doxic values have been reinforced as anything that differs from expectation is often viewed as problematic. Bourdieu's theory of practice provides a way of trying to understand the embodiment of social structures. The processes whereby the practices are incorporated within the body and reiterated in the embodied work are highlighted by Bourdieu's accounts of illusio and habitus.

Generally speaking, a desire for status, power and social comparisons (capital) drives men in contrast to a desire to perform at their best and contribute to organizational function, which motivates women (Prescott and Bogg, 2011). It is these distinctive work experiences, alongside archaic work-life gendered roles (Martin and Barnard, 2013; Mayer and Barnard, 2015) that create challenges for career-driven women, and more so when they choose to work in masculine-dominated professions. Women appear to struggle in a masculine role and are being constrained by the "glass ceiling", which has been loosely defined as 'invisible barriers to reaching their highest positions' (Ross- Smith and Huppatz, 2010). Corsun and Costen (2001) proposed that women are more likely to succeed in a management field (traditionally masculine) because they have embodied masculine norms, such as utilising masculine tools of power (masculine forms of capital). Conversely, Lovell (2000) suggests that women can utilise feminine "resources" and that female forms of capital can have an advantage,

especially within the labour market, confirming the necessity for investigating the role of gender in workplace cultures. The culture of the workplace appears to be a key element in regulating, producing and confirming gender inequalities within everyday experiences. It is important, however, to note that some women have maintained careers in senior management (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010), highlighting how some women have been able to sustain a career beyond the glass ceiling and conquered the barriers of disparity to achieve personal advancement. Women have offered their own explanations for their disadvantages (especially in the engineering field) and they have partly blamed the masculine ethos of the workplace, which is established by misunderstandings arising from different styles of communication and paternalism (Roberts and Ayre, 2002). The multiple initiatives that have been introduced to support women in employment, such as flexible hours, job sharing and paid maternity leave, have all resulted in changes in structural conditions, leading to more women being retained in the workforce and facilitating their progress (Craig and Mullan, 2011). The shifting gender norms that have accompanied the increased presence of women in managerial roles demand theoretical explanations beyond female subordination and patriarchy (Witz, 1990; Bagilhole and Goode, 2001) which in turn can be used to empower women at junior and trainee levels. The labour force has seen a steady incline of women over the last fifty years and clear progress has been made in attaining parity with men. However, statistics confirm that women continue to trail behind in achieved status and career development (Perera, 2019; Wang, 2009). England (2010) attributed women's lack of progress to the characteristics of women themselves - their lack of ability or lack of desire and motivation to perform in these jobs. In other words, 'women hypothetically choose female, socially devalued occupations because something in the culture makes them want to express their "true" [gendered] selves' (Reskin and Maroto, 2010:82). In horseracing, a survey by *Women in Racing* (2017) acknowledged that women are increasingly prominent in British racing but highlighted that they are still under-represented, with just 16 percent of board positions being filled by women. Some explanations offered to challenge this gender essentialism include lack of access to training, resistance of co-workers to embrace diversity, the workload is structured to masculine traits and the employers are prepared to disregard what workers request to ease any challenges (Cockburn, 1981; Reskin and Maroto, 2010; Bergmann, 2011; Crawley,2011).

This lack of autonomy is regularly reported throughout horseracing. However, the negative experiences reported in the *Women's representation and diversity in the horseracing industry* report are not exclusive to manual positions. Stereotypes and conceptions of merit, and ideas of what a leader "looks like", can create barriers to women moving up the career ladder. The perceived structure

of the workday, set to suit masculine traits and masculinity, is viewed as a barrier to women performing manual work such as bricklaying or carpentry (Fielden et aI., 2001). These barriers are supported by the low (1%) estimated percentage of female workers in manual occupations (Briscoe, 2009), but are contradicted by the horseracing industry figures, where (69%) are women (NAoRS, 2019). Other studies have identified that women leave occupations that are inflexible, physically demanding and require long, unsociable hours (Chatzitheochari and Arber, 2012; Walsh, 2013; Fahlén, 2014), which are fundamental elements within many male-dominated occupations, such as construction, engineering, joinery and horseracing. Prejudice and discrimination have become increasingly covert (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1995; Kantola, 2008), which means that it is more challenging for women to identify discrimination in the workplace. Holmes (2006) for example, highlights that unacceptable behaviour, "hidden" in superficial humour, is particularly difficult to challenge because the colleague who is telling the joke remains friendly, and it is likely to be the challenger that is ostracised by colleagues for "not taking the joke".

Conversely, some women in the Scottish construction industry have identified that the best way to negotiate their way in a male-dominated environment is to be able to take 'a joke, as well as being broad-minded, giving back as good as they get' (Agapiou, 2002:703), emphasizing that it is not only women who have to "play the game" (Agapiou, 2002:703). However, they need to be very good at their work to prove that they were just as good as their male colleagues. Kanter (1993) labelled this behaviour as "boundary heightening", and it occurs when women join a previously established homogenous group and, therefore, represent a threat to the established order. This boundary heightening results in the newcomer feeling like an outsider and different to the established group and has been reported by Butler (2013b), albeit using a Bourdieu-tinted lens to explore the reasons why and how this happens in horseracing. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* These experiences have been exemplified by the results of women's representation and diversity in the horseracing industry (2017) and have resulted in a much-needed equality and inclusion committee at the British Horse Racing Authority to represent all of the underrepresented groups in racing. Interestingly, Witz (2004) argues that that women are compliant and shifts the burden of responsibility for women's oppression from men to women themselves, which is a thought that has been reinforced by some women in the horseracing industry, such as:

"INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR "

This quotation further highlights that despite the common rules and formal equality, a gender order exists and is accepted within horseracing within the different occupational sub-cultures where dispositions and attitudes are deep-rooted in a male preserve (Plymoth, 2012). This male prioritisation is referenced throughout the *Women in Racing* diversity report (2015) which concluded that several features of being a jockey might discourage women who aspire to have a family, including the extensive travelling required, lack of a secure income, no access to maternity pay and long hours. It must be said, however, that the opinion within horseracing about the challenge's women face are polarised, and if women "choose" to have a family then they are the reason that they have not been successful, in equal measure to not being sufficiently committed or talented. This thought process leads to increased vulnerability for women (Griffiths and Lewis, 2011), adding weight to the need for gender order to be interrogated within male-dominated professions instead of accepting it as the unexamined norm. The counterargument could be that women employees are seen as a last resort and only to be employed during times of skills shortages (Henwood, 2000). This notion of women being the last resort is reaffirmed by Cashmore, (2018) who, using quantitative methodologies, confirmed that female jockey participation accounted for only 5.2% of the riders, despite holding 24% of jockey licences (including amateurs), and make up over half of the stable staff population. Preventing a woman from developing skilled competencies through exclusion has the potential to cause multiple issues, including the reinforcement of the perception that women are less capable than men in addition to reiterating the notion of difference between genders (Powell et al., 2012). Furthermore, this stifled development restricts opportunity and progress due to the limited possibilities of accruing capital that is fundamental to gaining a senior position. Task restriction is discussed within a range of literature, which prevents women from demonstrating technical skills that they have often gained in a mixed gendered environment (Bailyn,2003; Sang et al., 2014; Dobele and Rundle-Theile, 2015), for example, university. Similarly, research that has focused on women in male-dominated occupations has claimed that women are repeatedly excluded from networking opportunities, resulting in them having less social capital than their male colleagues (Allard, 2005; Vinnicombe, 2010; Powell and Sang, 2015). Exclusion reiterates gender inequality in male-dominated professions and can be categorised as symbolic violence. A misconception that the "glass ceiling" has been "smashed" and gender equality is achievable within a short timescale is merely an illusion. It is certainly true that there has been a colossal improvement in women's rights; however, opportunities are not as transparent in the working field which in turn is stifling female progress. These well-known, male-dominated professions are rooted in raced, classed and gendered notions that have historically privileged white, middle-class men (Witz, 1990). In addition, the increased proportion of men in

higher-paid positions is commonly justified by the congregation of females in the younger age groups because of increased numbers of female engineering graduates (Roberts and Ayre, 2002). When women outnumber men in junior positions, which is relatively common, segregation, in relation to responsibility, is maintained by the construction of female differences (Sang and Powell, 2012). This supports the suggestion that there is a perceived suitability to certain roles even before employment is offered which, in turn, will hamper progress for a young aspirational female in any sphere of work. One explanation for the lack of progress is that women in the largely male preserve of computing underestimate their skills and equate technical competence with masculinity and men (Henwood, 2000). The creation of "hybrid" roles that combine technical and "traditional" female skills (such as empathy, communication and interpersonal skills) were created to increase the opportunities for women. However, the number of women entering IT is falling (Beckmann and Menkhoff, 2008). Guerrier et al. (2009) attempted to change the nature of the skilled roles in computing and concluded that women unquestionably accepted that the industry was male dominated. There was no evidence that questioned stereotypical beliefs in a woman's "natural" role or 'any consciousness that these might limit the prospects of these highly qualified women' (Guerrier et al., 2009:505). The women in this study had accepted the doxic values and were bound up by the illusio the IT sector had created. This can be reflected in horseracing, where women have to embody particular aspects of working-class masculinities, such as toughness and the ability to withstand pain (Butler, 2013b) whilst maintaining some level of individuality. Similarities have been seen in other equestrian sports where male riders discuss a "male advantage" inherent with equestrianism, with men being more ambitious and, as a result, more visible (Dashper, 2012). The association of men with traits such as "ambitious" has also been reported by England (2010) in relation to the desire to protect these traits even when making to changes to increase their social mobility. It is when these factors conflict that one cannot "move up" without transgressing the gender system. In simple terms, a female university graduate would be able to integrate into a male-dominated profession, such as medicine, due to the class and gender-based reference group that has gone before her. If a female has a degree, then it would be challenging to argue that they are not qualified to enter that profession. However, in contrast, the manual, skilled labour force, such as bricklayers, farmhands, stable staff and painters and decorators, often require "on the job training". Therefore, a woman would have to get a position to get training and, if they can overcome that barrier, then the female trainees will more than likely receive the training from workers who may resent their presence (Hoffman et al., 2011; Monkman and Hoffman, 2013). In their study of engineering students, Powell et al. (2012) identified how a female colleague would develop and utilise various strategies to gain acceptance from her male peers, such as accepting

gender discrimination, acting as one of the boys and adopting an "anti-woman" stance. Gendered discrimination within relative fields is veiled, covert and, as such, difficult to identify and problematic to challenge (Fisher and Kinsey, 2013). A particularly intangible aspect is the supremacy and yet invisibility of masculinity when working within social fields. The social position of a man and woman are defined through the characteristics that can be defined by embodied displays of masculinity or femininity which, in turn, can create exclusion and task restrictions in the workplace. One suggestion for discouraging such integration is a strong (if often tacit) belief in gender essentialism—the notion that men and women are innately and fundamentally different in interests and skills (Ridgeway, 2009; Chatillon et al., 2018). Sang and Powell (2015) have recognised that patterns of (mis)recognition and resistance are complex, with some women divulging views with naturalised gender inequality and others resisting essentialism through actions such as campaigning for gender equity.

The Realities of Sexual Violence against Women (wider society)

So far, the literature reviewed within this chapter has discussed violence against women from a symbolic perspective however, it is important that this research acknowledges the realities of violence against women within the workplace and sporting arenas. Research into this area (see Lim and Cortina, 2005; Berdahl, 2007a; Stainback et al. 2011; McDonald and Charlesworth, 2016) has highlighted that dominant ideologies have shaped the workplace to normalise male aggression and reinforce the struggle women face through reconstructing the issue as one of taste rather than power. In a sporting context, there has been many inquiries into sexual harassment and abuse in sport especially in relation to prominent cases of high- profile scandals involving Olympic and other elite-level coaches (Brackenridge and Fasting, 2002). Before these cases were brought to the fore, there was still sport sociologists that paved the way, with a feminist perspective, to understand sexual exploitation in sport (Curry, 1991). Since then there has been further work exploring how sexual exploitation in sport can lead, and facilitate sexual violence an harassment (Fasting, 2015). Fasting et al. (2004) reported that harassment is likely to occur in all sports, and the likelihood of being harassed increases in parallel to the performance level (Fasting et al., 2010).

One of the critical features of this research is that the focus has been on female victimisation as a result of power differential between women and their likely assailants, men (MacKinnon, 1979; Heimer and Kruttschnitt, 2006; Bacciagaluppi, 2018 ; in the workplace and in sport (Hartill, 2009) Sexual harassment in the workplace can be defined as unwanted sexual advances or obscene acts or language (McDonald and Charlesworth, 2016) and is generally considered as a gendered issue towards

women (Holland et al*.,* 2016) although men can also be perpetrated. In reality, sexual harassment generally a reinforced message of assertion of power and dominance (Lim and Cortina, 2005) and is a direct-contact predatory activity in which the structural power differential between men and women is central (MacKinnon, 1979). Within this section I will consider the causes and potential impact of sexual harassment on career trajectories and how this sexualised activity corresponds to the scope of routine activity and the role of power of female dominated victimisation. Throughout this section, I will include the broader perspective of sexual harassment with special consideration for the #metoo movement, a worldwide movement against sexual harassment and assault that renewed the attention of sexual harassment and, consequently, divulged the true prevalence of issues within the workplace, including academia and medicine (Lee, 2018).

The term sexual harassment was not formalised until the 1970s (Farley, 1978) however, an organisational response would not have been recognised (Dobbin and Kelly, 2007). In contrast, today sexual harassment reporting and policies are standard process in the human resource landscape which, when linked to the substantial literature around gender inequalities (Martin,2003) is no surprise. The research by Rospenda et al. (1998), Welsh (1999) and Berdahl (2007a) suggests that power, at work and in the broader society, pervades accounts of harassment however, after three decades of scholarship, the simple questions about whether and how workplace power affects harassment remain unanswered. One suggestion for this is that sexual harassment is challenging to identify in practice due to the many ways harassment can be experienced. McDonald (2012) describes that the "dripping tap" form of harassment, which is often an amalgamation of everyday instances instead of a single event. Sexual harassment in the workplace requires close attention because it can be directly linked to the workplace culture that normalised, accepts and even reinforces this criminal behaviour. Bowling and Beehr (2006) suggested that, theoretically, at least three categories that contribute to the cause of workplace harassment: characteristics of the work environment, the perpetrator, and the victim. The concept that is particularly pertinent to this study is that victims can attribute or blame two of these precursors on the organisation. Firstly, the organisations can be seen as directly responsible for the presence of a perpetrator because the human resource department select, train and challenge behaviours. Secondly, it is the organisational culture that enables and, in some cases, reinforces behaviours that result in sexual harassment (Aquino and Lamertz, 2004). In addition, some studies have considered the dispositional variables and demographic characteristics of victims. That is the way in which perpetrators assess the potential costs and benefits of harassing based on certain demographic groups (e.g., women or those with low tenure) would tend to be "safer"

targets (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994). Although this concept appears logical, the wider research findings do not reflect such an assured position. For example, Bjorkqvist et al. (1994) and Cortina et al. (2001) found that women are more likely to become the targets of workplace harassment than men are whereas Leymann (1996) and Einarsen and Mikkelse (2003) reported found no gender differences. In specific relation to gender, one study by Rayner and Hoel, (1997) concluded that male harassers target both male and female victims but female perpetrators generally target only women. Although there appears to be no agreed consensus on gender, one area that is often reported is the likelihood of power differentials between perpetrator and victim (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994; Einarsen et al., 1994; Hoel et al., 1999; Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen and Mikkelsen, 2003). The type of power differences could include greater physical size, an aggressive personality, a more powerful formal position in the organisation, or popularity (Bowling and Beehr, 2006). As a result of the varying indicators the definitions of harassment, the prevalence estimates vary dramatically (Welsh, 1999) and, therefore, researchers have used triangulation that considers multiple forms or measures (Houston and Hwang 1996; Uggen and Blackstone 2004; Stainback et al., 2010). From a feminist perspective, sexual harassment is situated within the wider pattern of discrimination, power and privilege (MacKinnon,1979) and broader gender-based inequality. An example of this is Quinn's (2002) research on "girl watching", which linked patriarchal gender relations to everyday workplace exchanges, that were considered as light-hearted and playful conversations and yet, the men were surprised when women take offense; such activities demonstrate men's power to sexually evaluate women. In a similar way, Martin (2001) reported that men "mobilise masculinities" in a way that often exclude and cause harm to women as a group, even when this is not their intention. This explanation further demonstrates the value of Connell's (1987) theory of hegemonic masculinity in exploring the way that society privileges a single normative ideal of male behaviour as well as providing a sociological scaffold for understanding harassment, gender, and power.

It is important to recognise that men also may be susceptible to harassment if they are perceived as feminine (Waldo et al., 1998; De Souza et al., 2007) and women who challenge their subordinate position are not exempt. Therefore, sexual harassment can act as a tool to monitor the appropriate displays of "doing gender" in the workplace and police displays of gender that do not match the expected (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Research on contrapower harassment suggests that gender, race and class encourage harassers with informal power, even when the victims hold greater organisational authority than do their harassers (Rospenda et al. 1998). Women who are in positions of power create an interesting paradox for theorisation and research on sexual harassment, and

scholars have developed two views. Firstly, the vulnerable-victim model that suggests that the more vulnerable workers, such as women, racial minorities, and those with the least workplace authority are more likely to received greater harassment. Secondly, the power-threat model, suggests that women who threaten men's dominance are more frequent targets. Although, the concepts are far from fully understood, there has been significant support for the paradoxical power-threat model, in which women in authority positions are most likely to face harassment (Chamberlain et al., 2008) and discrimination (Stainback et al., 2011).

One concept that has not been covered in great depth, but is of great interest, is the idea of masculine compensation which is the term used to explain the extreme masculine behaviours displayed by a man when their manhood is threatened (Willer et al., 2013) but this could also explain why men may harass women in power. A study by Maas et al. (2003), reported that male participants in an image sharing task, were more likely to send offensive images to women who identified as feminists than women who were perceived as traditional in their gender roles. In a similar way McLaughlin et al. (2012) reported that females who were too forceful, threaten the gendered hierarchy and are consequently degraded through harassment. In a similar way, De Coster et al. (1999) found that women with a greater tenure, regardless of age, are more likely to consider sexual harassment as a problem at work which suggests that the practice is used instrumentally against powerful females who encroach on male territory. Conversely, it is also conceivable that higher placed women are more likely to understand these issues due to their increased awareness and legal consciousness.

It can therefore be surmised that authority and expressions of gender are also attached to other forms of sex-based discrimination (Stainback et al., 2011). Berdahl (2007a:644) rethought sexual harassment as sex-based harassment defining as 'behavior that derogates, demeans, or humiliates an individual' based on sex. Thus, sex-based harassment is motivated by the perceived need to protect sex-appropriate social standing. As a consequence, victims are more likely to be female who threaten male status. Berdahl (2007b) reported that females who demonstrate gender in stereotypically masculine ways, such as being dominant, assertive, and independent, are more likely to experience harassment. Therefore, perpetrators are reinforcing their (masculine) dominance by reducing women to the '"low status of being a means to a man's sexual ends' (Berdahl 2007a:649). It appears that although sexual harassment policies are implemented to protect workers, the practice does not align with the formal procedures and therefore the fundamental assumptions made by sociologists regarding agency can be challenged. Many still consider the typical harassment scenario of a male boss and a subordinate female secretary however, as this section has highlighted, the reality is varied and complex. It is

important, for this research, that I move away from the stereotypical viewpoint due to the reported equal position of men and women within the horseracing industry.

Training and awareness must question the subordinate role-playing activities to reflect the varied harassment experiences more accurately. For women who are in positions of power, their roles create a paradox in an embedded gender system that continues to reinforce the established gender order. Women who are able to demonstrate ability or masculine traits, they are also increasing their risk of sexual harassment.

In this section I have described how much of the research in this area has been presented from a feminist perspective (see Hargreaves, 1990; Timmerman, 2005; Fasting et al., 2010) which would imply that, in a similar way to this research, they had committed themselves to the task, of using scholarly activity, to develop changed in practice and policy.

#Metoo Movement

To this point, I have discussed (sexual and symbolic) violence against women in sport and the workplace; however, it would be injudicious of me to omit further detail of the contemporary attention given to the #MeToo movement. Jaffe (2018) explains that the #MeToo movement was built on the foundation of Tarana Burke's "me too" solidarity campaign in 2006 for black women, from underprivileged communities who had survived sexual violence. However, the campaign did not attract significant attention until a decade later, when prominent white women used the hashtag (#MeToo), on social media, to share stories of sexual violence (Leung and Williams, 2019) and harassment (Jaffe, 2018). The movement gained momentum and acted as a catalyst to the creation of a new era that could demolish new power structures and influence new behaviour standards and codes of conduct that could ensure anyone who did not operate within the boundaries, could be (and should be) held accountable. Similar to the description of sexual harassment in sport, the perception of victims and their role in any sexual harassment or assault occurrence are often considerably influenced by observers who use social and gender norms to create an opinion about how to treat the victim and perpetrator (DeRogatis, 2017). In short, the #MeToo movement has played a significant role in challenging gender norms and the way that they are viewed in sexual assault and harassment (Leung and Williams, 2019).

This is how structural changes are made to wider fields of operation; firstly, people start discussing their own experiences and realise that there is common ground. Once this experience has been

identified and there is enough momentum, then people feel that there is scope for structural change (DeRogatis, 2017; Jaffe, 2018). With this said, it is important to recognise that those who feel that they can talk, due to accrual of cultural capital (see Voss, 2017; Zacharech et al., 2017), which, in turn excludes those who are most vulnerable due to having the least connections. The importance of connections and cultural capital has been reported by DeRogatis (2017) and Leung and Williams (2019) when considering the experiences of women who had been victims of R.Kelly who contributed to a documentary yet faced retaliation from their own communities, which was also observed in horseracing, when someone publicly reported sexual abuse. The common themes that were emerging off the back of the #MeToo movement were that of powerful men using their position to influence, intimidate and coerce women into taking part in sexual acts or enduring sexual harassment (Jaffe, 2019).The whole movement has illuminated the established patriarchy, and culture of male dominance, which runs as a common thread throughout this doctoral research piece because of the sequences of power and male dominance that creep into many aspects of the lived racing experiences. Jaffe (2019) reinforced that understanding the power structures within any male dominated space, is not always about sex, but creating rules that will keep women "safe" such as wear the right clothes, be more explicit in saying no, do not laugh or challenge a man and work just as hard.

Throughout my literature review into sexual violence towards women, it has become clear that there is a significant range of abuses of power, all of which contribute to a space that does not attribute value to a woman's voice, body, or work, reinforcing the words of Tarana Burke (2007) that 'more often than not, the reality is we live in the grey areas around sexual violence.' Jaffe (2019) suggested that sexual harassment is a tool to keep women compliant in the workplace, although recognises that there has been a shift in feminism, not from a single powerful woman, but a sea of angry female voices.

Most importantly, for this study, the #MeToo movement has created a space for conversation regarding structural barriers, the way in which sexual harassment affects women's lives in sport, work and home.

Chapter Summary

This literature review has explored the key research produced in the sphere of, sport and male-dominated occupations, specifically focusing on how gender is created in these fields. For ease of understanding, I have separated the key areas into three fields. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*. To address this, more

research is required to explore the intersectional parts of the aspirational females. This literature review has focused on how *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR,* male-dominated occupations and women in sport can shape gendered norms and assumptions. These areas are not the only areas of young females' lives which affect gendered norms, but in taking a more holistic view of the lived experiences of aspirational females, a more cohesive approach to gender can be developed *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* By way of a critique of these studies, they mainly focus on the homogenous experiences of all males and females, rejecting the notion that not all girls are unable to perform physical labour or sporting endeavour.

A gap in the literature exists for research to explore female experiences of work, sport and physical education simultaneously, avoiding combining sex into gender. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*. In my opinion, the uniqueness of horseracing is due to *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* requires a focus on the multiple practices that can reinforce gender in disparate ways, through reproduced ethos and practice. By exploring the specific practices within these areas, I am attempting to understand the factors that contribute to shaping gendered norms and assumptions. Within this body of knowledge, the relationship between the body, gender and achievement has been explored in young people and those interested in active cultures, both on a professional and an amateur level. Building on the theoretical gap as presented in this literature review, future research is required to explore the possibilities offered by Bourdieu's conceptual schema for developing the theorizing of gender in sport and physical culture. My research aims to fruitfully draw on intersectional feminism and other central foci, such as the body, physicality, identity and agency, and contemporising Bourdieu's original work (see Sweetman, 2003; Shilling, 2004; Stahl, 2017) to address the gap that exists and to explore the lived experiences of young aspirational females. Younger females in a sporting industry that has significant challenges in recruiting and retaining staff are an under-researched group, one which my PhD thesis will attempt to address. In addition, through focusing on a holistic view of females' experiences in horseracing, my research will attempt to overcome the shortfall in understanding by appreciating how experiences in one social field are not isolated from other areas of these young aspirational females' lives. Whilst this may complicate the consideration of how gendered norms and assumptions are developed, my conceptualisation of a gendered racing habitus which interconnects different fields provides a theoretical tool for exploring

the intersection of gender across *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Although I will draw on hegemonic masculinity and gender order, I plan to put the gender–habitus–field complex "to work empirically" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 95) as this has the potential to reveal a more nuanced conceptualizations of gendered subjectivity, power relations and transformations in contemporary sport and physical cultures. I, therefore, aim to integrate a theoretical need to address the gaps in the literature where people's experiences are treated in isolation and to overcome treating young men and women in independent conditions by reducing gendered experiences to biological essentialism. The methods and methodology used to address this gap will be explored in the next chapter.

PART 3: THE RACE

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

In the last chapter, I offered an overview of the literature which has created the empirical and conceptual framework for my data analysis. This chapter will outline the methodological design that I have followed to enable this research to be completed.

This chapter aims to address the methodological questions that have guided the research choices made to examine how gender operates across the multiple, interconnected fields *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

While developing the methods and instruments for this research, I consciously chose to explore individual experiences using Bourdieu's conceptual toolbox, following similar methodologies of Butler (2011). The multi-methods approach is used to study how females negotiate their gender in multiple fields. The longitudinal nature of the study across different horseracing spaces was selected to reflect how elements of a journey into the workforce (inc. amateur and professional) can lead to the development of the gendered racing habitus. I use this chapter to outline my own positionality and give a description of my mixed-method approach before outlining the specific methods used and how the analysis was carried out. As I have already discussed in chapter 1, my research is largely influenced by own experiences and observations as a former aspirational woman racecourse stable manager, leader in horseracing education and training, and female. These experiences have meant that I am a "native" in the racing field and I consider myself as "one of the racing tribe" (Fox, 2006).

Bourdieu describes sociology as a craft, a feel for the game, which is demonstrated through a research habitus (Bourdieu and Waquant, 1992). Consequently, I cannot ignore my own experiences or my epistemic knowledge, which I have developed through experience, which will assist in adding context and meanings as they arise from my research (Reed, 2008). I understand the customs and rituals of the racing industry as I have been party to them, I also understand the culture and the expected behaviours within the racing field because it is part of my own habitus. In a similar way to Butler (2018), *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The reason I am not claiming to be separate from my research, as Madill et al. (2000) recommend, is that my own, personal experiences must be shared in relation to data collection and subsequent interpretative decisions.

Similarly, Bourdieu (2003) discusses the roles and responsibilities of an anthropologist and highlights the fact that a researcher must regularly reflect on their own experiences; without her (or his) own knowledge of the world, the researcher cannot comprehend the logic of the practice being observed. In addition, Bourdieu (1996) recommended reflexivity to gain understanding between researcher and participant. Throughout the whole process of this doctoral research, I have been aware that my own experiences, prejudices, perceptions and beliefs could silence or influence some responses. A researcher's personal biography is an unavoidable part of the research process (Giardina and Laurendeau, 2013; Denzin, 2006) and therefore, interpretation is central to the exploration and growth of knowledge regarding socially constructed behaviour and norms.

The Lived Experience

In this section I will explain how the theoretical framework of Chapter 2 has guided the development of my methodology. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Figure 2 below provides a visual overview of the focus groups and follow up interviews throughout the research phase

Focus groups (n=122)

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Semi Structured interview (n=28)

Follow   up interviews were held with those who could be contacted post focus groups or agreed to partipate.

The participants were widening to included a range of women working in a variety of roles

Reflexive Journal

Regular writing in the journal over a period of 45 months

The Journal was used to write down observational notes during my data collection phase. In addition, my journal was used to note down articles, conversations and stories that were shared with me, in my daily, racing life.
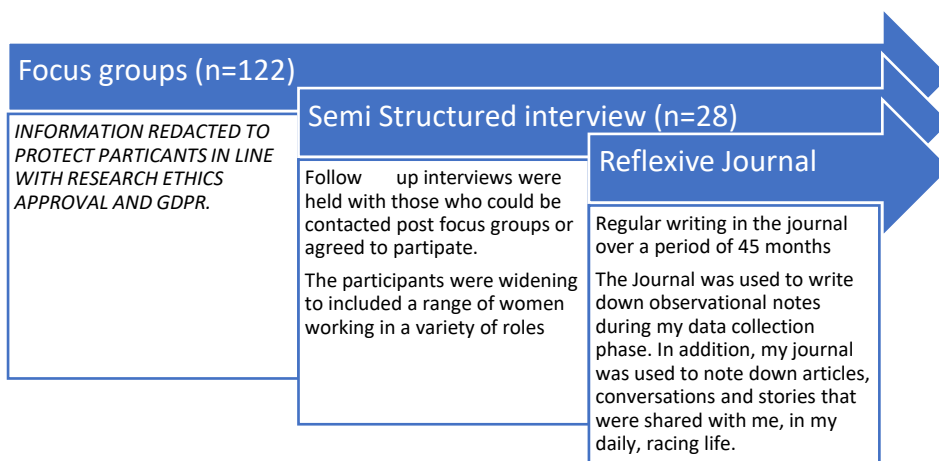
Figure 2: A visual summary of the data collection phases

My dedication to exploring the lived experiences of females assumes that the employed qualitative research methods a researcher will gain a greater insight to the life of the participant. Using interviews as a method of data collection allows participants to share their own experiences with the researcher which should be considered truth, or real. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The autonomy of the participants has been highlighted by (Kale-Lostuvali, 2016) as an important consideration is establishing lived realities. The focus Bourdieu placed on autonomy highlights the idea that the dominant tastes, dispositions and expectations within a culture all contribute to the development of individual truths, reaffirming the "legitimate culture" as a truth (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990:23).

This doctoral research has been based on providing women, in horseracing a platform to express themselves, be heard and listened to. I therefore had a commitment to the diversity of gendered experiences within a horseracing context, which would allow for multiple truths to exist. I agree with the underlying notion of Sikes' (2000: 259) reflective article where there is extensive discussion around qualitative research concerning itself with the ability to 'present a genuine subjectively perceived reality.' In this research, I attempt to achieve genuine understandings of the participant, and these too should foster a sense of self-understanding (Metcalfe, 2013) in support of Bourdieu's way of encouraging reflexivity for all involved parties (Chambers, 2005).

This chapter will now continue to address the research methods I used to explore the lived experiences of young aspirational females within the horseracing industry *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Exploring Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

It is imperative that I give enough attention to the two conventional approaches, typically represented by a quantitative and qualitative divide (Bryman, 2016), when conducting or planning this research project. The advocates for the two broad research approaches commonly differ in their stance and design, which adds further confusion when identifying the most appropriate methods. Epistemological issues form a more or less acceptable or adequate knowledge about the social world and how this is achieved, or in more simple terms, the nature of knowledge. Quantitative research

approaches are sustained by a "positivist" epistemology where the hard, natural sciences are practised and represent a view of social reality as an external reality (Bryman, 2016). Consequently, the literature that I read around risk factors and injury rates (although not included in analysis) suggested that quantitative researchers favoured a reasoned approach to the relationship between theory and data in which the focus is directed at testing theories (Bryman, 2016) or dispelling hypotheses generated at the start of the research process.

In contrast, the qualitative research used strategies that focussed on words rather than calculations in the collection and analysis of data. In a simplified summary, qualitative research is built on an interpretivist foundation, understanding that not all knowledge is objective or an ontological assumption that is concerned with the way that individuals interpret the social world around them. The work of Weber (2017) predominantly emphasised the interpretive approach to understanding social phenomena and suggested that culture and social norms are a changing property of an individual's creation to make sense of the social world. Due to this thought process Weber thought knowledge of general laws is never intrinsically useful in the social world because researchers need concrete evidence (Weber, 2017). Generally speaking, the qualitative research required a causative approach to the relationship between theory and data, where emphasis is placed on the generation and application of theories (Bryman, 2016), which characteristically creates interpretive data from methods such as documentary analysis, interviews, and focus groups. Clearly there are distinct differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the two paradigms are often exaggerated, which has resulted in the multi method approach becoming increasingly popular in social science research (Bryman, 2016). *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Mixed-method Approach

The complexity of gender requires an in-depth methodological approach (Metcalfe, 2018); therefore, a mixed-methods design is appropriate. Using a mixed-methods approach 'attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions and standpoints' (Johnson et al., 2007: 113), and therefore does not assume that each young female has the same perspective on their identity. The aim of multi methods is 'to ask questions about connecting parts, segments or layers of a social whole' (Mason,2006: 6). Therefore, by utilising more than one method, a wider view of the whole situation can be observed which will ultimately mean that the researcher will be able to interpret the data more accurately (Brannen, 2005; Fuller, 1987; Pouliot, 2007; Reed, 2008; Metcalfe, 2018).

In Chapters 2 and 3, I explored how gender, work, sport and sex have a complex relationship that exists in different and imbricate Bourdieusian fields *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Bourdieu recognised the use of mixed-methods to explore his areas of interest, ranging from interviews (Bourdieu, 1996), questionnaires and surveys (Bourdieu, 1984) to ethnographic participant observations in Kabyle (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu (in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 104) suggest that 'analysis in terms of field involves three necessary and interconnected moments':

> 1) The power contained within the field;

> 2) Relations between agents and institutions for legitimate authority within the field;

> 3) The habitus of agents within the field.

Employing the methods that replicate Bourdieu's original empirical work allows his concepts of field, capital and habitus to be explored in "reality". I can link these necessary and interconnected moments to my own research as:

1) power and influence of structures of the horseracing industry *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* in directing beliefs/norms;
2) The relationship between young aspirational females and their legitimate existence by conforming to gendered expectations and,
3) the habitus as individual understandings of behaviours, tastes and actions in relation to racing.

A mixed-methods approach is required to explore how dominant social norms shape the gendered practices or habitus of young people in the horseracing industry.

This research has been focused on the lived experiences of females throughout their journey and how their racing habitus is developed. This therefore led me to formulate the following research questions:

RQ1. How do females, construct their racing habitus for horseracing?

RQ2. Why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?

Figure 3 (below) gives a visual overview of the mixed-methods approach that was used in this research and providing an overview of my research design. I will continue to explain, and justify the methods used throughout the data collection process.
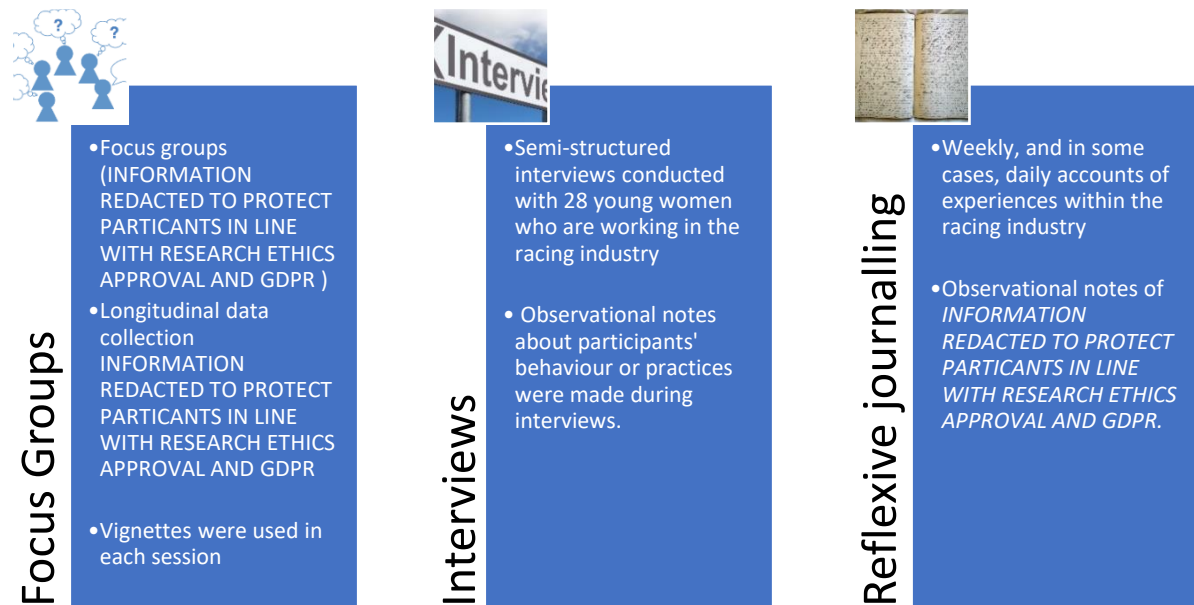

Focus Groups
- Focus groups (INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR)
- Longitudinal data collection INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR
- Vignettes were used in each session

Interviews
- Semi-structured interviews conducted with 28 young women who are working in the racing industry
- Observational notes about participants' behaviour or practices were made during interviews.

Reflexive journalling
- Weekly, and in some cases, daily accounts of experiences within the racing industry
- Observational notes of *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Figure 3: An overview of the multi methods used

Once my research questions had been established it was imperative that I defined an appropriate methodology to use for this type of research.

I do feel that I could have answered these questions based on my own habitus and working experiences; however, I still needed to explain, using theories, that my experiences and feelings are not isolated. I have had the advantage of being an insider in the racing field, in terms of access, knowledge and subsequent rapport.

Sasha Roseneil (1995) engaged with her previous experiences in a reflexive manner, starting from the position of those being researched and claiming a high level of validity for her research 'because of, not despite my involvement with Greenham' (Roseneil, 1995:8). This quotation is representative of my own position within the racing industry and the challenges faced during this research in the writing up period and the data collection phase due to my insider status. In a similar way to the researchers before me such as Butler (2011; 2018) and Roseneil (2006), I understand the role of those being researched as well as the language, terminology, and networks that they work within on a day-to-day basis. I used a multi method approach of focus groups, semi-structured interviews and reflexive

journaling. In addition, my research highlights the fact that the results from quantitative tests require a level of personal interpretation in order to make sense of conclusions and to be able to apply them to different concepts. In simple terms, the social world is not independent of people's perceptions and interpretations as previously identified by Roseneil (1995). *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

This chapter starts with a general discussion about the data collection sites and the advantages of carrying out micro-longitudinal focus groups, interviews and reflexive journaling as data collection methods. I then describe the ways that I was able to access information that has been key to aiding the completion of the fieldwork and addressing the afore-mentioned research questions. I continue to describe how the research was completed and then I go on to elaborate on the data analysis and highlight the advantages and disadvantages of being a "native insider". As Butler (2011) points out, it is important that I include an autobiographical section due to my own involvement in the racing industry.

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The Interviewees

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The inclusion of this older demographic allowed an unexpected response to particular questions and highlighted expected norms that I had come to accept as part of my own racing habitus, namely harassment and discrimination. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The older demographic of the participants, and the fact that I could relate to the stories they were telling, allowed for the working respondents to feel confident when discussing what they did not enjoy about being a female in the racing industry, which elicited particularly gendered responses. In addition to the relationship gained with the researcher, in the majority of cases there was also little regard given to a perceived power structure either with me *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Methods of Data Collection

The data collection methods and schedule followed a five-phase process, made up of a reflexive journal of my time while working in the horseracing industry and *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The data collection was conducted over a period of 14 months, between October 2017 and December 2018, which can be seen in the timetable below:

Table 3: Timetable of Data Collection

Phase	Year 1	Year 2		Year 3		Year 4		Year 5
Phase 1 (Reflective Journaling)	Continuous journaling on a weekly or daily basis, depending on what professional activities I had been involved in. The journal was only used to provide context, to ensure the anonymity of the contributors was maintained and the ethics of data collection observed.							
2 Data Collection			██	██	██			
3 Data Collection		██	██	██				
4 Data Collection					██	██	██	
5 Follow-up interviews					██	██	██	

Focus Groups

A micro longitudinal study, initially using focus groups, was deemed the most effective method of data collection to construct one element of my sociological analysis, because it is deemed particularly useful for developing context. In addition, a focus group can reduce artificiality, allowing for "natural" communication through shared experiences and cooperative discussion, which in turn can reduce the power of the researcher to direct discourse (Wilkinson and Silverman, 2004), and remain generally non-hierarchical (Hardin and Shain, 2007). I had to be aware, however, that the nature of a group discussion can sometimes have the opposite effect on a group of women, especially if there is an element of sensitivity, economical capital or damaged self-esteem, so the respondents do not offer a reflective or accurate account, especially if they have something to lose. It was important for the focus group to be carefully managed and have clear guidelines to ensure parity of participation. If focus groups are executed well they have the potential to assist participants, especially women, to change their consciousness through collective solidarities and identities (Hardin and Shain, 2007). The reason I was keen to include focus groups within my methodologies was because focus groups can go beyond 'already existing meanings produced by already constituted subjectivities' by bringing 'into being new meanings and new subjectivities' (Montell 1999: 54). Within this method, therefore, participants had the opportunity to develop new thought processes and the sense that they can speak out; in short, a sense of liberation.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. However, it is important to note that a focus group environment may not allow for a true representation of feelings and thoughts; therefore, vignettes were used in each session to create interest. This research, therefore, attempted to understand the reality of aspiring female sportspeople's lives, and it was important for the questions to be appropriately focussed while at the same time ensuring that they did not restrict the responses in any way.

The focus groups were a particularly beneficial method for collecting data in relation to the topic because it provided an opportunity for the researcher to visualise the group dynamic, observe and record discussions around perceived gender barriers. This open discussion was especially powerful when the group were asked to consider the importance of cultural capital and gender capital, which further highlighted the importance of Vignettes, which I discuss in the next section. In line with Hardin and Shain (2007), there were a few challenges that required managing, mainly as a result of the group being over 10 in size. With bigger focus groups, it is widely accepted that there is more involvement required from the moderator and most importantly, prevent parallel conversation. Although the focus groups yielded valuable results, there were times, especially in the first "sitting", that the session

required more management. Upon reflection, this is likely a result of the newly formed friendships, and the group dynamics not being fully established however, everyone still contributed their opinion or perception. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The Use of Vignettes in the Focus Groups

As just mentioned, I used vignettes within my multi method approach as they have been a key feature within social science research, especially when the participants are adolescents (see Rasbash et al., 2010; Akerlind, 2005). Social science researchers have claimed that the use of vignettes has multiple advantages such as improving the validity of studies by contextualising or framing research topics (Gupta et al., 2010) in qualitative interview and focus group interviews (Barter and Renold, 2000). The literature agrees that the chief purpose of vignettes is to allow an easy entry into complex research questions, because they 'selectively stimulate elements of the research topic under study' (Hughes and Huby, 2002: 383). It enables certain factors around the topic of enquiry 'which may normally be relatively unconsidered or perhaps even highly routinised' (Jenkins et al., 2010: 179) to be highlighted, unpacked and then explored by researchers and participants. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The literature on vignettes has shown that there is some inconsistency about what a vignette should consist of; however, the most common definitions found were: fictional scenarios (Jenkins et al., 2010), real-life stories (Barter and Renold, 2000), simulations of real events (Eskelinen and Caswell, 2006) researcher-generated, anecdotal data in an auto-ethnography (Pitarch, 2016) or as a narrative way of presenting research findings (Jacobsen, 2016). Therefore, for this research, I decided to avoid the application of a fixed definition of a vignette and focus on what the vignette consisted of, not what it was.

The vignettes used within this study were written using guidelines suggested by Hughes and Huby (2004) to ensure that the vignettes themselves are internally valid, that is, that they elicit the kind of data that enables project research questions to be answered, through writing them as two separate but interconnected issues of the topic, and participant relevance. As recommended by the literature, the vignettes were designed to be relevant to the topic and accessible to the participants in terms of both language and scenario (Jenkins et al., 2010) and during a pilot, it was clear that I could achieve

both. The vignettes used, depicted two different, but real-life characters, that had different backgrounds (one had more economic and cultural capital and the other a passion for the horse and an interest in the associated glamour of the sport) with the hope that the participants would be able to relate, or distantly relate to one of them. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

In this study, the vignettes had a mixed response amongst the groups and even the data collection phase. In the first week, given that the groups were still getting to know one another, the response was initially quite muted until direct questions were asked. It was found that this experience was consistent across all sites for the first week and then, when the groups had started to understand the process, the conversations became lively. One interesting element that was observed was the desire to identify, who the characters were based on. Although, this added a different dynamic to the discussion, it also required management to ensure that the purpose of the vignette was addressed.

Interviews with Aspirational Females

I tried to select a sample of young people who had varying experiences of the racing industry, and differing levels of experience *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

 In total, I conducted 28 semi-structured interviews with females who were working in the horseracing industry, running to a total of 30 hours. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Crucially, all interviewees were given the option of being interviewed at work, a café or a familiar place as well as on their own or alongside a friend. I wanted to make sure that the interview setting would not be seen as threatening or intimidating (David et al., 2001). Only one of my interviewees chose to be interviewed with a friend and they elected a friend who was the same sex as themselves. This is particularly relevant because Bourdieu (1996:18) talks about the power relations in interviews, suggesting that *'various kinds of distortion are embedded in the very structure of the relationship'*. The relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee can be challenging to manage; however, I suggested that, if the participants would prefer, they could bring a friend, which was designed to create a less threatening environment.

Semi-structured interviews offer a middle course between the extremes of purely structured and unstructured interviews. In this I followed Mean and Kassing (2008), who used semi-structured interviews to establish that access and provision has improved but the nature of inclusion appears to

be problematic for women in sport, since my own primary research question is the viability of females maintaining positions in the racing industry in the different phases of their horse racing careers. Sport has the power to reproduce hegemonic forms that leave the relationship between sport and gender ideologically challenging (Fowler, 2016). My research, therefore, has attempted to understand the reality of aspiring female sportspeople's lives, and it was important for the interview questions to be appropriately focussed while, at the same time, ensuring that they did not restrict the responses in anyway. The interview schedule was semi-structured so that the interviewees felt they were able to speak freely with greater engagement (Bryman, 2016) while concurrently concentrating on the research aims and objectives. When discussing sensitive, subjugated realities of women which often remain hidden and unarticulated, subjective methods are required to allow for individual exploration of personal experiences (Blaikie, 2007). I asked questions which explored the issues that are of particular concern to these young women's lives and created a heightened awareness of their relevance to the interviewees. I was initially tempted to utilise an informal interview style as used by Douglas and Carless (2009b) when they explored the lives of women living in and withdrawing from professional golf; however, I opted not to pursue this style given the time and occasionally the location of the interviews. The interviews lasted between 50 and 105 minutes (average length = 66 minutes) and were all recorded and transcribed verbatim; however, I used my research book to make notes on the interview as well as any interactions that I witnessed on the yard, because 'transcription cannot capture the rhythms and tempo of the spoken word' (Bourdieu, 1996:22).

In addition, I made notes about my own experiences of the interview, noting how the person reacted to certain questions. These observations assisted the examination of individual pressures or discrepancies between embodied behaviours and verbalised words, emphasising the application of Bourdieu's habitus and field as a framework to explore individual gendered tensions and struggles (Metcalfe, 2018) of some women in the horseracing industry. Now that I have had time to reflect, during the initial interviews it is likely that I could have missed out on following up on certain leads due to the not wishing to deviate from my formatted questions.

During the interviews, I regularly visited my reflexive journal. Not only was I making notes on my observations but, I had written a note to remind me that interviews are a two-way process which can be useful for both the participant and researcher (Bourdieu, 1996). Not only did this keep me focussed, but it provided me with the confidence to ask for further detail. However, this reminder did not always serve to ensure an appropriate follow up. In one instance during an interview, a dog started to bark persistently under the table during a particularly sensitive explanation, and this interruption meant

that there was a significant disruption to my thought process and consequently, I forgot to follow up on the response.

It is examples like this that reinforce Bourdieu's (1996) criticism of researchers finding it challenging to provide cognisant regard to what is being said while, at the same time, thinking about the next question in order to maintain relevance and flow. I realised that it was my desire to ensure that I "always got it right", which initially acted as a barrier to fluid and real conversation. Therefore, when I was more confident with my research and interview techniques, I was able to talk to people while they went about their daily tasks. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

I asked the participants if they enjoyed the opportunity to discuss their experiences and most of them agreed. This agreement validates the value of using research to challenge the social world (Brubaker, 1993; Chambers, 2005), providing people with the opportunity to reflect on their beliefs, inclination, and practices in relation to assumptions within their (racing) habitus.

My semi-structured interview was broken down into four parts and the same sequence was asked of each of the women; this was to encourage them to reflect on their own experiences as well as anything they may have witnessed while training or working in the racing industry. The introductory questions about themselves and current working position were designed to create a supportive environment and develop rapport (Bourdieu, 1996). It is common practice for social science researchers to utilise their own experiences so that exchanges with the interviewee are natural and open, leading to a truer depiction of the phenomena. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* This approach aligns with the key Bourdieu concepts, especially habitus and field, where the relationships between subjectivity and society are understood through being seen as "legitimate" in the field (Butler, 2011; 2013a).

Designing the Interview Questions

I had initially struggled with writing the interview questions, especially those which were not a direct "follow-on" from the focus group findings. This is potentially due to the range of social fields that this research intersects (*INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR).*

Therefore, it was decided that questions should initially be positioned within sport. However, *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND*

GDPR. Consequently, there can only ever be a more adequate account of the lives of athletes rather than the "absolute truth" because of the very nature of human conversation (Bryman, 2016). Using the research methodology of Butler (2011) as an effective method of data collection, I also used an interview guide to facilitate the individual and personal circumstances of the interviewee but acknowledged the importance of re-ordering questions to correspond with the data that had been revealed.

The questions were developed, after reading previous research (in brackets) and questions were framed to help:

- Explore the complex relationship between participating in male-dominated sports and how femininity is constructed (Cox and Thompson, 2000).
- Discuss how women's perceived lack of muscularity and strength are a barrier to women performing "masculine" manual work (Fielden et al., 2001).
- Explore how long, inflexible working hours and a strict occupational hierarchy affects the way women operate in a male-dominated occupation (Wright, 2014).
- *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* (Butler, 2017).
- Explore how understandings of gender and their body affect the social construction of the ideal worker and the journey into racing being "a way of life" (McClintock-Comeaux, 2006; Butler, 2012).
- Encourage reflection by participants on their own experiences and the gender pressures that they face (Hills, 2006).

During interviews, where required, I would use various visual techniques to stimulate conversation or assist if discussing a difficult topic (Prosser and Loxley, 2008; Metcalfe, 2018). When discussing role models, I used images taken from search engines (on their mobile phone) that were considered a true representation of the individuals. When choosing the photos, I was conscious that the images should be linked to a working environment as opposed to a "brand" image that has been socially constructed.

(Reflexive) Thematic Analysis

It is well-understood that qualitative data collection is largely dependent on interpretation (Alhojailan, 2012) often due to the large quantities that are yielded from a qualitative design. In addition, as stated by Cohen and Morrison (2011: 537) when explaining how the analysis within qualitative research is

different, merging of analysis and interpretation. and often by the merging of data collection with data analysis, emphasises the interrelationship of analysis and interpretation when considering the associated meaning. Thematic analysis focuses on latent themes and assumes that meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore, thematic analysis is applicable to most social studies that aim to explore lived realities through interpretation due to the frequency of reoccurring themes, which will confer accuracy and promote the research's whole meaning (Marks and Yardley, 2004; Alhojailan, 2012) and is a widely used method in qualitative sport and exercise research (Braun and Clarke, 2019).

 Namey et al. (2008: 138) explained that:

> 'Thematic [analysis] moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas. Codes developed for ideas or themes are then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis, which may include comparing the relative frequencies of themes or topics within a data set, looking for code cooccurrence, or graphically displaying code relationships.'

In simple terms, thematic analysis allows the researcher to precisely determine the relationship between concepts and compare them with the replicated data. More specifically, the use of thematic analysis provides the opportunity to link multiple concepts and opinions of, in this case, females, collected in one situation to another experience explained by another. Therefore, this research employed (reflexive) thematic analysis to classify and present themes within the data to enable diverse responses to be illustrated in greater detail through interpretations (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2013; 2019; Bryman, 2016). Where Boyatzis (1998) positioned thematic analysis technique as an opportunity to "bridge the divide" between positivist (quantitative) and interpretive (qualitative) research, Braun and Clarke (2013) have worked to develop reflexive thematic analysis. The main difference is that reflexive thematic analysis should be employed with theoretical knowingness and transparency:

> '…the researcher strives to be fully cognisant of the philosophical sensibility and theoretical assumptions informing their use of [thematic analysis]; and these are consistently, coherently and transparently enacted throughout the analytic process and reporting of the research.' (Braun and Clarke, 2019:7)

In short, the researchers are aware of the need to make decisions around analysis, and they knowingly engage and make them (Braun et al., 2017). Therefore, the implementation of reflexive thematic

analysis meant that, during the coding process, there was 'a continual bending back on oneself – questioning and querying the assumptions we are making in interpreting and coding the data' (Braun and Clarke, 2013). This method of data analysis was particularly suitable for researching the lived experiences of aspirational women because it acknowledges that the themes are:

> '…creative and interpretive stories about the data, produced at the intersection of the researcher's theoretical assumptions, their analytic resources and skill, and the data themselves.' (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 8).

This thematic coding method provided the opportunity for the researcher to accept her positionality whilst highlighting the importance of the reflexive research diary. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

The key principles that were used to facilitate the purpose of the thematic analysis and encourage better practice are listed below, as adapted from Braun and Clarke (2019: 9):

- Be explicit, thoughtful and deliberate ("knowing") in the application of method and theory
- Assumptions and positionings are always part of qualitative research. Therefore, reflexive practice is vital to understand and unpack my own positionality
- It is good practice to reflect on and identify what I am assuming, and then interrogate whether those assumptions hold for horseracing
- Quality matters. Understanding what I am doing and why I am doing it.

The Use of the Reflexive Journal(s)

In this study, a reflective journal was kept for the duration of the data collection phase, although, the researcher kept journals daily as part of her professional practice. Within this section, I will explain the use of the reflective journal as a data collection method and the positive contribution it has made in analysing the data. Janesick (1998) explained that a comprehensive researcher journal can be used to consider the researcher's self due to the researcher being the research instrument. Journaling is a technique that can encourage critical self-reflection where dilemmas, contradictions, and evolving perceptions and thoughts are questioned or challenged (Hiemstra, 2001). Although reflective journaling has not been created as an explicitly feminist methodology, it has been considered a feminist research tool due to the focus given to the personal position as a valid site of knowledge production and the intended purpose is to expose and interrogate relations (Rode, 2011). Clarke and Braun (2019: 2) emphasised that reflective practice is a 'hallmark of feminist research.' When

considering the use of a reflective journal, I was keen to ensure that it would provide an important and relevant contribution through demonstrating sensitivity to context (Yardley, 2000; 2008), 'owning one's perspective' (Elliott et al., 1999), and allow space to be reflexive. The need to be reflexive is highlighted further by Morse (1997) because thematic coding (as described in the previous section) is inexorably and unavoidably an interpretative (and, therefore, a situated) process. Therefore, as a result of reviewing the literature (see Pogoff, 1992; Janesick, 1998; Hayashi and Hong, 2011; Rode, 2011; Bryman, 2016; Disch and Hawkesworth, 2018.) I have reduced the reasons for using a journal to explore the lived experiences of women, to five main points below. In qualitative, feminist research, the reflective journal can be used to:

1) develop the understanding of the role of the researcher through reflection
2) increase the depth of understanding of the responses of participants
3) interact with participants in the study, as a type of interdisciplinary triangulation of data
4) increase self-awareness and develop the understanding of positionality within the research
5) structure thoughts in relation to all aspects of data collection and analysis.

The reflective journal was used in this study to benefit four of these ways, the only exception was point number three, because it would not have been appropriate or ethical.

Ultimately, journal writing has been used to provide a reference point and feedback from myself and allow the experience to be considered in a full and open-ended way. From a feminist methodological perspective, my journal allowed space to consider critical and diverse interactions with concerns of power, dominance and privilege, including and reaching beyond gender-based inequalities. Clarke and Braun (2019) highlighted that any methodological approach which prioritises consistency above situated interpretation of data risks superficiality: 'it will simplify the research to such an extent that all of the richness attained from insight will be lost' (Morse, 1997: 446). In this study, if a reflective journal was not to be used, I could have been doing a 'disservice to those who have entrusted us with interpreting, and sometimes "giving voice" to, their experiences, if we inadvertently restrict nuance and diversity through valorising consensus in coding practice' (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 15.) Therefore, the use of a reflexive journal enabled the researcher to understand and listen to the experiences of the participants as legitimate knowledge whilst being conscious to avoid reinforcing hierarchies of power and authority embedded within the research process (Smith, 2005).

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was given by Durham University School of Sociology Ethics Committee on the 14th October, 2017. There is an elevated level of ethical considerations when the research involves *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* During the four phases of data collection, I ensured that I adhered to ethical principles continuously, basing all decisions on ESRC ethical guidelines (ESRC, 2015a). In line with the six key principles outlined by the ESRC ethical framework, I will highlight the route taken to achieve:

1) informed consent (Appendix 5),
2) confidentiality,
3) anonymity,
4) protection from harm,
5) participant free will,
6) and my own position (and reflexivity).

In accordance with the ESRC (2015a:4) guidelines:

> '…[participants] should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.'

Following these guidelines, all participants and their guardians were provided with an information sheet (Appendix 6) which outlines the principles of the research, the procedures which the person would be involved in INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

At any point in data collection, the participants were given the opportunity to withdraw from the study if they so wished (BERA, 2018). No individuals withdrew their participation or declined to continue after receiving information about the content of the interview or focus group. Smith (1995) highlighted a risk of over-disclosure during focus groups; however, a debriefing of each of the focus groups included a summary on the interview. At this point, I assessed the impact of the interview on the young people and no participant became distressed; most said they relished the opportunity to discuss their experiences of working in the horseracing industry.

Another aspect of this research that cannot be taken lightly is that confidentiality and anonymity can be difficult to achieve, particularly in focus groups, or when interviewing in a tack room where other people would regularly walk through. When introducing more than one member into a conversation,

the participants cannot be wholly sure what the other participants are going to say or disclose to others after the event (Smith, 1995). Moreover, during both interviews and focus groups, some of the participants named *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* In these situations, to ensure confidentiality, it was important that I did not disclose any prior knowledge of the people or situations they were talking about (Metcalfe, 2018). *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Furthermore, to ensure anonymity for those taking part, I allocated pseudonyms during transcription. Data were stored securely throughout; only I was able to access documents through password protected computers and files (ESRC, 2015b).

In line with David et al.'s (2001) recommendations, I provided a whole-group explanation session prior to any research activity being carried out, which helped ensure consistency with how the research was explained to the participants. Throughout, I highlighted that there were "no right or wrong answers" and I was interested in their own experiences (David et al., 2001: 359). In reality, I did not feel that the participants shielded or held back their "real" experiences or beliefs, and indeed, the reflections, perceptions and experiences gathered are testimony to this. One ethical consideration of which I was particularly aware throughout the whole research process was that of research positionality and reflexivity (Punch, 2002).

As a former teacher, work rider and manager of a racecourse stable yard, I was able to develop and create a safe environment for disclosure of personal stories, experiences, and information. In addition, It could have been said that, due to my positionality as a former teacher *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR* my own habitus could have had an impact on the authenticity of the interviews and power differentials. If this had been said or brought to my attention, I would have explained that every element of this research had been designed to ensure reflexivity was central to all elements of design. It is felt that, through the quality of the data collected and the depth of experiences covered, the relationship between researcher and participant was well-balanced.

Data Analysis

All interview transcripts were recorded, as previously mentioned, and then transcribed verbatim. Each component part of the data was collectively analysed to highlight and contextualise findings from all phases. In combining the data from all data collection points, the aim was to look for key themes throughout all areas. Each data collection method was designed to address the Bourdieusian fields,

the combination of all areas to allow the intersecting fields to be explored. The transcripts were revisited regularly throughout the analysis phase, to increase familiarity and aid the process. During this time, the transcripts were annotated to explicitly identify categories by which the data might be coded at a later point (Bryman, 2012). (Reflexive) thematic coding (as previously discussed) was used to make sure that the sections of text which had recurring themes of interest and emergent trends could be retrieved and analysed appropriately. This process of thematic coding allowed for similarities, connection and repetitions to be found and subsequently grouped together (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Revisiting and coding using colour and annotation was particularly useful given the depth of some responses uncovered from the semi-structured interviews and facilitated the process of organising the data in the first stages in order to identify initial themes. Bryan (2012) suggested that the ideas developed in the early stages of thematic coding should be considered as indicators of concepts to be explored more fully at later time. A thematic analysis of interview data was selected to check that I continued to stay focused on the Bourdieusian principles steering this PhD, mainly the way in which young females in the horseracing industry develop their racing habitus linked to their position in the different fields where they operate, relationships with other agents in the field and the way that power impacts the field.

Initially, the data analysis phase needed a substantial amount of time; however, this has added to the validity of the project by enabling the data to be collected and then referred back to during analysis. The increasing familiarity of the data meant that it was possible to explore findings which supported or contradicted previous literature and emerging themes. This thematic coding was carried out in conjunction with frequent meetings with supervisors of this project, which helped encourage a greater degree of detachment from the data (Perry et al., 2004) and provided additional scrutiny in the development of codes. A hybrid approach was used which incorporated both deductive and inductive coding to develop the themes (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). As previously mentioned, all coding was completed manually. I did not use analytical software for several reasons, the main one being that I preferred to stay close to the data and work off paper as opposed to a computer screen. The next stage of data analysis involved refining the codes into more precise themes (Bryman, 2012) and linking these themes to Bourdieu's key theoretical ideas, aiding the development of theoretical applications, which were: the racing habitus, regulation of gender norms, symbolic violence and how cultural capital operated to create a hierarchal representation of certain representations of the sport and body.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR to prevent any assumptions or confidentiality being compromised; however, having all data

grouped together allowed for easier synthesis and searching of data during write-up. During the data "cleansing" process it became clear that common themes were emerging with different levels of significance. By using my own research notes and reflexive journal, I attempted to contextualise the themes into a broader idea. By separating thematic codes, I was able to analyse how young people come to be part of the "racing set" and how this may influence their experience.

In total, six over-arching themes emerged, which were: body, hyperfeminity, sexual harassment, maternity and pregnancy, gender as a limiting factor, and *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

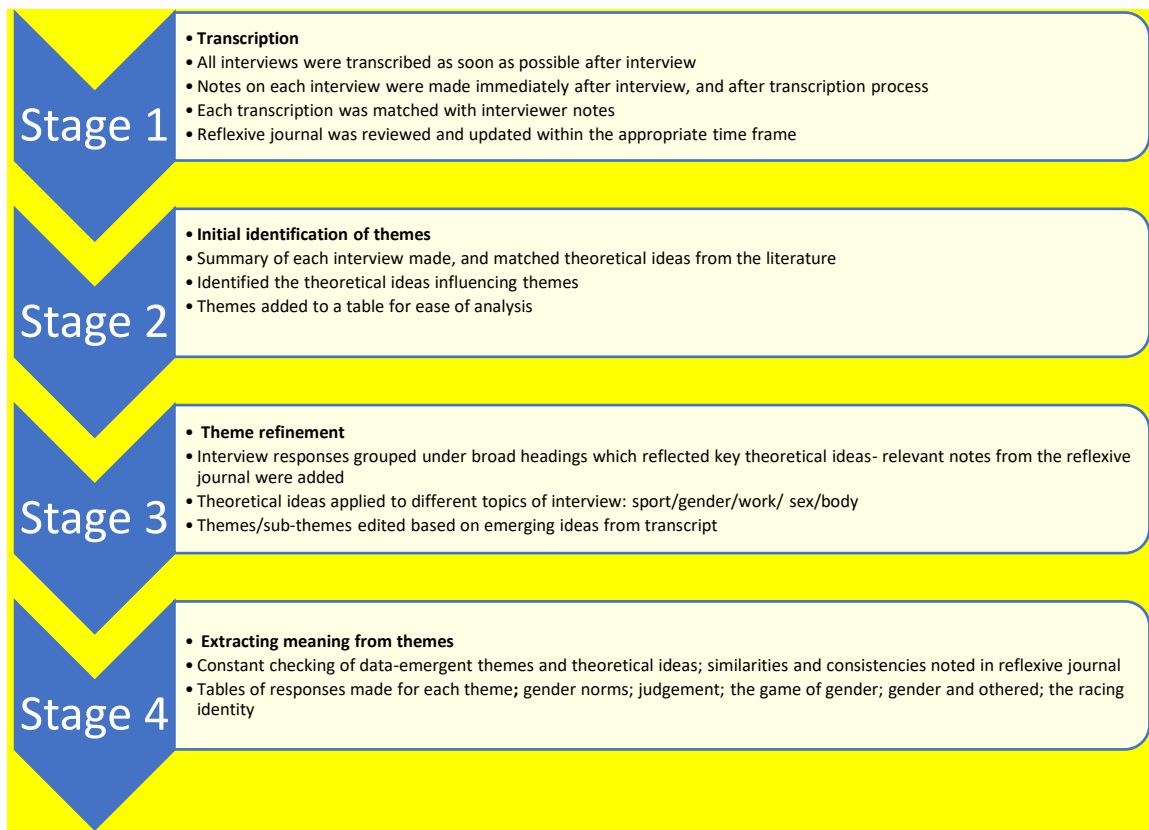A visual representation of my thematic analysis is shown in Figure 5.

Stage 1
• **Transcription**
• All interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after interview
• Notes on each interview were made immediately after interview, and after transcription process
• Each transcription was matched with interviewer notes
• Reflexive journal was reviewed and updated within the appropriate time frame

Stage 2
• **Initial identification of themes**
• Summary of each interview made, and matched theoretical ideas from the literature
• Identified the theoretical ideas influencing themes
• Themes added to a table for ease of analysis

Stage 3
• **Theme refinement**
• Interview responses grouped under broad headings which reflected key theoretical ideas- relevant notes from the reflexive journal were added
• Theoretical ideas applied to different topics of interview: sport/gender/work/ sex/body
• Themes/sub-themes edited based on emerging ideas from transcript

Stage 4
• **Extracting meaning from themes**
• Constant checking of data-emergent themes and theoretical ideas; similarities and consistencies noted in reflexive journal
• Tables of responses made for each theme; gender norms; judgement; the game of gender; gender and othered; the racing identity

Figure 5: Visual representation of the thematic analysis process (adapted from Metcalfe, 2018)

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR these were not, however, always at the forefront of the conversation, which, in turn, has meant that the discussion chapters evidence a progressive narrative showing each part of the aspirational female's reality (that took part in this study).

In response to this, the following chapters follow a progressive narrative (Metcalfe, 2018) showing each of the respondents' experiences as aspirational females. However, with this said, no topics that are discussed are viewed as independent from another. In short, the following chapters have been arranged in this way to prevent confusion and repetition.

Conclusion

This methodology chapter has provided an overview of the research methodology which was utilised in this research, as well as justifying the research design. More specifically, I have shown how my mixed-methods approach has allowed significant data to be gathered within a Bourdieusian framework.

In addition, I have provided a detailed explanation of the procedures for collecting data and data analysis while recognising that the presentation of the thesis may, at times, not be able to emphasise ways that the fields overlap within the females' experiences.

One of the focal areas of this research design has been the determination to listen to the stories of these women and their experiences while navigating their way through horseracing, and the implication of their sex and gender in this process.

PART 4: THE PHOTO FINISH

INTRODUCTION

People's gendered identities are complex and, therefore, each section presented below should not be considered in isolation; as previously explained, there are large areas of overlap, further emphasising the need to consider the data from an intersectional position too.

This discussion has been written around two consistently present themes that are central to the way in which young women develop their gendered racing habitus, while keeping the voice of the participants at the centre of all dialogue.

The ever-present themes in the following chapters are:

Firstly, an overwhelming fear of being "othered". Women are acutely aware of the persistent power relations that inform gendered norms and behaviours that are reflective of their ability to accrue appropriate capitals.

Secondly, but by no means lesser in importance, women in the horseracing industry are victims of historical power relations and heterosexual expectations. It is on these occasions that one must utilise intersectional feminism to 'challenge binary thinking, shifting the analytic focus on the fluidity among interrelationships between, and coproduction of various categories and systems of power' (Collins, 2012: 454). This theoretical lens can explain the examples of women, in the following chapters, who are unable to consolidate their own gendered norms; however, it is not through lack of effort.

Throughout the succeeding chapters I use the phrase "other" to describe those who are feeling pressured to act in a certain way, being the "second gender" or a subdivision of a wider, more significant group. Importantly, I do not use the term in a deterministic way and, therefore, it will always be written as "other" to highlight the dynamic nature of this word choice.

Another trend throughout the subsequent discussion chapters is the way I will always refer to my research questions within the conclusion of the chapter.

I would have liked to be able to address a singular research question in each of my discussion chapters; however, as with many other studies concerning gender, it is not possible due to the multi-dimensional nature of gender. With that said, I recognise the need to answer my research questions in a concise manner that draws on all data collected, including that of my reflexive journal. Therefore,

in my concluding statements I will answer my research questions decisively using a Bourdieusian and intersectional lens.

I will address the intersectional nature of the development of a legitimate racing habitus with notable attention given to the role of gender and capital. Occasionally, there is reference to social class; however, this has been inferred from the respondent's explicit taste and dispositions, if it has not been explicitly shared through dialogue.

The next chapter, (Chapter 5), explores the development of the racing habitus, using Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus to explain how gender operates at an unconscious and conscious level for these aspirational women. The intersectional nature of the racing habitus is also considered throughout this chapter to further explain how it is the different value placed on gendered performances which consequently results in male priority.

Chapter 6 provides an explanation of the characteristics and underlying beliefs held by people in the early stages of their racing career. The data are considered in relation to the implicit, (and occasionally invisible), masculine norm that structures horseracing. It is these constructs that determine what, and who is considered "successful" in the workplace and reinforces the ideal worker as male (Bruni et al., 2004).

In Chapter 7**,** the relationship and importance of the body is considered during a variety of scenarios, including pregnancy and maternity. Using the ideal worker concept and Bourdieu's "rules", the significance of embodied gender is explored to explain how the female worker is limited by comparison to the masculine, ideal worker ("other") (Williams et al., 2012; Dahsper, 2019). Most notably, the idea of a successful worker is created with an expectation of an uninterrupted career history and independence (Acker, 2012; McClintock-Comeaux, 2013).

Chapter 8 explores how women in the racing industry are part of a "game of gender", following etiquette and gendered expectations to regulate legitimate identities and more specifically, the inability for women to "win" the game of gender. One of the central elements to this chapter is the unwanted sexual advances or obscene acts or language towards women, as a result of the power differential *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* (Heimer and Kruttschnitt, 2006; Bacciagaluppi, 2018). In addition, I consider the role of this sexual harassment in the context of the "rules" which reinforce the message of superiority and dominance (Lim and Cortina, 2005).

The Photo Finish section of this PhD emphasises the original contribution of this research. The use of Bourdieu has previously been used to explore workplaces (Vuolanto and Laiho, 2017; De Vuyst, 2020), gender (Adkins, 2004; Skeggs, 2004; McLeod, 2005; Wilcox, 2017; Mennesson and Forté, 2018 ; Metcalfe, 2018), education (Dumais, 2002; Grenfell and James, 2004; Webb et al., 2017; Metcalfe, 2018; 2019) and sporting subcultures (Thorpe, 2009; Butler, 2011; Thompson and Birke, 2013) and interspecies sport (Thompson and Birke, 2013; Gilbert, 2015; Butler,2017). Therefore, the amalgamation of these research areas to explore the lived experiences of women in a relatively under-researched space, is required using Bourdieu and an intersectional feminist viewpoint, and, more specifically, the concept of the ideal worker.

In summary, I consider how females are "othered", by their gendered identities, which formulate how the wider institution can create and influence the racing habitus and have created power dynamics which can construct social norms that keep women in their place.

This discussion emphasises a commitment to improving the realities of young women negotiating their place as they enter the horseracing industry regardless of appearance, identity, class and race.

CHAPTER 5: DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACING HABITUS

The primary focus of this chapter is the way in which the women who took part in this study, interpret gender and how gender impacts their way of thinking, behaving and identity choices. This chapter has been intentionally placed as my first discussion chapter because the gendered assumptions described by the young people, and more specifically women, become increasingly important in my later chapters, where I discuss how gender interacts. The importance of the racing habitus is addressed, whilst including a discussion of what is determined a successful display of gender for young women in the racing industry. This chapter is particularly interested in where these notions originated and how capital is accrued through appropriate and legitimate representations of gender, both unconsciously and consciously.

The initial parts of the chapter consider how women, as part of the workforce, learn to accept as normal the gendered structure of the racing field, and how these become embodied in their work within their professional lives. The idea of the ideal worker is interwoven throughout this chapter to explain how masculine traits and behaviours are associated with success. In some quotes, there are examples to highlight how dominant is the masculine expectation that the gendered attributes are rendered invisible (Kelan, 2009; Liu et al., 2015) which, in turn, reinforces, the strength of the racing habitus.

I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the sexual prioritisation within the racing habitus, which is developed INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR supporting the notion that the lived environment can influence the development of the habitus (Garnham and Williams, 1980).

As previously mentioned, I maintain that women in racing feel "othered" in their racing habitus, which does not afford many choices for their gendered identity, not forgetting that choices are never "free" (Bourdieu, 1990; Connell, 2007). I will discuss, where possible, with the use of my field notes to consider the additional social elements that were shared or implied through visual cues. This covert information will be added to provide an intersectional analysis, were appropriate.

Gendered Norms in Racing

This entire PhD thesis is built on a framework emphasising that gender is formed by experiences, language and norms that are reinforced by social expectations. This chapter discusses how essentialist ideas of oppositional gender are still common among young people (Connell, 1987; Hargreaves, 1994) while in horseracing or while reflecting on their experiences. When discussing characteristics of men and women in the horseracing industry, the majority of the participants in this study discussed gender in a way that reflected the well-documented binary gender norms (Hargreaves, 1994; Metcalfe, 2019).

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The Role of Femininity in the Racing Habitus

In this section, I consider how femininity is always positioned at the opposite end of the gender continuum by the respondents: if you were not strong or fit, you were feminine, highlighting the perceived inherent differences between men and women. The people that I spoke with, and others who I met within my professional life, discussed masculinity and femininity alongside each other, sometimes even judging one by the other. For example:

> *'you know, being more feminine makes you more nice, you care about the horses, I mean, we all care about the horses but us men can be a little tough and competitive.'* (Steve)

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These quotes show that there is a belief that gender is responsible for preventing opportunities for women because 'men can be a little tough and competitive', which is considered a desirable trait for the racing industry.

This hierarchy is further demonstrated by Sheila:

> *'Girls will always have to give 110% just to be seen the same as the boys, you know what I am saying, like what the boys are doing is what is expected.'*

This hierarchy was emphasised, with a tenuous link made to ability, during the initial focus groups 'yeah there was a lard arse at the back, where she belonged on the yard bus.' In this example, not only was the focus on the feminine shape, but also a spoken acceptance that the rider should be on a slower horse, at the back for having a more curvaceous figure. This idea is not unique to this case, and the female body is discussed in great detail in Chapter 7.

If gender is constructed as oppositional, the beliefs that form the racing habitus of young women have been ingrained as reality. An interesting element of the quotes shared above is the similar thought process, yet the difference in gender and age. Collins (1998:63) stated that:

> 'As opposed to examine gender, race, class, and nation, as separate systems of oppression, intersectionality explores how these systems mutually construct one another.'

Therefore, the different characteristics that the respondents present, although presented as oppositional, are not stable or resistant to power struggles. As Kofoed (2005:44) put it, 'categories can exaggerate each other or subvert each other or even cancel each other.' In short, class, race and sexuality can reinforce their dominant position and superiority because they present a legitimate interpretation of masculinity such as *'a little tough and competitive'*.

Similarly, Messerschmidt (2012:58) described this gendered paradigm as:

> '…the form of masculinity in a given historical and society-wide setting that structures and legitimates hierarchical gender relations between men and women, between masculinity and femininity, and among men.'

This notion highlights how, by positioning gender as counterparts, the differences are assumed as natural and the unchallenged structure, which the participants consider natural, becomes part of a person's habitus (Arnot, 2002). It is these characteristics that make gendered beliefs unexamined, taken for granted and difficult to define (Cohen, 1985). It is, therefore, fundamental to explore how the racing habitus influences the behaviours of young women.

With specific reference to the feminine body, Bartky (1997; 2015) discusses three categories of practice, which are: a body of a certain size and shape, those who present the female body as an ornamented surface and those who create a set of postures, movements and gestures.

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As well as being smaller, and more girly, Jane reflected the importance of size and image of the female body:

> *'I haven't had personal experience with [*needing to look a certain way]*, but I am aware that [people] will put people that are lighter on smaller horses and heavier people on bigger horses. Or the maybe not so able horses, if you're on the flat. Therefore, ladies do have this added pressure of trying to stay a certain weight, throughout their cycle.*

> *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

This quote highlights an area of a young female's reality that had not previously been considered. The menstrual cycle is an important biological rhythm in females that serves to prepare the uterus for pregnancy. In women who have a regular cycle, the length is typically 28 days, but this can vary considerably (Dawson and Reilly, 2009). It has been well-discussed that, throughout a woman's menstrual cycle, they are subjected to changing patterns of endogenous sex hormones which are responsible for impacting a number of physiological systems (see de Jong, 2003; Constantini et al., 2005 ; White et al., 2011; Haggstrom, 2014). The fluctuations that Jane is referring to in the quote above have been discussed in research elsewhere (Blagrove, 2020) in relation to the variation in physical responses to exercise throughout the menstrual cycle . However, there is no specific reference to the associated barriers of menstruation to exercise, which is clearly being reported in the context of horseracing. Interestingly, a lot of research has focused on the changes in female reproductive hormones and how they create strength-related tasks barriers has been debated widely (See Blagrove, 2000; DeJonge, 2003; Lebrun et al., 2013; Haggstrom, 2014) yet these were not reported by Jane as a limitation. This research recognises this is an important area that requires further investigation within the racing equality and inclusion strategy. However, many studies have investigated the effects of the menstrual cycle (Dickerson et al., 2003; Potter et al.,2009; Tolossa and Bekele, 2014) and concluded that there is large inter-individual variability (Haggstrom, 2014), which makes any scientific investigation in this area complex.

There is a unique conflict in the racing habitus due to the importance of being light, which is often attributed to a female body; however, the descriptions provided are still compared to the dominant construction of masculinity and a male body as the standard to be measured against:

> *'For me it would mean you having more of what I feel a boyish physique, but I don't carry any weight there. It's not like I struggle getting rid of excess weight, which some girls might. Do*

you know what I mean? Obviously as far as my chest goes, I haven't got any boobs at all so it's not like I carry an excess weight there.' (Jade)

'Even for a woman it's so much better for your weight because you don't have to worry about boobs and your ass. I know I'm the same weight as some of the boys, and I know I'm kind of fat, but my boobs and my ass just weigh me down so much and the lads are like, "Oh, cut them off".' (Karen)

Similarly, the explanations provided by the young women are mainly reflective of the social norms regarding femininity. Beasley (2013) recognised that social norms would expect women to be thin and delicate, which was further supported by Klomsten et al. (2005) who demonstrated, through questionnaires, that the ideal female body was slender and thin. This is reflected by Stacey:

'I mean, [she] *was always going to do well,* [she] *has legs up to her armpits, blonde hair and looks like she would blow over in the wind, seven stone wet through I reckon!* [They] *love her more because she is strong enough to keep up with the lads and takes banter like the lads— you know,* [she] *just giggles and walks away.'*

The issue of "banter" is a unique concept and has been attributed to male-dominated workplaces for a long time (Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018). Studies into the workplace have highlighted the importance of occupational socialisation and "banter" for newcomers to the extent for it to remain an unchallenged part of the workplace culture. Saunders (1981: 17) identified "learned occupational behaviour" and "the cultural influences of the work setting" as the two specific influences in the workplace. Therefore, when this occupational behaviour is intersected with gender, it reproduces Connell's (1987) gender order *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

On some occasions, some of the respondents in this study felt that their gendered appearance linked directly to opportunities to ride more challenging horses or horses, which would allow them to demonstrate their riding skills:

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[…] I worked with only yard girls. I never bothered with makeup and I never bothered with my hair. As soon as I started working […] where there were significantly more males than females, I started feeling maybe more like I should make more of an effort, but then I don't know why.

I can't put my finger on it. Maybe I felt that, if I looked better, I'd might have a chance of riding something a little bit more exciting than the yard's bus.' (Sylvia).

These expectations of femininity can have a negative impact on the way young females see themselves and their own gendered identity, and the exasperations often felt because they "can't get it right". Other respondents mentioned how they were expected to look:

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'INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Go and wash your face because you look like a chump that way." The [people] were like, "You need to work with horses, it's not in a beauty salon." Some of them kind of comments came out, [...]'

As this quote demonstrates, the expectations of femininity are deeply embedded within the gendered habitus of young women; however, the racing habitus challenges what is acceptable or realistic. The idealised connotation of feminine as "pretty", reinforces the assumed expectation that the female body should be presented as attractive. This taken for granted expectation to maintain a heterosexual attraction, even whilst undertaking physical exercise, has also been explored in aerobics, where women are encouraged unequivocally to participate (Collins, 2002), in a similar way to grass route equestrianism. Research by Lenskyj (1984;1986; 1987) has criticised that aerobics as an activity does more to maintain dominant ideologies of women's powerlessness and sexual commodification than it does to empower women through movement and action. It is possible, therefore, to infer from other studies (see Cockburn and Clarke, 2002; Dashper, 2019; Metcalfe and Llewellyn, 2020) that some aspects of the "racing culture" can both empower women or they can be oppressed by it. The main challenge is understanding how horseracing, in some parts, could be considered feminist (race riding on equal terms) yet patriarchal through structural beliefs and practices. In this research, it is important to consider the contradictory expectations associated with being a woman in horseracing as described by Dena below:

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This quote suggests that there is confusion around what is acceptable in relation to a woman's appearance in the horseracing workplace. However, as already previously discussed, the racing

habitus reinforces that the female body should be heteronormative. It is, therefore, these characteristics which act as rules within the "game" which young females play to gain social capital. As explained by Sarah:

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Consequently, the importance of the female body in the development of the racing habitus is increasingly becoming a critical focus of thought. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* For example, they are being conflicted between the traditional image of a woman as fragile and not visibly powerful (Collins, 2002). Morse (1988: 25) referred to this femininity-with-strength as 'a condensation of contradictions: thin and muscular, hard and curvaceous, it suggests power and yet a slender boyishness.' Morse's definition reinforces Bourdieu's notion that the (racing) habitus is result of "a system of signs" (Bourdieu, 1984: 166) that should be identifiable by sight (Rasmussen, 2009).

In this section, I have explored how the socially constructed forms of masculinity and femininity create a reference point for an individual's gendered identity to be considered legitimate or marginalised, in the horseracing field. Throughout the data collection (interviews and focus groups), the younger females repeatedly spoke of the division of characteristics that divided masculine and feminine and reinforced the "rules".

In the next section, I will consider how masculinity is reproduced and rewarded in the racing habitus.

The Role of Masculinity in the Racing Habitus

During the focus groups, with very little direction or prompting, the conversation quickly turned towards the perceived preference of being a male in the racing industry, especially when considering particular job roles. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Strength has been so intrinsically linked to masculinity over time that it has become truth (Klomsten et al., 2005) because muscles are seen as a key symbol of masculinity (Wacquant, 1995). In racing, these expressions of masculinity have been further cemented as "just how it is". For example, Grace suggests:

> *'…[men] are a lot stronger, it has always been like that. They are less likely to fall off because they can hold more horses…so they are then first choice and that is just how it is…'*

There is an ingrained belief, amongst the respondents, that masculinity and femininity are positioned as oppositional and, therefore, it recreates a set of expectations that younger womens need to conform to. During the focus groups and follow up interviews, embodied masculinity was further expressed:

> '*I genuinely feel it's probably just because it's male-dominated because males are stronger. Males it's assumed are stronger, physical, to the riding side of it. You always need riders for the horses.*'

> "*Yes, she can walk trot and canter, but we won't put her on any of the other horses because she's definitely not going to hold them,*" or, "*If she gets thrown, it's going to cause chaos*".' (Milly)

These quotes highlight how an opportunity is attributed to one's body, and ability is determined by their physical strength or appearance; however, the respondents also noted the contradictory demands of horseracing, and how the need to weigh less than your traditional masculine counterpart description is not always an advantage as suggested:

> ' *You do have this added pressure of trying to stay a certain weight. I know of a [person] that used to weigh everyone in the morning and then allocate horses according to weight. I can imagine, knowing that person […] that would have bothered her a little bit, maybe.*' (Daisy).

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In addition, if a female had been given the opportunity because they were lighter and able to make the weight, it was still not always perceived as a benefit:

> '*Then, when I got older and things people would go, "You're so skinny. How do you keep what you're on and don't put weight on" and I think, "Well, yes". So well and good, but when you're a girl and you've got other girls who have this bigger bum and hips that everybody wants and I'm struggling to put weight on and still look like the age of a 12-year-old or something. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

These quotes highlight the way in which an individual's gendered identity is embodied, forming the outward expression of ability. It shows the complex nature of physical capital and the contrasting demands between of being small yet required to carry substantial weight , to promote parity across

the field of horses in the race. The added complexity in this paradigm is that Jade is required, to maintain a small frame, whilst, however, carrying this added lead, supposedly in the interest of fairness; this meant that Jade was at a disadvantage. Therefore, the smaller framed women, who are rewarded for presenting a feminine frame, are penalised in other scenarios, highlighting the conflict between social practices and gender-based inequalities. It is examples like Jade's that typify the way that women's career trajectories within the racing field are shaped by access to physical and social capital (Butler, 2014).

Paula expressed at times quite stereotypical ideas around the priority of males in racing, describing one work rider she had seen on the gallops as 'disappointing":

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> *APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

This quote provides an example of how gendered stereotypes are considered real, and abilities are gendered. There is also an undertone of gendered assumptions that further emphasise the androcentricity of the racing workforce. This constant undercurrent of gendered stereotypes is reinforcing what is visualised as gender, which are considered 'cultural expressions of our social mythology' (Laberge, 1995:134). Thus, gender is associated with the expectation of appropriate skills and behaviours and should be challenged to slow the shaping of future displays of gender (Francis, 2008). The feminist thinkers, such as McKay (1991: 16) outline that 'sport is seen both to shape and be shaped by the inequalities of gender, class, age and race which pervade all other spheres of society.'

The young aspirational female that I spoke with shared a similar view to this and highlighted a link between femaleness and femininity, and maleness and masculinity.

Harriet highlighted:

> *'Obviously, I'm not really boyish because I still try and wear makeup, get my hair done and stuff. I am more girly than the other girls […], but I would say, as far as my attributes go, I'm a lot more boyish than the majority of girls, by having more of what I feel is a boyish physique.'*

Harriet refers to her body as masculine due to her muscley physique, and although she acknowledges that there are multiple ways that masculinity is presented, not just the dominant version, she still makes a clear division between her masculine traits and "being like a boy" and her female traits of "getting her hair done" to being female.

The way some of the respondents viewed the biological essentialism of sex, challenges the notion that gendered traits determine 'what we can think and who we can be' (Paechter, 2006b: 262).

In racing, this is particularly pertinent if young aspirational women sometimes feel they have to compromise their career choice in order to feel feminine. My next section will consider how these gendered norms are developed and reproduced in the context of the racing habitus. It is also important to emphasise the historical, male--dominated, infrastructure of the horseracing industry (as discussed in Chapter 1) and explore the way young women internalise this information in their own racing habitus.

> How Male-Dominated Racing History Contributes to the Inevitability of the Gendered Racing Habitus.

'Social games ... but also cultural games ... are not fair games' (Bourdieu, 2000: 214). This quote from Bourdieu is just as relevant in this study, especially when considering opportunities that men often take for granted.

Throughout this study, the opinions shared implied that gendered behaviours are learnt during socialisation (Connell, 2007). In horseracing, the historical context that this research is built on has meant that women have only been legitimate from 1970. Therefore, the past 50 years have been working to challenge the biological basis that underpinned the justification for female exclusion prior to this date (for more information, see Chapter 1). Therefore, the conflict reported by so many young women is the disagreement between their racing habitus and ideal versions of self (Schmader and Block, 2015). There are very few people who would reject the notion of explicit patronage, and, therefore, cultural capital has been central to the success of some females. Their experiences and exposure to the horseracing industry have been developed throughout their lives and, therefore, provide another stratification within their racing habitus. Taylor (1993) suggested that a gendered habitus accumulates through a range of experiences and, therefore, occurs during the socialisation process of "being".

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This quote provides a lived example of how a habitus is a result of accumulated experiences that impact future opportunities (Bourdieu, 1990).

The quote below demonstrates the importance of accumulated experiences impact future opportunities:

> '"INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR."

This quote emphasises the oppositional positioning of gender as well replicating the associated normative gendered assumptions. By associating masculinity with being confident and insensitive, as suggested by Gemma, these practices become embodied, which assists individuals finding their appropriate and legitimate place within the social field (Arnot, 2002), in this case horseracing.

People within this study identified that their previous experiences, socialisation and perception of settings contributed to their understanding of gender. For example, Jemima explains that:

> 'I've not come across a single [person] that's like me. I don't mean that stereotypically. I don't mean that how that sounds and I don't mean to discriminate or anything like that but I just do not really like none of these girls. I don't know. They don't wear makeup; they don't wear like nice clothes. They look like farmers. You know like proper country folk and that's not me!'

While this quote highlights a lot of areas that require further exploration, including the link to countryside, and, therefore, cultural capital, which was discussed in further detail in Chapter 1, it particularly highlights the regularity of gendered messages received over a lifetime to create the unconscious habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). In addition, Jemima reinforces the status associated with being a "farmer" or "proper country folk", reinforcing Goldthorpe's (2019) notion of class reinforcing status. Jemima disassociates herself from the others because she feels that they are different from herself and "*they don't wear makeup*", highlighting that makeup is associated with those who have not been afforded the luxury of growing up in the countryside and accruing the associated cultural capital.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been described as deterministic and reproductive (King, 2000; Yang, 2014); however, the people who were involved in this study appeared to accept that there has been progress in relation to the acceptance and inclusion of women in horseracing:

> 'When you think about it, racing has always been a man's world. When you actually look back, the first time a woman was allowed to hold a license was 1966. I think it was like the seventies or something before women were allowed to ride over fences and over jumps—it's not really very long ago and that seemed to be a fear over women getting hurt, like we are more breakable and that seems to be the same today.' (Jeanette)

Bourdieu's (1990) work can explain how beliefs can remain consistent over a significant period which can be seen in the quote above. It is not only the historical symbolic violence of complete exclusion that is accepted as normal, there was also experiences shared which highlighted current behaviours that are considered acceptable:

> '*You're going to get slagged off or whatever, not because you're not a good rider or anything like that. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* (Mavis)

Although these quotes indicate frustration, there is also an implicit undertone of acceptance because it is '*just how it is*' (Gemma) and over time, they can be disguised as facts (Bourdieu, 2001).

One of the interesting elements, that I had omitted to consider in the earlier chapters, is how aware the participants in the focus groups were of ideas of hegemony and accepted gender norms:

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> '*When I was in it, I didn't know there was an inequality. When you look at racing as a whole, you genuinely think that it's equal. There's women and men. […] You don't see it until you leave, if that makes sense. You don't realise what kind of industry you're in until you leave it. You look back and think, "Oh my gosh. That's so bad".*' (Amy)

These responses evidence the way in which young aspirational females are privy to the power and status inequalities. In horseracing, the symbolic violence, which reinforces the notion of difference, becomes unquestioned and, therefore, challenging to contest.

Through analysing the data, it has become evident that there is an unconscious acceptance that men are "stronger, physically", thus reinforcing that "masculine" is preferred by the industry to ride a horse. In this way, McNay (1999:102) discussed how 'conventional images of masculinity and femininity… cannot easily be reshaped.' In context, this would go a long way to explain how the shared beliefs have been created throughout the history of horseracing, feed the development of a racing habitus. The power of the racing habitus should not be underestimated in influencing what people, both inside and outside of the sport, believe to be normal in terms of gendered identities and behaviours.

While the respondents acknowledged that the gender inequality was down to historical events, they also recognised that gendered behaviours could be challenged, as described by Sally:

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This attitude and declaration suggest that a more flexible view of gender could be possible for forthcoming generations; however, it does highlight the importance of intersectionality when considering the lived experiences of women in horseracing. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

Most significantly, this implies that change takes time, and, therefore, any adjustment to one's habitus is unlikely to be immediate due to the necessary time for these people to be in positions of power to shape change, as explained by Sophie:

> *'Think about it: 40 years ago women weren't even allowed to ride horses.[…] Women weren't allowed to have jobs. […]You know, slowly but surely; we are so far behind, but in a way, we have to be thankful that we're allowed to do that. Whereas years ago, we were sent into the kitchen. We weren't working. You were a housewife, you were having kids, your husband would go out and work.'*

Sophie highlights the contradictory nature of the racing habitus in relation to other gendered stereotypes '[women] *would be having kids, your husband would go out to work*.' The impact of children on women in the racing industry is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7, through the lens of the ideal worker concept. When thinking about the speed of which change happens, Philippa suggests that:

> *'Think about it, women couldn't even get a license to ride a racehorse, let alone train one, in the 70s and my mum was born then, and she isn't old! However, I don't want to wait until I am the same age as my mum to become [successful] I would be too old then, but I doubt it would be that long because people don't stop girls now, like you know, we are allowed to ride the same horses as the boys, mainly.'*

Philippa acknowledges that the habitus is unconscious and, therefore, reproductive. The limited progression of women, in racing, throughout the time where women have been allowed access (by men), shows the value of using the concept of habitus to explore the lived experiences of aspirational women within horseracing.

The norms that have been described and, in most cases, accepted by the participants are the foundation principals that create the "rules".

Throughout this section, I have evidenced how gender influences the racing habitus and all embodied behaviours of a gendered identity. The limited time that women have been able to participate in horseracing is particularly important because the data presented in this research, more specifically this chapter, emphasise how a post-feminist understanding of gender is not regularly lived within the racing habitus of these young aspirational women.

My data have highlighted that gender can act as an organising principle for younger females, and their perception of identity commonly parallels the gender norms which can be used to gain social capital. I have explained that capitals are distributed depending on gendered "rules" and expectations. Thus far, I have focused on what gender means to the younger female participants. The next section will focus on how these norms dictate behaviours and practices within the unconscious racing habitus.

The Unconscious Racing Habitus

As previously discussed in Chapter 4, the participants in this study were encouraged to regularly reflect on their own positions and beliefs. This reflexive practice provided a window in the unconscious racing habitus enough for them to "see" their automated behaviours. The unconscious nature of the habitus, as Adkins (2003:2) explains 'operates below the level of consciousness and language as a "feel" for the game.' This explanation can be used to understand how the habitus regulates practice in an unconscious way (Brubaker, 1993), as explained below:

> *'There are a lot of things that we do daily that I think, we didn't get taught it like that […] or surely it would make sense for someone else to do that job, but you know, you just get on with it because you know that is how it has always been done, even though I am not fully sure why.'* (Anna)

> *'…I know there are things that need to change* [in relation to gender] *but you just get on with it, you have too much to do to stop and think some days.'* (Grace)

One of the questions that was asked within the latter focus groups was "is there anything you would like to change" which was designed to encourage reflexivity. In turn, this reflexive practice enabled inward exploration of their gendered experience and awareness of symbolic violence (Chambers, 2005). Throughout the data collection phases, these young people reflected on the unconscious nature of gender in the racing habitus:

'I don't think I have ever thought about it before, you know. I mean, it is a man's world and we just have to prove ourselves. I think that is just how it is but with hard work, we can do just as well as the boys.' (Elizabeth)

'There is only one major professional sport where women and men go head to head for the same prizes, horse racing. Women work at the heart of racing, but only a few get to the very top.' (Heather)

These quotes highlight the fact that the participants can understand the way that gender operates on an unconscious level and are aware that gendered stereotypes and norms are powerful because they infer status. The racing habitus is both conscious, because people know the gendered norms such as "it's a man's world because they are stronger", and unconscious, affecting the behaviours of individuals without conscious thought: "it is just how it is". Some of the discussions around gender are particularly interesting in relation to these unconscious behaviours because, in turn, they can reinforce stereotypical behaviours.

The historical representations of gender are difficult to challenge due to the minimal windows of opportunity to contest them on a conscious level. Therefore, there is an acceptance of behaviours that would, outside of that field, be considered inappropriate. However, when these behaviours remain unchallenged, they become reproduced and reinforced:

'INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. You do take it on the chin. It becomes the norm.' (Meghan)

The experience described above supports the relevance of habitus when exploring the lived realities because heteronormative behaviours are "…the norm", which indicates acceptance:

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. I think especially as a girl in racing you do have to be able to give back as much as you get'

Representative of these accounts is the way that cognitive action is understated. There are settings that are shared where women must be able to defend themselves and "give as good as they get" are seen as "natural" and part of the job, which would be reflective of assumed knowledge within the doxa. When symbolic violence remains "the norm", it reinforces the oppositional nature of masculinity and femininity that is taken for granted within the racing habitus. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

To this point, I have highlighted the importance of presenting an appropriate habitus that appears "natural"; however, this can only be achieved when capital is accrued through appropriate representations of gender. As we have seen, women experience gender differently (Halford et al., 1997; Steele, 2019) and, therefore, should have some agency in how they present themselves. It is the habitus that can create a range of possible outcomes, even if the behaviour is unconscious or predisposed (Reay, 2004). The significant power of gendered expectations has been highlighted by allodoxia, which Mead (2016: 62) describes as 'the belief that something is "for me".' INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

The younger people in this study create an added layer of interest because they are still developing their racing habitus in *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR,* especially because an intelligible outward display of gender (Rasmussen, 2009) is crucial for acceptance (Metcalfe, 2018):

> *'Yes. I do- I do* [understand that I don't look like your average work rider]- *and this is like another thing as well. The whole makeup situation, obviously I've had makeup on, right? When I rode […] Not because I want to look fit and not because I want everyone to be like, "Ooh, look at her." But because that's how I feel comfortable, this is a thing that's like- my whole life. I don't- I don't like going out and about without any foundation, because I've always been conscious about my skin and that's just something that was embedded in my head. So if I have the* [clears throat] *the opportunity to wear a bit of makeup. Whether it just be foundation and mascara, I'm going to do it. So, I don't know if that may be another thing, oh, the other girls that were in there, when I was in there, none of them had any makeup on. They were all just bare-faced. I don't know if that sort of makes you stand out a bit more* [clears throat] *because I've got foundation on- which you can tell. Obviously, I've got mascara on and I've got me eyebrows on, you know? If some people might think, "Well, ooh, look at her all caked in that stuff". Do you know what I mean?'* (Simone)

This quote demonstrates the value placed on being able to show an explicit and instantly recognisable representation of femininity while recognising the impact this would have on relationships with the "lads" or other females in that scenario. By highlighting that individuals have to "fit in", Simone is validating the agency required to be able to express their own identity; however, there is an acknowledgement that it will cost her the ability to "get on". There is a sense of being "othered" when not reproducing the dominant versions of gender, which hold capital in their own right such as "being caked in the stuff", within the unconscious habitus, which, in turn, will direct behaviour.

As previously discussed, there is a social pressure placed on women to look attractive and feminine and increased reflexivity has been encouraged by Theberge (1985), who stated that discussing gendered experiences can make a woman's sporting practice into transformational acts. The transformational acts in this case are highlighting the symbolic domination (Oliver and Kirk, 2016) for women in the horseracing industry.

The pressures felt by these women were explained by Matilda :

> *'[…] Then surely the only way I'm going to make myself stand out, maybe, is make sure that my face is right and someone thinks, "She can ride okay, and she doesn't look too bad",[…]. Also, I've become very conscious about what I'll ride out in. I don't ride out in breeches anymore. Jeans are generally harder wearing. Deep down, maybe I do think that I'm going to get noticed more if I wear something a little more flattering than racing breeches. Once again, very terrible, isn't it? Saying that. Racing breeches aren't flattering. They're not. Never have and they never will be. Maybe I think, you don't think about it, you just do it almost unconsciously in the end. You think, "I'm going to get up and put my makeup on and put my jeans on because I'm going to go ride out the gallops." The majority of the girls I ride out with wear jeans. The only ones that wear breeches tend to be the ones that have actually ridden under rules or point-to-point.'*

Matilda's experience is another example of how reflexive practice has allowed her to view what she considers real as '*a bit ridiculous, when you said it out loud*'. This moment of reflection showed that there was a desire to conform and be noticed for the right reasons, to match the requirements of their racing field. The relevance of the breeches instead of jeans is significant because this emphasises the unconscious nature of the habitus and the intersectional importance of capital on success. The breeches act as a symbol of class or ability, due to the implicit link with racing and economic capital as discussed in Chapter 2. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Amongst my sample, makeup was more commonly discussed as a distraction, and something to apologise for:

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The wearing of makeup was seen as part of fitting in; however, they knew that they would be judged for wearing it, or discouraged by some. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* The females in this study regularly would compare

themselves to what the "lads" are doing or "keeping up with the lads". The quotes above, and earlier in this chapter, reinforce what Bartky (1997) highlights as makeup being part of a person's disguise. Certainly, in my data there is clear support for the idea that *'being a man…implies an ought-to-be'* (Bourdieu, 2001:149).

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Bobbi's quote suggests that there is an awareness of gendered ideals for the men too. There is an expectation that these men in the gallops who should have been better. Carrigan et al. (1985) focused on male oppression due to role demands and expectations (Scrine and McFerran, 2018), which is exactly what Bobbi is discussing here: because he was a lad, he should have been better. In contrast, Ophelia emphasises that, as a female, you are allowed to get it wrong as long as you are in possession of feminine characteristics which have capital.

The significance of gender and the impact on contradicting social expectation has also been recognised within this study:

> *'I think the lads have it tough too, mind, in a different way obviously. You know, they have to be able to ride the more difficult horses, especially as they are called the "lad's ride" and then they have to keep their weight down and stay strong. I have not seen a lad cry yet, but I am forever seeing girls cry off […], me included!'* (Stacey).

Stacey has recognised that, although women have an increased pressure to behave in line with stereotypical assumption, they also have more choice in how they present their gendered selves. The recognition that *'they have to be able to ride the more difficult horses'* and she hasn't *'seen a lad cry yet'*, suggest that the macho persona may be another damaging aspect to the racing habitus. This freedom to *'cry off into the office'* could be considered part of a post-feminist narrative (Pomerantz et al., 2013), although I would argue there are significant parts of the field that could not be classed in this way yet.

Thus far, this chapter has covered how gender operates at an unconscious level, with the racing habitus creating behaviours and practices that reflect socially constructed gender norms. I have also explained that, with reflexivity, young women have gained awareness of gendered norms and this

provides them with an opportunity to challenge their accepted beliefs. Theberge (1985: 202) explained women can:

> 'experience their bodies as strong and powerful and free from male domination... [and] women's sporting practice can challenge gender inequality by challenging sexual stereotypes and patriarchal control of women's bodies.'

I will now move on to discuss the valuable aspects of gender for aspirational females and the allocation of capital to these enhanced perceptions of "successful" gender in the next section.

Hierarchy of Gender

In the previous section, I have demonstrated how women develop a racing habitus that involves rejecting certain feminine elements and embodying masculinity (strength and competitive attitude). I have shown that women often have the correct physical capitals needed to ride racehorses (being light), yet their bodies are devalued by their gender. Therefore, it is important to understand how capital is given to "successful" and "appropriate" representations of gender. In this section, I will explore how capital is allocated to individuals before summarising how women in the racing industry increase their gender capital, which has led to an increased focus on gendered expectations. As explained by Connell (1987) and Crenshaw (1989), gender norms function in a hierarchy, where an idealised version of gender is equal to increased social capital. However, as I have discussed earlier in this section, horseracing has an added requirement for women to have some masculine characteristics, such as strength. Therefore, young women who conform to the stereotypical characteristics and fit the racing habitus, where the male is masculine but remains lean, in comparison to a female who is feminine but strong and courageous, can gain more social capital. Bourdieu explains how a struggle within a field results in the resolution of those properties that can be exchanged as capital (Bourdieu, 1988). Notably, if someone did not fit into the racing habitus due to their gendered identity, either hyper-feminine or hyper-masculine, it appears to be a fundamental element of the maintenance of an appropriate identity. Sarah explains:

> *'I think sometimes you have to be girly, that way at least you don't get ribbed for being a bloke or butch, also lads are nice to you. Like, they offer to empty my wheelbarrow, hang a hay net or put my tack away. If I was heavier or a bit more manly, they definitely wouldn't offer to do that, they would think "why should I? She is more blokey than me". There has to be some perks to being a woman!'*

Not only does this quote reinforce the stereotypical gender ideals as previously discussed, it also suggests that, if capital is removed from an individual, who consequently endures social exclusion, then this reinforces the need to ensure that one's gendered racing habitus is appropriate and replicates the socially constructed idealised gender. With this knowledge, the above quote is particularly informative because of the power associated with capital both when it is there, or not, as a motivation for creating a gendered identity. When Sarah mentions the removal of the femininity and her petite frame, it is as if there is a social punishment for presenting your gender incorrectly. These gender norms are commonly associated with expected heterosexuality, which then becomes normalised (Hiller and Harrison, 2004; Atkinson and DePalma, 2009). Throughout the data collection, there was a strong sense of heteronormative reinforcement, for example:

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I will discuss the covert sexual landscape in much more detail in Chapter 9; however, it is appropriate to acknowledge the importance of heterosexuality in the hierarchy of gender at this stage due to the strong sense of importance placed on heterosexual relationships and the capital available when in one. It was early in the data collection period, during a focus group session, that a participant discussed how capital can be gained from being in a relationship.

My data highlights how capital can be gained from a heterosexual relationship with a perceived successful male. By identifying that the young women want to be associated with the material assets associated with increased economic capital, and then once they have been successful at gaining the girlfriend, they may become challenging, which highlights the temporary nature of capital gains. In addition, the distinct distribution of capital for women and men in a relationship highlights how there are struggles for legitimacy due to the different "rules" for men and women in the racing industry. A struggle exists over what are deemed appropriate sexualised behaviours, and then these behaviours are allocated capital depending on the agency of the individual, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. Social capital was also gained by demonstrating sexual aptitude by entering into sexual relations with multiple women, as Briony continues:

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There are discernible power dynamics in relation to sexual relationships and activity, and these quotes highlight the fact that men in the racing industry generally hold power in these heteronormative

relationships, which is regularly reported as a sexual double standard (McCall, 1992; Girlguiding, 2016); this was further reinforced by Heidi:

> *'The words slut or slag are very, very - are seen as horrific comments. If someone called you a slut or a slag, you'd be very upset, but if someone called you a C-U-N-T, you wouldn't even bat an eyelid. It's only a horrific comment if it's about a girl. If someone called one of the lads a slut or slag, it would make no difference to them and they wouldn't feel the insult, even though if they behaved in the same way as a girl, the girl would be abused for it and the lads are just lads so they get away with it. That's how it comes across.'*

and

> *'It's expected that if there's a new girl, they will probably sleep with one of the new – one of the lads, and the lads will very much try and get you to do it regardless of boyfriend or relationship or anything like that. The first thing they usually say if you tell them there is a new girl "ooh, fresh meat". It's exciting for them, you know, drama because it's someone new that they can try and sleep with[…]*

Bourdieu (2001: 79) asserts that 'differential socialisation disposes men to love the games of power and women to love the men who play them'. This quote explains how men have the symbolic power and young women are conditioned to want to sleep with a [person] or be in a relationship with one of the senior staff, which reinforces the heteronormativity expected within the racing field.

The language that is used as social talk comprises 'separate and collective notions of gendered and sexualised identities that are routinely and continually constructed, ascribed and may be resisted/contested' (Delph-Janiurek, 2001: 39). This suggestion is in line with Butler (1990; 1993) who suggested that all spoken words are implicated at the centre of the (re)constitution of embodied gender demonstrating the power held in the terms "slut" or "slag".

If one's behaviours are seen to be different from the expected or the stereotypical ideal of femininity or masculinity, then the individuals could have their sexuality questioned:

> *['*INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*] All these lasses are like lads, they're like lesbians, this makes me different […] they don't take me seriously.'* (Sylvia)

In this context, the use of "lesbian" was used to describe the allegedly masculine behaviour of female jockeys, which demonstrates a wide assumption that masculinity in females is characteristic of

homosexuality (Frosh et al., 2003; Dean, 2013). The labelling of these traits as different then regulates what is seen as an acceptable gendered identity for young women, which, in turn, means that those bodies accrue social capital in a different way and, in this case, are rewarded for being less feminine. Marlow (2019) suggest that young men occasionally inflate their heterosexuality to ensure that their sexuality can be immediately recognised, as explained by Jenny:

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This attitude suggests that men like to be associated with the masculine "tough" bravado as opposed to the "other", homosexual, which mirrors the suggestions of Connell's (1987) gender order where marginalised masculinities, including homosexual men, are subordinated.

In this section, I used hierarchy of gender to understand how capital is allocated depending on the "success" of the individual's gendered identity.Furthering the way that young people, more specifically women, display their gender, Chapter 8 will discuss how gender creates "rules" for the game of gender within the field of horseracing, to further research how gendered expectations affect the way that people manage their gendered identities.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has aimed to understand the way habitus functions at an individual level; however, when considered from a wider field perspective, the individual autonomy is diluted due to the associated pressures. The quotes presented in this chapter have been selected from interview and focus group data to highlight the way in which capital is accrued is dependent on how closely the individuals present the ideal racing habitus. The data in this chapter emphasise how young women in the racing industry feel "othered" due to their gendered norms, often without knowing of it themselves. This state of not knowing highlights the power of the non-conscious element of the racing habitus in governing practice.

This chapter mainly looks at RQ2 for an exploration of specific issues that young females face in relation to their gendered identities. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

The way that these young women are presenting their gender is often unconscious due to the way that the racing habitus synchronises with the racing field. It became evident that there was a lack of reflexivity in relation to gender which, in turn, reproduces gender roles and positions masculinity as superior to femininity.

The last part of this chapter touched on the heteronormative sexualisation of relationships and expected liaisons in the racing habitus, which, in turn, means that hyper-feminine identities are desirable in terms of body shape, yet not encouraged due to a negative view of makeup and weakness.

In Chapter 7, I will discuss the role of the body in greater detail. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

CHAPTER 6: THE LIVED REALITY OF A FEMALE IN RACING

So far, I have explored the development of the gendered habitus in Chapter 5 using Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus to explain how gender operates at an unconscious and conscious level for these women, and how they can accumulate capital through presenting certain representations of gender.

In this chapter, I discuss how the perception of the field's rules determines how women control their appearance to present themselves in a lucid and coherent racing identity. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. However, the research on inequality regimes has not yet developed a systematic theoretical account of the role of space in the doing of gender (Wasserman and Frenkel, 2015). Therefore, this chapter examines how, when the gender "rules" are constructed and then shared (Arnot, 2002), they can be engrained in the racing habitus and ideal worker norm.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This physical requirement of the body is non-segregated and is based on the assumed equivalent ability of the 16-year-old body, either female or male. This reinforces the belief that horseracing operates in a meritocracy and rewards "taken-for-granted" or "natural" ability, which initially does not appear to affect the recruitment of women.

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As has been discussed throughout this thesis thus far, the way that the body is used and presented in relation to gender is directly linked to the potential to accrue capital, which, in turn, can be exchanged for social capital in the immediate social circle or, potentially, economical capital if they are able to demonstrate their riding skills and abilities. As Bourdieu (1984) explained, this distinction happens in three domains: presentations, food and culture. The lived identities of the young aspirational women in this study are mainly in relation to the domains of presentation and culture; this is demonstrated in the way they present themselves to peers and superiors in the parameters of the racing field. Bourdieu (1985:727) stated that '[t]he work of representation … [is how agents] impose their view of the world or the view of their own position in this world – their social identity.' Thus, the 'acquired, permanent and generative dispositions' in one's racing habitus (Bourdieu, 1990:290) evidence how the "rules"

that pervade how young women make sense of the expected behaviours can, in turn, influence the way young women show adherence to these dominant expectations.

What is clear for the young women in this study, was the need to develop an understanding of what is required to "fit in", and the development of an identity that encourages acceptance and reduces the likelihood of being "othered".

Hence, this chapter supports the notion that '[f]rom a young age girls are worried about fitting in' (Girlguiding, 2016:6), supporting what Brown et al. (2006) reported and what Goffman (1963:5) termed *"undesired differentness",* which appears to be "taught out". My results extend to covering that it is not only a gendered issue, but a classed and raced issue that can result in pressure being felt to conform to the dominant "rules", even if they are a paradigm of differences from oneself. This is described by Ensley , who suggests that:

> *'I do like to try and take the new starters under my wing when they start, because I know how tough it can be. But it does depend on how they [arrive]. If they come on the yard thinking that they know it all, when they first arrive, which they couldn't because they are new, they don't know how we do things. They should at least know how we do things before they start saying "You should do this. You should do this. You need to do this." But if it's the ones that come […] that have no idea what they're doing, and they're completely clueless and they're just, they're harmless. You just take them under your wing and just help them along as best you can—they just want to fit in with the rest of us.'*

The desire for young people to *"fit in",* by presenting an identity that they feel will be rewarded and valued, decreases the likelihood of being "othered", such as allowing time to learn "how we do things" before suggesting changes, which reinforces the "rules" of the racing field. Bourdieu (1990) argues that, when an individual conforms to an unfamiliar field, then one's habitus is transformed and thus the "rules" of gender become expected and reinforced. As discussed in Chapter 8, females have learnt to internalise the "rules" of gender through socialisation and experience. However, it would be remiss of me not to consider the role of the parents in the regulation of the racing habitus. All respondents were asked (in focus groups and interviews) about the reaction of their parents when they had discussed that they would like to work in the racing industry. The habitus is a product of early childhood experience, and in particular socialisation in the family, as explained by Rachel:

> *'Yeah,* [my dad] *basically said well, I told him about it when I was younger and he sort of laughed, you know when you are little, I think I was about ten when I said it….then it went*

away for a bit and I tried to get in the army and like I said, he's army and my whole family is army so I went towards that and then when I failed my medical I didn't really know what to do, so I said I might [join racing] INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR *and I told him. He didn't like the idea, he said "I think it's a stupid idea, like the military, it is really hard for women to do because it is so male-dominated and you got to have a lot of stamina to get through it", so, yeah, he just said it is a stupid idea and you are not going to be able to do it or last. But, in the end, he was really supportive.'*

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:72) explained that *'pedagogic work accomplished by the family is a function of the distance between the habitus it tends to inculcate, and the habitus inculcated by all previous forms of pedagogic work'*. Consequently, students' habitus is largely shaped by their family (Reay 1998), thus their dispositions might to some extent have been inculcated by their family. Rachel's experience further emphasises the power of the ideal worker norm that reinforces the need "to have a lot of stamina" to succeed in a space that is male dominated, or it could be inferred that, to succeed in a male-dominated work force (horseracing and the military), you have to work tirelessly to evidence commitment and visibility to be accepted. The experience being relayed by her father is from a place of experience and, therefore, the symbolic violence that was ahead of her had already been "marked" in her racing habitus by her father, who identified an overlap with the military life. However, there are reasons to believe that adolescents "misrecognise" their parents' influence on their career dispositions, which would also be consistent with Bourdieu's theory. With this said, the motivation to discourage young women from joining the racing workforce was not only focussed on male dominance and "stamina", but also the perceived limited opportunities to earn money:

'They didn't want me to work in racing, probably that [the people] were naughty. [laughs] *Although they wouldn't—Mum was more like that, dad probably in the background as well, they made huge sacrifices to pay for private education for me. I think if they thought I was going to be working in a yard. My thought was, if that was going to be my career then they wouldn't have been happy at all. […]. It was, it was brilliant life experience, I think the life at that side of it. I think if I'd turned around and said I've given up the university and going to work in the yard they would have absolutely spontaneously combusted* [laughs] *so quite funny that I did end up working in a yard a long way down the line in my career, but I guess I was in a management role.'* (Penelope)

This quote highlights the perception that, if you are in a higher ranked social class, associated with hunting, pony club and eventing due to the requirement of economical capital to participate, there is a clear conflict in expectation, especially when parents have 'made huge sacrifices to pay for private education' and, therefore, you are duty bound to reproduce the dominant culture in exchange for capital. In turn, as Bourdieu explained, they are able to define their own culture as worthy of being sought and legitimate. This process of becoming legitimate or learning the "rules" dictates how young women perceived that they could present themselves in the workplace:

> *'Once I got the confidence* […]*, I was able to change my outlook and be like, "Well, actually, it's not as hard as what I think it is." I just need to be a bit quicker with my finickiness rather than being a bit quicker and doing a crap job, if that makes sense. Overall,* [it was] *a positive experience. It wasn't something that depressed you for life.* '(Michelle)

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. A study by Granfield (1991) found that people who were "successful" at fitting in with middle-class students were able to overcome their fears of inadequacy and their cultural outsider status by reproducing their middle-class peers' dress, manners of speech and career ambitions, while downplaying their social class backgrounds. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* Bourdieu (1999) writes of how the movement of habitus across new, unfamiliar fields results in 'a habitus divided against itself' (Bourdieu, 1999a), which directly feeds into an explanation of attrition rates:

> *'INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR'*

People from a working-class background often feel that they become cultural outsiders and have trouble integrating especially when they enter a field heavily associated with wealth, just as horseracing is, which, in turn, leads to a crisis of competency (Granfield, 1991; Aries and Seider, 2005; 2007). In addition, young women are acutely aware of the hierarchy of gender and the interface between capital and embodied representations of gender. There are many suggestions for why this is; however, one explanation is that society does not recognise women as being "naturally" able (Storage et al., 2016; Jaxon et al.,2019). Even throughout early years research has shown that "natural brilliance" is not seen as a feminine trait (Bian et al., 2017). It is, therefore, no surprise that the female habitus, which reproduces beliefs, supports the notion that women are the "other". This gendered hierarchy is reinforced through the structures of horseracing.

The reproduction of class inequalities can be observed in the lived experiences of these young aspirational young women. This section considers the way in which the structures and traditions are prioritising males and limiting the embodied capabilities of young women.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. It appeared that the prioritisaton of males was due to the expected success which legitimates practice and reinforces the view that males are "naturally" able to thrive in the racing industry. This was also identified by Heidi:

> *'INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR'*

Interestingly, my focus group data suggest that the young women I spoke to were aware of this male prioritisation too, even in the early stages of their careers:

> *'When I think about that, if you look at the board in the morning you will see sixty to seventy riders sometimes, you know how many of them are girls? Around five. I think, where did all the girls go […]there was loads of us, now, poof! Gone!'* (Dolly)

This was also seen in the interviews when asked if opportunities are fairly allocated, there was a predominant belief that they are not, and, generally, it was indirectly attributed to gender, as described by Maeve:

> *'INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR'*

However, what this quote demonstrates is there was a normalisation of women struggling for legitimacy due to their lack of speed, strength or confidence and it was just an accepted, taken-for-granted norm. Through this acceptance of inequality, because the women were seen as the "issue" rather than the system, the young men arguably benefit from this hidden masculine structure. This invisible structure often means that some organisations do not consider gender as relevant (Kelan, 2009) which consequently leaves them open to gender discrimination (Dashper, 2019). INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This active marginalisation of women from certain spaces, who would consider themselves gender neutral (Wood and Newton, 2006), creates an ideological dilemma that Kelan (2009: 198) calls "gender fatigue". This is when people are 'are tired of seeing gender discrimination and prefer to see a world that is gender egalitarian, where gender no longer matters' (Kelan, 2009: 198). INFORMATION

REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The result, in most cases, is that the women are framed as the problem rather than the masculine model of work (de Vries et al., 2006).

The women, because they are not aware, or choose to ignore the disparity, leave their oppression unchallenged and occasionally unrecognised. For example, Eloise explains that:

> *'So, I'm* [riding out] *at two places and most of the staff do the same, so the groups are made up of the same people* [laughs] *out of all of the riders, you would have only a few girls, like five or six out of sixty-five riders. I know this is not just—then, of course, it's just us wise girls because, in the end of the day, you realise there's no point with fighting because it's not about […] You just realise there's no point of fighting. I'm going to have a go for about a year and then you know, eventually, I'm going to have children, in the end of the day, and it just is about keeping your head down for that time maybe because it's just easier.'*

This quote illustrates a number of complex issues. Eloise is astute in highlighting the importance of social capitals and demonstrating the lack of agency for women in the racing industry if you do not have the connections or cannot demonstrate significant ability. Eloise continues to suggest that the women who had left the industry were the "wise" ones because young women are not able to stay or plan to stay around for a long time. This notion, that young women are unlikely to maintain a career in horseracing as well as bring up a child, is in line with the ideal worker concept (Bianchi et al. 2000;2012; Williams, 2002). Eloise is already aware that she is expected to carry out unpaid, invisible work, which provides a sense of "other".

In the previous section, I discussed how it is more challenging for women to work extra hours given the second shift (Hochschild, 1989; Canty and Wright, 2004), which is the term used to explain the additional labour allocated to women to maintain the household. It is the shift from second-wave feminism (where the focus is on gender equality) to third-wave feminism where there is an increased focus on oppression and theoretical and social change (Canty and Wright, 2004).

Throughout all data collections, there was a supreme recognition that complete submergence into the racing world was rewarded, which led to an overwhelming admission of expectation to work extra, as unpaid work hours and uncelebrated success. This would suggest that women would be less likely to invest as much of themselves at certain stages of their lifecycle, such as having children and subsequent childcare:

What is symbolic in Heidi's explanation is the way she expects to work extra hours to ensure that she keeps up with the team and does not face alienation or punishment for being slower. Similarly, when feminist researchers discuss "gendered organisations" (Acker 1990, 1992; Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Britton 2018;]) they are often talking about the paid work, or at least the visible work. This was explained by Vivienne:

> *'Officially, we don't start until seven, but I come in at around a quarter past six because, obviously, we have to be on the horses by seven. We have to do our six waters beforehand then get our tap ready. Because I am only small, it takes me a little bit longer. I just don't really like rushing that early in the morning, so I prefer just to come in a bit earlier. I mean, it's not just me, a few of the other girls usually come in between a quarter past six and half six, just to get everything ready, although we get paid from […],'*

These unsaid expectations are often called the "ideal worker norm" (Williams, 2000) which reinforces the gendered disparity in the workplace due to the difference in women's and men's work (Bianchi et al., 2000). This quote further supports the expectation to carry out unpaid, invisible work which is perceived as necessary due to her small, feminine frame, emphasising the presumed mismatch between femininity and working in horseacing. Although Vivienne had the acceptable physical capital (light and small), the body was seen as a contradiction with the masculine characteristics they embody. Consequently, the visible, curvy female body appears "out of place". This juxtaposed positionality of women with smaller frames and female bodies is further supported by Ghani's (2017) report that highlights that women working in hazardous industries often do not have access to correctly fitting personal protective equipment (PPE), and, in some cases, the ill fitting PPE can hinder rather than protect. There is a legal requirement that PPE must be *'*capable of fitting the wearer correctly, if necessary, after adjustments in the range for which it is designed' and, so far as is practicable, 'prevent or adequately control the risk or risks involved without increasing overall risk'; however some women reported:

> *'I don't think I have big calves, but when I ride my boots get me just there* [pointing to leg] *but I find actually like men don't seem to have even that issue with equipment or with body protectors, I don't know what you think, but I've just got myself a new one that's adjustable here* [points to under the armpit] *whereas, previously, I just had a zip up the front**,** even getting it past your boobs is actually a pain the ass.'* (Gemma)

It was clear during this particular focus group, that it was the first time the young women had started to be reflexive on their own positionality in the training provider and the workforce:

> '*Actually, now you have made me think of it, I find that breeches don't fit right—they don't, or boots on your calves.* [nodding] *They're designed for men. Without a shadow of a doubt, they just do not—my breeches, they'll be stuck. They are stuck to my ass and swinging around my waist. Women have arses, so why don't they do a set that fits girls, I don't know. They're not shaped for the body of a woman—it's just shit really.* [laughs]' (Delilah).

Failing to provide equipment or recognise that women have different requirements to the "standard" male is not unique to the racing industry and has been reported in other occupational health and work research (see Côté et al., 2006; Onyebeke and Papazaharias, 2016; Ghani, 2017; Paaßen, 2017). To the extent that, from a distance, when riding the female body is indistinguishable from their male peers, they could be said to embody a cross-gender habitus (Lovell, 2000).

This section has considered how the practices reinforce what constitutes appropriate behaviour in the racing field:

> '*Like I say, I would like to hope that the industry can improve. I feel small things are already happening and I hope it is going the right way, but I wouldn't want any person, girl or boy, who had the dreams and ambitions that I did, to end up in the situation that I am now, where I don't have any interest in racing anymore[…] I'd hate for that to happen* [to others] *because of failings in the industry, whether it be protocol of managing things, pay, the relationships […]. All those things inevitably have contributed towards me calling it quits.* [Racing Program on TV], *I think, are doing an amazing job for broadcasting the sport. I think they are fantastic. They're so positive, everything that they do, they include the stable staff, highlight women and show that they are part of the wider team, they give you all the little details. Like I say, if you can fix the internal side of racing, it's only going to help. I hope it can. Like I say, I have seen it improve slightly over the past few years and that's despite things happening to me […]. That's the ridiculous thing, but the stable staff seem to just quietly suffer away and wither away into the darkness. Nothing really gets said or done about it.*'

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Wesserman and Frenkel (2015) discussed the way that organisational structuring can reinforce hierarchies; however, there is limited research into the gender-related markings and segregations, although Spain (1992) reported on subtle spatial segregation. This quote can be further linked to the

way that these implicit messages work through to the individual and collective habitus to reproduce socially constructed "acceptable" norms and tendencies, which young women embody in practice. The quote above reinforces that embedded experiences, often hidden, 'succeed in imposing cultural practices that it does not teach and does not even explicitly demand' (Bourdieu, 1984:18). This macro-level, institutional culture of male prioritisation through traditions and images that celebrate male success negatively affects the position of women in racing because it reinforces the dominant opinion that racing is a male activity and undermines the way it can be internalised in the racing habitus. This was explained by Cressida:

> *'Racing is quite vicious if you get it wrong, like the amount of criticism, is probably a big one for me. I found it very, very critical. In fact, that's probably the reason I am leaving it. I don't know if you know that, but I decided it's not for me anymore. I've felt like I've tried to fit a square peg in a round hole and it doesn't matter how hard I try, it's just not going to happen, they like someone who isn't me. I feel like it's an industry where, if you ride a horse up the gallop, someone will make a comment about how you rode it. If you turn a horse out, if you plait a horse, someone will make a comment about how you plait it[…]that broke me. It absolutely broke me. '*

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. In addition, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) discussed how anyone who demonstrates leadership are vehicles of knowledge.

> *'I had to be a bit bolder to stand out [to be] recognised, just to show that you can actually do a job well. Sometimes, I was a bit quiet and I just slightly—I liked to keep myself to myself. Sometimes, it's good to stand out and stand up for yourself because, […] it was all because they thought I knew everything, and they thought I was trying to be [in charge] and bossing everyone around. but really I was trying to give them constructive criticism to make them better. [...]Even though they had experience in the racing industry, and I didn't, but I had the knowledge of working with horses because I had my own horse. They knew more, but really, they didn't because it was more of the yard work that they weren't great at because they were riders.'* (Grace).

This quote draws attention to the likeability bias that is engrained in society: it is expected that men should be assertive, so, when women show natural leadership abilities (like Grace above), it does not feel natural (Katila and Eriksson, 2013). This would be in line with the implicit or unintended biases

(see Chapter 2), as a direct consequence of pervasive gendered stereotypes that suggest women are less competent while highlighting their likeability in contrast to men (Rudman et al., 2012). These subtle gender biases are often still held by even the most egalitarian individuals (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004) and are exhibited by both men and women (Nosek et al., 2002). This likability bias would explain why the young men described above had a strong reaction to Grace's *"constructive criticism"*, because, when women assert themselves, society likes them less. Furthermore, this quotation reinforces the hierarchy of roles in the yard (see Chapter 1) and reinforces the capital associated with the individual who is a rider.

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> *"INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR".*

This quote reinforces that, although they watched a peer take a horse up the gallops and the male respondent did not recognise the significance of the achievement and downplayed the transgression into the working racing field. Tessa explained:

> *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Once Tessa had finished her explanation there was a lot of sniggering and laughing around the room and Stephen added *'No, it didn't really spur me on, I think we all just sat there and laughed. It was just really cold and they were not very good'.* This reaction from the rest of the focus group while Tessa was explaining her success reinforces the hidden curriculum and the gendered "rules" which, in this case, were incongruent with the female identity, supporting the gender hierarchy, by encouraging a focus solely on aesthetics rather than embodied achievements. Other young women were also taking part in this judgement being passed by the few males in the room, which left the hegemonic position unquestioned, allowing young men to continue to accrue benefit from the shape of the gendered hierarchy.

This section has highlighted the taken-for-granted norms that restrict how the young women can contest the embedded norms of the racing habitus.

Fitting in with the Racing Habitus

A consistent message that the young women were feeling or describing was the need to *"*fit in*"*, or more importantly, "not to stick out". In practice, this recurring message meant that they were putting in extra, "invisible" hours so that they did not disrupt their immediate social space. In this section, I discuss how the racing industry invisibly encourages the people to exhibit behaviours that are expected and occasionally remove them from their "former" selves. The descriptions provided throughout the data collection haves been that of complying with racing norms and being consequentially punished for presenting oneself in a way which does not align with the dominant ideals of a "successful" gendered identity in the racing field. The act of changing oneself will, in turn, create an inauthentic version that is only created for external validation; however, in the racing industry, cooperation and conformity is key. Any deviation from the expectation is seen as disloyalty, even if it is for the benefit of reaching aspirations, such as getting a jockey licence:

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This quote highlights that, in relation to one's own choices, there are few options once you enter the world of horse racing due to the way change or development is viewed. In this regard, Madison's explanation agrees with Wacquant's (1989:45) conclusion that '[w]e can always say that individuals make choices, as long as we do not forget that they do not choose the principle of these choices.'

Therefore, when young women enter *the "game"* it is the illusion that dictates how these people need to behave, regardless of personal aspirations, and it is these actions which reflect stereotypical notions of gender. Throughout this thesis, I argue that young women are "othered" and fear being alienated from their racing habitus, which Madison highlights above as *'I would be frog-marched out the yard, not even worth screwing myself over for',* which suggests that there are a limited set of choices in the racing habitus, while remembering that choices are never *"free"* due to the way in which capital is distributed to successful representations of gender (Bourdieu, 1990; Connell, 2007).

The interviews have all been peppered with examples of young women feeling that they had to change a little bit to avoid being alienated:

> *'My language did deteriorate massively. I started swearing because that was quite common [in horseracing] and you pick it up because other people are doing it. I don't feel like I needed to change much. Maybe because I was a little bit older.'* (Jeanette)

and:

> *'I[…]And they'll say, "No, she's worked in racing, she's fine". It's the kind of thing that racing does, makes you tough and you can deal with quite a lot and you've got to […] crack on with it. It does make you stick out for yourself because you're used to having to deal with quite a lot[…]I think, especially as a girl in racing, you do have to be able to give back as much as you get. […] it's just the norm, it's taken as the norm in racing. Probably shouldn't be, but it is … Just general inappropriateness and [people] men trying it on and being a bit lary and you wouldn't have that anywhere else. You'd have it in public, but in racing it's quite common for you to have to walk around and have to deal with your […] banter. You do take it on the chin.'*
> *(*Alex)

These examples suggest that there are conflicts between how young women have wanted to behave, but what they feel they should *"*take on the chin" because it is "just part of racing". A contradiction persists, therefore, between competing identities (Valentine, 2000) inside and outside of racing. By capitals being distributed to people who mirror the traditional expectations of the industry, the dominant identities are reinforced and naturalised, reducing opportunities for young women to challenge the norms with alternative identities or behaviours.

The regularity with which the respondents mentioned the need to alter their behaviour or appearance to conform to the dominant expectations of racing suggests that they are influenced by the collective racing habitus. As discussed in Chapter 5, young women who have social capital in the form *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*, or heterosexual relationships or sexual encounters, can create standards that other young women feel pressured to be measured against. Subsequently, these standards form part of a collective racing habitus, and by obeying the norms of the collective group (Bottero, 2010): '*I think* [I would rather get a job there because] *it is a nicer more modern yard where the staff are all younger. Yeah, it matters because you need to be able to get on with them, fit in and also it's your whole life'* (Rose). This desire to fit in with the racing habitus ensures that the collective expectations remain consistent and in line with the needs of the field (Adkins, 2003), as Elsie suggests:

> *'When new people come along, but, generally, they don't particularly last that long, so it's at the point now where some people in the yard say, "Well, what's the point?" Because they're not going to last anyway because they don't fit in. Although, say someone was all right, it's like I would give them the time of day, but if someone was a bit like a bit shitty, you just think, well, […]they are going to leave anyway, so what's the point? But I feel like that shouldn't really be the attitude, that you should want to help people so they actually stay in the industry.'*

As a result of this behaviour, the illusio is reinforced, and the young women are caught up in a game of gender because there is a widespread belief that everyone's behaviour must match that of the wider racing field, creating a consistent habitus.

Despite these examples, some of the young women challenged the practices of the training field, and did not completely conform with the rules set by the field and her gender:

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This is an example where one's habitus does not align with the field in which it operates, and rather than accepting that Heidi was not going to "fit in", her dad's perspective intervened, highlighting that she was not limited by the immediate field and interrupted the development of her habitus. This idea of not being part of the racing set, or *"having no place for me"* has been referred to by Sennett and Cobb (1972) as hidden injuries of class, which highlights that students like Heidi appear to face unique challenges of reconciling the conflict between social mobility, class loyalty and class dislocation. *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*:

> *'He wasn't being sexist. He was wanting the best for his horses and the best would be a professional or an experienced [person]. Unless we are talking about* […]*then no way*!' At this point another member of the group added *'Oh* [she] *really does not like* [the female]*'*. When Rose was pressed to explain, she continued *'Urgh, she is stuck up, spoilt, entitled, I mean, she wears so much makeup and false tan! I could go on...'* Interestingly, when one of the peers in the group reminded her of all the races she had won, this did not deter her feelings*:* '*INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR'*

This discussion regarding this female disregards her talent and ability, reinforcing the belief that opportunities are primarily accrued through social capital, and secondarily through sporting achievement. In addition, the feelings Rose expresses support the suggestions of Harris and Clayton (2002) in their study of the coverage of Anna Kournikova, which concluded that her attractiveness did not challenge the male hegemony of the sport, justifying that the message emitted is that this woman has enough social and female capital and this could eclipse the importance of ability and skill. Thus, Bourdieu's concept of capital can be used to explain how the racing field allocates capital to a classed, gendered identity.

Despite the suggestion that the young women are aware of the "rules" for success which, many still discussed ability and skill as a key factor for identifying role models, and overly feminine traits faced scrutiny, thus perpetuating the gendered hierarchy which rewards masculine identities and associates ability with men rather than embodied achievements, as described by Jade:

'In terms of my riding, I actually idolised […] *as a rider. Because I think he's absolutely brilliant. He is brilliant. I think he rides with a lot of empathy towards the horse, but at the same time, he's very firm, he gets results. He rides very neat. He always looks good at doing whatever he's doing. I think he's got a good set of hands on him, he's quiet. He can be kind to a horse. He kind of takes his ride into any horse that he sits on. If he needs to be a bit firm and talk with them, then he can be […] As far as the person goes, I don't like him one bit.[…]'*

The sex of available role models typically reflects the higher number of visible male in the racing industry, where the male achievements are publicly celebrated (Biskup and Pfister, 1999; Meier, 2015; Bruce, 2016). Interestingly, all respondents were asked "Do you have a role model?" and the majority identified a male *INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR*, who was identified because *'Well, you can't not admire her, she is as good as the lads, you can't even tell it's a woman when they are in a group,'* (Dolly), which supports the research of Biskup and Pfister (1999), which, although dated, highlighted that sportswomen do not function as role models for young women, and a vicious circle develops of a lack of sporting role models, resulting in a lack of girls' interest. Any young woman who identified a female as a role model selected someone outside of racing, such as the singer Pink:

'Oh my gosh, I've never thought about that. To be fair, a lot of my role models now were from the industry, top jockeys like […] and stuff. Not because of who they are, because of how they speak. If something's not right, it's like, "Well, I'm not doing that". It's more of a—not arrogance about them, but they knew where the lines would be crossed. I think all of my role models are male, I think as well. I don't even have a female. Unless you are a singer like Pink, and she's just a really strong person.' (Heidi)

Alternative suggestions for role models included mothers, yard managers and celebrities, and when pressed for further detail about why these women were role models, a theme emerged around strength and the ability to maintain direction regardless of scenario, especially when in a scenario that traditionally reinforces male characteristics:

Another responded:

> *'I look up to* [a manager] *because she's strong, so selfless and just—What's the word? She never stops.* [laughs] *She just doesn't stop. She is like literally a Duracell bunny. Or what is the lady from the TV, she's pretty cool, you know, always looks gorgeous but she **really** knows her shit.* [laughs] *She does though, doesn't she? If you listen to her talking about everything, she just knows what she's talking about and people seem to have a lot of respect for her, she knows what she's talking about […]* (Harriet)

The main conclusion is that a role model to a young woman in the racing industry needs to be either a male, or be as good as a male, which reinforces the gendered prioritisation of the male body and attributes success to masculinity. In addition, the concept that to be a female role model you need to demonstrate "strength", "look gorgeous" and *"not let the fact that some fella might take her job"* affect your performance, which creates a strong argument that a Bourdieusian framework illuminates the way gender norms shape the potential for a sportswomen becoming a role model for young aspirational women. In addition, the racing habitus directs some women to amend their behavioural and gendered options to be more reflective of masculinity, and highlights that they, females, are "other". Not only do the limited female role models promote a perpetual cycle of invisibility, but they suggest that men in sport are superior through having a greater market value, and higher financial investment and rewards for athletes (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2006; Giulianotti et al., 201).

The respondents were aware of the financial opportunities given to men and not as frequently seen for women:

This attitude reinforced the perception that racing is structured as a male preserve, legitimising the male success and visibility. With that said, the conversations exploring the importance of capital generally favour gender-appropriate representations, wherein INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR was synonymous with the accrual of capital for *'breaking every bone in his body and he just stays going, a proper machine'* (Thalia) and *'[….]he doesn't give a shit, he is so funny, riding horses backwards'* (Annie). It is the perception that

racing is everything and it is "appropriate" to behave in this way because nothing else matters, reinforcing the "ideal worker norm" and the racing habitus.

This section has explored the lived experiences where young women have felt that they have had to change to "fit in" and obey the dominant ideal worker expectations in the field of horseracing. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. A discussion of role models has evidenced that women recognise the key features that are required, yet these are all attributed to males, or women who display masculine stereotypes and those who do not replicate the taken-for-granted norms of the racing habitus are at risk of being "othered". I have discussed that this pressure exists in a "physical" sense through interactions with INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR, but also the internal regulation of how and where they fit in the wider racing field.

Chapter Summary

The practices, ethos and values of horseracing, linked with specific experiences contribute to the development of the racing habitus for women. This chapter has mainly focussed on addressing RQ1, focusing on how aspirational females develop their racing habitus, although through exploration of the part played by role models, it can be seen why some young women are less likely to exchange their physical capital into economic capital. In addressing RQ1, the prevalence of male preference is consistent for these young women, from the initial conversations with their parents during the early stages of their horse racing trajectory, where they have been discouraged due to the perceived male bias which reinforces the gendered basis for the habitus before joining the workforce. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The experiences shared by participants in the interviews and data collection have all discussed their experience of horseracing as inherently gendered (Wasserman and Finkel, 2015), which is then further embedded in the individual and collective racing habitus, which can be used to direct behaviours and actions.

In the next chapter, I will explore how the female body is experienced and perceived within the horseracing industry.

CHAPTER 7: A RACING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FEMALE BODY

Within this chapter, I will explore how women in the racing industry view their body and negotiate their racing identity, in relation to their gendered beliefs. Throughout the data collection phase it became increasingly apparent that the perception of the female body was important when considering the participation, and attrition rates of women in racing. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, historically, for aspirational females in the racing industry, their lack of capital and the symbolic violence that they were subjected to, had, for many years, resulted in misrecognition. There do appear to have been some improvements, albeit slow, as quantitative analysis highlights that there are still significantly fewer female jockeys. Women hold only 11% of professional riding licenses, including apprentices on the Flat and conditionals over jumps. Over 14 years female jockeys took only 5.2% of rides: 6.5% on the Flat and 2.9% over jumps (Cashmore, 2018). Even on the occasions when women were allowed to ride a horse, they would be more often in the lower grade, or lower class, races. For example, Cashmore (2018) showed that female riders took 10% and 9.3% of rides in Class 6 and 7 races, respectively, but only 1.1% of rides in Class 1 races on the Flat. These figures reinforce the need for access to the capitals which are highly valued in the racing field, which can be devalued by their gender. These figures could be an indicator of negative public opinion about the ability of female riders. Therefore, the "competition" to gain equal riding opportunities and appropriate recognition of their ability and skills resembles a "handicap race that has lasted for generations" (Bourdieu, 2000: 214).

This chapter explores how women who are aspirational females, or once were aspirational females, view horseracing in relation to their own identities, considering the way that horseracing is hierarchically organised in relation to the accumulation of capital.

I will explore how the embodied gendered power relations that rule the racing field, similarly to the political and military fields, are masculine (Cohn, 2000; Liddle and Michielsens, 2007).

Gendered Beliefs in the Racing Field

Historically, it has been a challenge for women to enter the racing field at all. However, over time, it has become increasingly more accessible INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. In my opinion, this is due to equality legislation, development of diversity steering groups and the stable staff shortage.

The internalisation of gendered beliefs around sport and physical activity in the racing habitus leads to visible distinctions in practice between the genders in the racing setting. This section considers the role of the body in the racing industry and how this is reinforcing a gendered habitus in ways that promote sporting proficiency and inclusion for males, and concurrently distance the female body from engagement in racing.

The qualitative findings of this research highlight how, for aspirational females, the body was deemed a limiting factor for participation and success in racing:

> *'[…] we are not supposed to be as strong as the lads but actually our body is [just as] cool.'* (Gill)

To explain this, I explore how young women at the different stages of horseracing employment view racing in relation to their own gendered identities, considering the way that horseracing is hierarchically organised in relation to the accrual of social capital. Social and symbolic capital can be accumulated through participation in sports, or riding specific, more challenging horses (Butler, 2012), and different "rules" exist for men and women:

> *'Boys' rides didn't have a particular description. It was just something that, generally speaking, I would say more often or not, they might have been slightly younger. The horses might have been slightly younger. However, a boy's ride could have been an absolute bus of a horse as well. I've seen girls ride the more dangerous and more lively fresh horses and green horses than some of the boys. It just seemed like they decided what was a boy's ride and what was a girl's ride according to what they felt, how they felt that day.'* (Becky)

The quote above is indicative that the assumptions made about women riding certain horses is changing. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. It could be said that Becky is evidencing the illusio of horseracing, which embraces the logic and values of the racing field (Butler, 2013). The value placed on the body within the racing field is indicative of wider tastes, dispositions of the racing habitus. "Rules" of gender apply across the field of racing, where there are roles that replicate and reinforce wider beliefs about what is considered "acceptable" behaviours, as explained by Jessie:

> *'I was standing by the gate one day. I was waiting for the lorries to come out and one of the other lads near drove past me in the horsebox. He stops it to say hello to me and he said, "Geez,*

your ass is getting bigger with all that riding out." I just kind of stood there and he drove off then—you get used to it.'

Bourdieu (1984: 4) said 'there is no way out of the game of culture'; horseracing operates as a field, that has "rules", expectations and standards where real struggles for agency and legitimacy occur. Due the critical role of the body in horseracing, or any sport, it is important that the body is considered in relation to capital, considering that acts of the body are highly valued (Bourdieu, 1990; Butler 2013).

This research concentrates on the lived experiences of women in the horseracing industry and how the gendered racing habitus links to their participation and retention. Therefore, in the next section(s) I use interview data, my reflexive journal and stories in the media which seek to explain, contextualise and explore practice. While the data, the quotations used and the personal reflections that I report show certain findings, it is important to remember that this may not be the experience of all women. In the next sections that follow, I present examples of both conformity and resistance to these norms.

Allocation of Capital in Relation to Opportunity

'Without being, strictly speaking, rigged, the competition resembles a handicap race that has lasted for generations, or games in which each player has the positive or negative score of all those who have preceded him. That is the accumulated score of all his ancestors '(Bourdieu 2000: 214).

When considering horseracing as a Bourdieusian field, this section will discuss how capital is allocated, which leads to the development of a hierarchy of roles in the racing field, as explained in Chapter 1, in addition to the hierarchy of gender discussed in Chapter 5. Bourdieu's field theory work contributes to the sociology of sport because it enables exploration of agential action in the sphere of sport and physical activity (Clement, 1995).

The main area of focus for this section is the hierarchy of roles in the horseracing field, and how this is monitored, reinforced and maintained. In a similar way, some sports are considered more appropriate for women, and the significant prioritisation of male sport denotes that capital is unlikely to be gained by young women through participation alone; they would also need to excel (Walker and Bopp, 2015):

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This quote makes a point that was repeated by many young women: women had to be able to display exceptional skill to be accepted, and the skills required to be successful are generally incongruent with being a "normal" female. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Therefore, in this section, I will also include a brief discussion of class and link it with position in the racing industry, considering how social capital is classed in its allocation to position and the regulation of job roles.

Depending on the type of role and the associated responsibilities, the social capital is allocated differently. The main positions discussed are in relation to the idealised positions in a yard, such as management roles, assistant trainer and senior work riders, and, generally the most the highly valued role of all, being a jockey. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. In relation to gaining a prestigious position in the racing business, there is the wider, embedded belief that someone possesses the qualities required, and then a further acceptance that there is something that can be exchanged meaning that there is an exchange value present within the notion of the different forms of capital. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This capital can be exchanged and embodied; in addition, it has a "use value" that cannot be spent, but, instead, retains value for use at a later date, either consciously or not, on account of perceived value or identity (Crossley, 2001).

Some sports are seen to be indicative of class: for example, rugby union is associated with an elite public-school image, while football has a more working-class habitus (Baker, 1979; Nauright and Chandler, 1996; Pope, 2017). In a similar way, there is a class-based difference in horseracing. Historically, this difference has been linked to the two racing codes of Flat (working class "lads" completing an indentured apprenticeship) and National Hunt (a previous extension of hunting) racing. Despite the class differences of the two codes, they are both regularly associated with masculinity (Bramham, 2003). I will discuss how both sport and capital are classed (Shilling, 1991), and how the merit of the capital alters in different fields (Bourdieu, 1978; Bridges, 2009). Thus, jump racing was strongly internalised in the habitus:

> '*It's quite nice being a female because a lot of people will offer help, so no one will see you struggle from the horsebox; suppose so that's quite a good thing. I know that if I ever went to the races by myself and I had a problem, I could ask for help and people generally are quite nice to you,* [chuckles] *although, it's funny, on the flat, I personally find that if you go racing on the flat, people are a lot less welcoming. Whereas when you go racing through the winter*

or through summer jumps, any jumps meetings, people tend to be a lot nicer, it's a bit more of a family affair, not so much about the money, it can't be I suppose, the prize money is less to start.' (Natalie)

The struggle for legitimate identities in the racing industry and each position are a classed sub-field, and this dictates which positions are valued and, therefore, rewarded. This demonstrates how the "rules" of gender are affected by classed dispositions to steer whichever elements of practice are valued in the wider racing habitus. For example, National Hunt racing, where horses are required to jump obstacles, has firm links to fox hunting, previously associated with the upper class. The class division between the professional and amateur jockey is not as stark as it once was, although racing still has a share of wealthy amateurs who ride for fun. This year, the winner of a Foxhunter chase, which not only cements the link to the hunting field but also reinforces the classed amateur status:

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Women often ride as amateurs rather than professionals, partly due to the doxic values of the racing field. Earlier research by Butler (2011) suggests that this distinction may now be gendered as well as classed. The word "amateur" was historically used for a male of the upper and middle class involved in sports such as rowing and cricket (Holt, 1992). Therefore, the division between the amateur and the professional was based on social position: being an amateur implied class, asserting courage and will power. The field of sport is described by Bourdieu as a place of struggles where the stakes are high for people wanting legitimacy in the sport (Bourdieu, 1978) using the 'legitimate body and the legitimate use of the body' (Bourdieu, 1978:826).

I would argue that this notion can be applied to the difference between an amateur and a professional, because the amateur has little or no exchange value and only completes for "fun" and has the time as well as the economic and social capital to do so. In contrast, the professional has labour power to exchange for economic capital, on the assumption that the individual is able to "win" the gender game. As McKay (1991:16) states 'sport is seen both to shape and be shaped by the inequalities of gender, class, age and race which pervade all other spheres of society.' The doxic values of the horseracing industry, that places higher value to economic and cultural capital, can be evidenced in the racing field, through tracing the link between the economic, amateur, social and cultural capital, as illustrated by the Foxhunter races. This example also highlights that horseracing is not separated from wider historical, political or social realities (Dashper and Fletcher, 2013). In addition, this example further

highlights how the "rules" of gender are affected by classed characteristics, and how value is distributed in the racing habitus.

The racing habitus can be researched by listening to the experiences of INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR:

> *'If you're a girl, do* [are you] *set you up better or worse than a male? If you've come from money, does it set you up better or worse? Yes. If you came from a background of knowing what you're talking about or you had money, and mainly a name, then, yes, you were better off than you would be if you was just the general person off the street, i.e. me.'* (Nancy)

This example highlights how, when joining an environment that prioritises certain capitals which are deemed to hold higher values, the habitus is adapted to reflect the values and dispositions of the field.

As I discussed in Chapter 4, the data was coded as a whole rather than breaking it down into individual responses due to issues of maintaining anonymity; therefore, I am unable to discuss the class differences between the participants. However, one response in a focus group commented on the importance of prior experience, as described by Jordon:

> *'Well I have been riding, <u>properly</u> since I was eight years old and I have always been involved in horses, mainly pony racing, so I was told that I should come* to […] *to get experience, especially if I want to get in to training* [horses] *myself eventually.'*

This probably reflects an internalised habitus, which to the participants represented some positive characteristics of horseracing. In contrast, other responses from the focus groups emphasised that prior experience was linked to an entitled demeanour, which did not suggest hard work alone.

> *'She will do better because she got contacts, you know she knows people* [in the industry] *and if you know people you will do massively better. […] it's not what you know but who you know. I would actually go as far as saying it is more important than ability—just look at* […].*'* (Sammy)

This negative sweeping statement is symptomatic of the Bourdieusian concept that middle and upper classes seek to separate themselves from other social groups, which can also be seen in the explanation by Adela about a female: *'she is literally a celebrity because of her [contacts], not because she is any good',* where the virtue of this individual is questioned in relation to the social capital allocated to the female. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR which acts as prestige to be associated with someone who holds a

significant amount of capital, to the point where some of the participants considered it mandatory for success and acceptance, as explained by Elsie:

> '[…], she's been brought up with racing and I don't want to say the wrong thing, you know, I don't want to sound like I don't know what I'm talking about because, obviously, it's all different lingo and everything to just your normal horsemanship and things like that. I didn't want to speak to her, or anyone because I thought I would say the wrong thing—even in normal conversation. Because, obviously, the only thing all that people had in common was racing. That was all they talked about. Well, I didn't even have that in common with them because, obviously, I was new to it. Just general conversation. I didn't feel like I could join with because it wasn't normal to me. A lot of them and all were already amateurs. I was the only conditional on the course. They were all already amateurs, they'd already race ridden and would go into their license, so I assumed they all thought I was a weak rider, and that made me ride rubbish!'

Elsie's quote reinforces the previous discussion of division based on social position and status- being an amateur also implied courage and will power. The feelings she felt during the licencing process questioned her legitimacy inside that space, and the appropriation of body demonstrated through her riding ability. She admitted not feeling like she could join in because they had already ridden in races. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. However, the daughter, although female, was in a position of power due to the associated status of her contacts and position in the horseracing industry.

When asked if they have had to change to fit in, it appeared that their lived experiences were heavily linked to status and social positionality, as explained by Irene:

> *"INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR."*

This could be further seen through the responses to the vignettes, where there was a clear feeling that having economic capital, or having access to it, would enable a female to get on further, because her family values the role of the horse and horseracing, which, in turn, enables Sarah to enhance her status and subsequent social capital by accentuating success. For those who lack economic and cultural capital, the options within one's habitus are determined by those provided in the environment that they grow up in, or were educated in, which, in most cases. does not include horses.

Conversely, some participants reported that, due to their lack of exposure to and experience with horses prior to entering horseracing, they were going to have to work harder; but, subsequently, this adds value to their efforts, as described by Jade:

> *'I always knew I wanted to work with horses, and I thought, as brutal as it is, there's no money in horses unless you're part of a rich family who have mummy and daddy who can buy you expensive showing horses, and dressage horses, and stuff like that. I just thought that most success and money comes from the racing industry in the equine discipline, so I thought that's where I want to make a career out of horses, that's the path I need to go down.'*

The different ways that the participants discuss their lived experiences and perceptions demonstrate how '[a]version to different lifestyles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes' (Bourdieu, 1984: 49). Thus, providing an explanation of the reasons young people decide to enter the racing industry because it is able to provide opportunities for young people who have maybe not come from an affluent family.

This privileged position is recognised across all parts of my data collection and, therefore, if you do not come from a family who could provide a horse, you are required to INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR, thus creating part of the racing habitus. Here, there is a recognition that Jade wanted 'a career in horses' and viewed racing as a space that she could succeed. In discussing the impact of economic capital, the respondents in this study focused on the parts that they enjoyed when working with horses and the elements that were important to them: '*I always knew I wanted to work with horses, and I thought, as brutal as it is, there's no money in horses unless you're part of a rich family*' (Jade) In discussing why they wanted to join the racing industry, the availability of jobs was appealing even if they did not think that they belonged.

As previously discussed, equestrianism has been associated with the middle- or upper-class identity. Dena explains this further:

> *'I suppose, I chose to go into racing because there was the opportunity to work with horses, learn on the job and be part of a whole different world. You know, horses are for people with money, even if I am just moving the shit, I don't care. I love it.'*

Therefore, equestrianism generally represents a more middle- and upper-class habitus, due to the associated economic capital required. Conceptualised as prior experience with horses being a pastime

for *'people with money'*, this quote directly links perceived status (*'even if I am just moving the shit')* to the habitus in providing opportunities and options for those who would like to gain hands-on experience prior to entering horseracing. The association of the racing habitus and economic capital is symbolic of the taken-for-granted norms of the habitus, where the dominance of masculinity remains unquestioned and doxic. As was demonstrated in Chapter 5, the racing habitus reinforces the taken-for-granted "rules" which reflect the way aspirational females should behave to gain meaningful capital.

This section has considered how opportunities are intrinsically linked to the way that the female body is presented, INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Increasing the Visibility of Women in Racing

This section will focus on the opportunities that have been created and implemented by the industry in the hope to challenge the pockets of male priority, associated explicitly with success.

Michelle explains her first-hand understanding of the social importance for females in the racing industry and how, when they demonstrate ability, it is highlighted as an anomaly:

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> *APPROVAL AND GDPR."*

This quote emphasises the institutional prioritisation of males and the way that social capital is subsequently allocated to male success (Messner, 1990; 1992; Adjepong, 2015), with fewer opportunities available for young women to challenge the norms and challenge the way that participation in racing and excellence is rewarded and valued. This institutional focus on male sporting activities and success highlights how social capital is subsequently transferred to ability and success (Butler, 2012; Adjepong, 2015), with only a few opportunities for young females to upset the normal image of racing or create ways in which sporting participation and excellence are rewarded. Historically, women were not able to ride in races until the 1950s, when they competed against men in point-to-points, which, at the time, was considered innovative (Butler, 2011) and, in turn, led to a change in the rules and the development of ladies' races (Huggins, 2000). The first ladies' Flat race was introduced in 1972 and was made up of a 12-race series for lady amateurs. The reasoning behind this was that it would encourage more women to stay as part of the racing staff labour force, if they were given the opportunity to ride under rules for fun. This idea of providing an opportunity to ride

under rules as a "sweetener" and persuader to stay in employment is a technique that was apparent in some of the interview data:

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Recently, there have been efforts made to encourage and provide opportunities for females and aspirational females through the development of initiatives which were launched as a new race series specifically for females, following a race course, who was the first to develop the annual "ladies' night", which was designed to give more females the opportunity to '*participate in races, who perhaps wouldn't get up here otherwise*' . Most notably, it was , highlighted that 'as a one-off challenge, it also creates the only full race-card when you will be competing against a ride of similar physiology every time.' The unique nature of this event and series gained significant media coverage, both nationally and internationally; however, inadvertently, this highlights the prioritisation of male sport and this, in turn, functions as a form of symbolic power (Brubaker, 1985), where the misrecognition and allocation of symbolic capital reinforces the masculine characteristics in the sport. This legitimisation of masculinity in turn creates a "rule" in the gendered game of racing, and participation in socially valued roles (which are sex-appropriate) can gather more social capital, which results in men "winning" and women "losing" by way of opportunities or visibility, as explained by Chloe:

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In this case, the gender capital is devaluing their physical capital, making a woman's body perceived to be unsuitable, especially if they are particularly strong:

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The increase of sex-appropriate, and class-appropriate, roles and sporting endeavours act as a "forced choice" (Bourdieu, 1984: 173). The regulation of sex-appropriate roles in the racing industry was discussed at length by the female respondents, in response to the racing habitus. Men can amass capital from participating in sport, which results in pressure for them to be taking part in the "correct" sport or role, whereas the scarcity of capital allocated to women who are working in the horseracing industry potentially means that they have more freedom to explore different roles, if they so wish. The application of this concept to sex-appropriate roles and positions, where male bodies are

prioritised and normalised, determines what people consider acceptable behaviour and how the stereotypes are reinforced, as explained by Teresa:

'Well, I thought—don't get me wrong, I'm a good person. I'm a polite person, but I've got strong opinions about things and I'll stand by my opinion no matter what. I say things how it is a little bit sometimes, but I've got no time for dawdling about or no times for messing around. I'm probably quite hard on the outside like a hard shell. No time for weakness at all. I have no time for feels, I think that kind of an attitude and I'm very success-driven and very competitive as well. I think that them sort of things are probably what have helped me […] I go to the gym, I make sure my body is as strong as it can be! Don't get me wrong, but by no means am I as mentally strong than some of the boys—I do get really nervous. I am probably quite a wimp compared to them, but I think compared to a lot of girls, I'm quite boyish.'

The questioning of the prioritisation of masculine bodies and characteristics such as *"mentally strong [and] competitive",* emphasises the limited recognition for the abilities offered by the female body. This detachment from female traits and associating themselves with more characteristics such as being *'quite hard on the outside like a hard shell'* and insinuating that "weakness" and "feels" are associated with being a feminine woman and are, therefore, incompatible. Dashper (2019) identifies that this behaviour does not always get rewarded because a woman's embodied gender performance is considered less successful than those of men.

Across all of the focus groups and interviews with the young aspirational females there was a strong theme of strength and bodies that was discussed in both explicit and more implicit terms, as highlighted in a conversation between two people during a focus group, when asked how a woman would be able to increase her opportunity. One said: *'Well, she would definitely need to build up strength, and of course make sure she has the right skills'* and her peer responded: *'Yeah, I agree. We would need to build up muscle.'* These responses emphasise the unquestioned acceptance that young women, are seen to be physically weaker than their male counterparts and, therefore, less able. Any deviation from the "normal" are often met with criticism; however, more criticism is heaped on the males who are not demonstrating the masculine traits that fit within the "game". In the event that a male does not demonstrate strength and ability, they are compared to a "girl", as if that were a derogatory term (Åkestam et al., 2017) *REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

Taking part in the "right" activities, in turn, suggested that there was prejudice around the development of sex-appropriate activities. During the focus groups, there were occasions where the young women would become frustrated with their peers when they were discussing strength and fitness in racing. In the words of Geri:

> *'Yeah but the man needs to be as fit too. It's not just because he is a man that he gets the ride like, he has to be as fit too! yeah, he has to be as fit as her, like they need to be as fit as each other otherwise they wouldn't be any good—you have to be as fit as you can be and just put your all in. It doesn't matter about boy or girl as long as you do your best.* [inhalation.] *But, realistically, men are stronger aren't they* [not said as a question but a statement] *– We women have to be fit and on our "A" game!'*

I find this interview excerpt especially important because it acts as a metaphor for the way that young aspirational females continuously battle with the ideology of working in horseracing, and the reality of the journey ahead. On the one hand, the young participant challenged the "normal" within the racing field, yet reminded herself via a question that the reality, as explained by her peers, was the sometimes negative treatment of females who wish to become top-class participants. Interestingly, when asked about the fairness of her experience and their ability to create workers, Geri replied:

> *'I think that what they do at the [beginning] fitness-wise, is very good. I think females and males should be able to do their fitness tests and ride the horses that they've got. When they [enter the workforce] I have seen girls and boys of similar standards. I think it doesn't swing one way more than the other.'*

In keeping with the broader concept of gender and the development of the racing habitus, the experience of Geri would suggest that one's habitus is mainly developed as the wider horseracing workplace represents a social field where the game is played with all the rules. When this concept was further explored with Sarah, in relation to why the females do not always get the opportunity to ride, or choose to reject the opportunity, she said:

> *'I genuinely feel it's probably just because it's male-dominated because males are stronger. Males it's assumed are stronger, more physically able on to the riding side of it[…]'*

This well reported problem of "needing riders" has meant that the default solution has often fallen to men because they are considered "stronger", which reinforces the cultural belief of racing being a sport of "Kings"; yet there is not a perceived difference in fitness level, whilst dismounted (off the

horse), which suggests that there are alternative reasons for the disproportionate number of visible men riding:

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This quote is indicative of feeling "othered" in the gendered expectations which have been normalised in the workplace and highlights the consequences of not choosing the correct employer who *"prefers women"* or becoming a non-riding member of the yard team.

In turn, rejection remains unchallenged. This rejection and strict set of "rules" can lead to women feeling so deflated, regardless of the experiences had:

'I've had some amazing days, don't get me wrong. Crikey, I'm so lucky. I've had [lots of opportunities.] I've been so lucky, but I think, inevitably, day in, day out, it's broken me. I've given it enough cracks of the whip now that I know I'm happier when I'm not in it. I never thought I would be. I never, ever, ever thought I would be, but racing has never brought me happiness—I was never going to be one of them.' (Ophelia)

In an industry that is desperate to retain staff, especially women, this quote emphasises that women are becoming frustrated with the industry due to lack of opportunity and recognition for their skills and available capital. In reference to the symbolic violence, where Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) identified gender as the paradigmatic form, the experiences described by the respondents reinforced Krais's (2006) research through symbolic violence, and differences in sex are naturalised. The examples provided in this chapter emphasise the taken-for-granted position that males are often considered superior. The regulation of female participation limits the development of alternative sporting femininities which are particularly important for accruing social capital and social status, as explained by Elsie:

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This emphasises the way that the allocation of symbolic capital legitimises the role of the body in the expression of masculinity and therefore, taking part in activities or riding *"dirtier horses"* accrue more social capital, and provide masculine "power" (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 and working within the "rules"). This prioritisation of assumed male ability provides few opportunities for young women to question the status quo. These examples demonstrate how success and physical

capability are valued by young men and the wider racing industry. The way that men in racing can use their body in the racing field is respected, enabling some capital to be allocated regardless of their position, for example, a work rider. In contrast, women in the racing industry who are particularly successful with their bodies can gain physical capital, regardless of their job role; however, it appears that, during their initial entry to the "male-appropriate" role, they could experience prejudice and stereotyping prior to demonstrating their ability and skill. On this point, Nigella discussed what has been considered above in relation to a management position, balancing being a woman in charge. We know that women are significantly underrepresented in management positions and those who are likely to be working in a micro-organisation (Morgan and Pritchard, 2019). It is clear that Nigella understands that it is unique for a "feminine" female to hold this position in her racing habitus, and the capital accrued by this post is transferable to other settings:

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Alternatively, some of the young aspirational females were willing to use their femininity and gendered habitus to gain assistance, without fearing criticism and loss of physical capital:

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This highlights the power of gender norms determining female- and male-appropriate roles to emphasise an advantageous image and identity to others and complements the findings by Butler (2012) that femininity is exaggerated in the racing industry. In the field of horseracing, this quote evidences the requirement to embody the gender, which marries together the importance of presenting a identity that reaffirms the dominant expectations of the wider field. I have used this section to demonstrate the challenges and hierarchies associated with the different roles in the racing industry. The young women who participated in this research are aware of the different values attributed to different roles in the field and the consequent repercussions that may be felt on their own positionality. The prioritisation of males in racing highlights how capital is allocated to perceived strength, in a way that is generally less accessible to females. Gender and physical capital are allocated to females based on body shape, attractiveness and femininity; it is these forms of capital that are treated 'like the aces in a game of cards' (Bourdieu, 1985:724).

The value of this on the development of a racing identity will now be explored in further detail.

Embodied Gender and Physical Capital

In this section, I consider how racing has become internalised with a legitimate racing identity and masculine characteristics, in contrast to the way that horseracing is not regularly associated with female success and does not celebrate femininity. This "otherness" was seen across all areas of horseracing that I operated in for this research and the interviews, suggesting that there is a potential similarity in how young females, regardless of their socialisation, relate to themselves in their racing identities. Although this section largely discusses how body strength and low body weight are consistent with the racing identity, it is important to note that not all people in the racing industry align with these characteristics. The interviews and focus group data suggested that racing is more suited to those demonstrating a stereotypically masculine characteristics, such as being strong and brave. As for young women, who generally have the advantage of being lighter, they are seldom offered the opportunity to demonstrate ability even if they wish to do so. In this section, I also discuss the contradiction in the racing habitus, as previously reported by Butler (2012), of the ideal jockey (or member of the horseracing community)as strong (masculine) and light (feminine). The way that strength is attributed to the racing habitus, either as a rider or non-riding yard worker, connects this to the "naturalisation" of males in sport. By associating the descriptions provided in the earlier section, the aspirational young women engage in a contradictory gendered habitus. This was described by Melody:

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In support of Butler and Charles (2012), this reinforces the thought that females are punishing their bodies and *"pull[ing their] weight"*. Therefore, female bodies are "othered" by the racing habitus and not seen as appropriate for hard work apart from as a last resort. As discussed at length in Chapter 1, and the reason this PhD research has been part-funded by the Racing Foundation, the racing industry has reported a stable staff shortage, which could be attributed, in part, to the women's perceived lack of strength, being the wrong shape or not being "man enough". Highly regarded individuals in the horseracing field, such as retired participant, publicly stating that women's 'bottoms are the wrong shape' for race riding (Alcock, 1978: 2):

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In this section, I explore how the female body is seen to define the participants' identity or stifle their ability and participation in the racing field while attributing value to a "successful" body. The importance of the body is described by Alex:

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This demonstrates the increased value added to strength and ability in the development of a valued racing identity. The natural ability of men was reinforced by Allison and Butler (1984) who explained that 'Perhaps one of the most prevalent themes in gender-related sport research is that the female athlete experiences strong feelings of dissonance between her feminine role and that of being an athlete', highlighting how male and sport are correlated, which, in turn, distances sport from the female identity. Similarly, Lovell (2000) discussed women who were able to pass as military men through embodying gender and took part in "male-appropriate" activities as a child and, therefore, defined themselves as tomboys (Scraton et al., 1999; Cox and Thompson, 2000; Wedgwood, 2004; Mennesson, 2012). Importantly for this study, it also emphasises the importance of the material body and embodiment in the racing habitus and, therefore, it is not something that can be taken off or applied at will (Lovell, 2000; Brown, 2006; Butler and Charles, 2012). The inability to remove the racing habitus from the material body is important when considering elements that are fundamental elements of the healthy, female form, such as menstruation. Therefore, even though Millie is reproducing the biological essentialism argument, it is an important factor to be recognised in a woman's reality, especially when menstruation and associated "period shame" limit opportunities:

> *'And we ladies have to deal with periods! Tampons…*[chuckles]. *I know I don't—I used to purposely avoid riding when I was on so I don't have periods riding. I felt so uncomfortable. I was always staying in front of the girls or checking to make sure I'm fine. It was horrible, so I got the injection so I don't get a period anymore and that's simply because I'm just riding all the time now. I hated it. It wasn't the period. I'm not freaked by that like that, like, "I'm on my period now." It's just simply the fact of riding out or having boys comment, you know, this and that. I actually used to be more focused on that than the horse!'* (Millie)

In further support for the racing habitus being directly linked to ability, this quote suggests that Millie is rejecting her monthly menstruation and has chosen to chemically alter her body to enable her to continue riding. This kind of action is in line with the findings of the Betty (2017) research survey, where three quarters of female teenage respondents reported missing physical activity due to their

period or period shame. Notably, this was not the only case reported in the qualitative data collection phase; however, Millie was the youngest to discuss it. Some of the older respondents who are already working in the industry reported instances linked to period shame:

> '[there are people that] still has weigh days in the week, this means that, if a girl is on her period and she is holding water, then she might not be allowed to ride the colts and everyone wants to ride the colts! We used to have a blanket rule that girls don't work with, handle or ride the colts because they can get all turned on when you are on your period but that has changed now—when [they were] short-staffed!' (Elsie)

Elsie reinforces that racing exists within a world that has its own "rules" and interests that previously operated to give working-class boys the opportunity to excel, similar to that of football today (Butler and Charles, 2012); however, these "rules" create barriers for women to achieve or develop consistently; which equates to symbolic violence. For these young women, menstruation is not a naturalised part of the racing, female identity, which further reinforces a difference . Given the widely held view that women have weaker bodies (see McNay, 1999, 2000; Koivula, 2001; DeJonge, 2003Adriaanse and Schofield, 2014; Fink 2015; Kokot, 2015) and, therefore, cannot manage the physical nature of riding colts, the concept of bodily capital (Wacquant, 1995) is deemed appropriate to explore gendered embodiment (Sparkes and Smith, 2012) within the racing industry. The number of reported experiences of the respondents in relation to their bodily capital indicated that they were less likely to be given opportunities based on their gender, which, in turn, had a negative effect on their confidence:

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As previously discussed, the racing habitus is propagative, which results in the role of gender in the racing habitus, modifying it to a disposition (Brubaker, 1993). This reproduction results in the formation of stereotypes:

> 'When I first started out, <u>obviously,</u> I wasn't the greatest rider in the world, so instead of people actually helping me, they would just criticize me all the time, go on and on and on, [...]. It just didn't make me feel very good in myself. Obviously I had to learn to work right anyway. I wasn't very particularly confident and that just didn't boost my confidence. Lads would say, "You're shit. You can't hold anything". A few people behind our back would say like, "Yet another one, she won't last. She won't stick it in. She's useless. What's she even doing here?"' (Lucy)

Stereotypes that relate to the value of females, especially when riding, as explained above, become perpetuated by the consistent reinforcement of criticism based on their body or strength. The main focus of this section is the gendering of capital and how the body affects the ability of the agent operating in the racing field to be encouraged and accepted. For the young aspirational females in this study, strength and ability are a 'natural' part of the male racing identity, which consequently reinforces the difference between the genders. The differences have been summarised by Hargreaves (1994: 146), who affirms '[f]or huge numbers of men the image and experience of the body are intimately linked to sporting experiences: for the majority of women, the image and experience of the body have very little or nothing to do with sports'.

REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. However, occasionally, some of the respondents reported knowing of instances where a female in racing appeared to be accepted as part of the "racing set", challenging the dichotomy of experiences:

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The way that Nigella discusses the experiences of some women in the racing industry demonstrates that once they have *'shown they are worth their salt'*, young women are welcome to join the racing community and accrue social capital. This quote supports the notion that a women's success in a male-dominated field is delayed due to the challenged stereotypical identity. Women having to "prove themselves" or experiencing sex-bias in the workplace has been reported by Heilman and Okimoto (2007). This bias has resulted in discrimination in selection, placement and performance evaluation. Any barrier to participation is a particular area of interest, especially considering the current stable staff recruitment and, more recently, mental health challenges in horseracing. *REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.* This concept of having to prove your worth to stop the teasing, and to be accepted, can be linked to the identification of aspiring young women who are "girly" and have the ability to focus on the detail. This concept contrasts with previous research by Butler (2013), who suggested that there was no legitimate place in racing for the "girly girls"; however, it appears that you can *"win the [person] over"* if you are *"presented … beautifully"* and, therefore, gain social capital in a traditionally feminine way and demonstrating feminine skills such as plaiting:

> *'I'm pretty good at plaiting and stuff like that. My clipping and everything is pretty good. I don't know if that's anything to do with being female and being very—when you're younger, you do*

> *that with your own hair, don't you? Girls can sometimes have a bit more of a softer touch about them, you know a "feminine touch" which sometimes some horses react better too […] I used to look after a horse, it was really weird. He seemed to quite like me for a while, would only let me load him and stuff. That was before he decided that he hated everybody—so it worked in my favour for a bit.'* (Michelle)

This quote emphasises how gender stereotypes are so embedded, and the characteristics of the ideal worker are rarely associated with women (Heilman, 2001). When considering the majority of tasks associated with the horse racing workplace, the participants have acknowledged that it is easier for men to embody the behaviours and practices. In this experience, Michelle explains that some horses 'know a feminine touch' so recognises that it is important to not always distance themselves from this feminine identity associated with empathy and compassion, rather than achievement-oriented toughness (Irvine and Vermilya, 2010; Dashper, 2019). However, I would not go as far as to say is it the "normal" expectation, especially given that the examples provided above have direct links to economic gain for the employer, both in the sales ring and when taking a horse which is particularly difficult to the races. These events represent a short-lived legitimate identity when the" girly" activities have a place in the racing habitus.

As June outlines: *'you have to be able to do it all, plait up and brush your horse to an inch of its life one minute and then the next, you will be calling someone a dickhead because they just called you fat or slow.'* This normalises the rejection of consistent femininity in the yard environment, which simultaneously engages the individual with masculine behaviours by rewarding the use of foul language and creating legitimacy. Emmie recognised the importance of swearing to fit in:

> *'My language did deteriorate. I started swearing because that was quite common on the yard and you pick it up because other people are doing it. I don't feel like I needed to change anything else. Maybe because I was a little bit older. I felt like maybe there wasn't so much pressure to change to what other girls or other lads wanted, other than my language.'*

This recognition that certain parts of one's character need to change emphasises the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice to provide a method for attempting to understand the embodiment of social structures. Placing this concept of practice in the wider racing field has highlighted the fact that there is a 'level of immediate visibility of the body and to locate the agent within the broader games in which they are involved' (Crossley, 2001: 106).

This section has demonstrated that there are embodied differences in the racing habitus that dictate how women see their body as a limiting factor on the racing field. However, there are feminine elements that are naturalised, such as plaiting and looking presentable, that also enable accrual of social capital, especially when there is potential to transfer these "girly" skills into economic gain (best turned out and sales rings). The reinforcement of masculine prioritisation occurs through the limited opportunities and the lived experiences of young women in the racing industry, which punishes the female body by rejecting menstruation, and preventing riding the young colts, as they have been reserved for the "lads" during this time. The contrast evidenced in this section has highlighted how gender-based differences are assumed to be "natural" in their application to participation, and the alterations required for participation lead to discrepancies in success and allocation of opportunities in horseracing.

Maternity and Pregnancy Penalty and the Ideal Worker

In the previous section, the quotes reinforce a gendered power differential that favours the male body and provides further constraints on women who participate in a sport that is deemed a "man's game" or "sport of Kings". Heilman and Okimoto (2007) showed that level of competence does not guarantee that a female will be able to advance to the same status or at the same speed at her male counterpart, due to multiple complex barriers. Undeniably, there has been much research demonstrating the male domination of sport (Messner and Sabo, 1990; Birrell and Theberge, 1994; Birrell, 2000; Thorpe, 2011; Sparkes and Smith,2012; Butler, 2013a,b; Anderson, 2015). However, it is important to note that the racing field is 'a sport and also an industry' (Cassidy, 2002:54) and, in a similar way to other male-dominated occupations, it can be challenging for a female to achieve success, as discussed in Chapter 2. It has been regularly reported that, across all equestrian disciplines, there is a 'traditional set of rules that are determined by men who try to be excellent in and through their bodies' (Weiss, 1978: 89) regardless of the unique platform offered for both sexes to compete against each other 'on a level playing field', but we know that this has not led to greater gender equality (Dashper, 2012b; 2016). This is likely to be the result of gendered expectation, unequal access to resources that support consistent participation and access to the luxury of time. Therefore, this section concerns the way that a dichotomy is created between women in the horseracing industry who are wholly embedded in the "racing way of life", and, particularly, the way that they negotiate and compromise with their aspirations as well as pregnancy and motherhood. It should be noted this analysis is not to be taken as a generalised idea that sees all young women choose to leave the horseracing industry because they have decided to start a family or suggest that if they do decide to have children, they are no

longer an "ideal worker". However, there is a striking difference between these two concepts, and the central argument of this thesis emphasises how these practices become taken-for-granted beliefs, normalised so that young aspirational females assume that they are unable to continue working in the industry during pregnancy and after childbirth. It must be said that these thoughts are not unique to a horseracing context or equestrian employment; however, there is a perception within the horseracing industry that mothers should not be riding horses because *'if they fall off, who is going to be left holding the baby'* (Michelle). Arguably, this is an important area to include in this project, firstly because it directly addresses my second research question: "why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?" as well as contributing to an original, unexplored theme in the current strategy for retaining staff with their knowledge and skills sets.

The behaviours and dispositions that were reported across all elements of the qualitative data collection, which were not initially presented to be gendered, were the concept of the ideal worker and the normalisation of racing being *'your whole life'* (Chloe) and *'the industry will suck you in, and you become part of it. You are racing and racing is you'* (Sally). These dispositions are representative of McClintock-Comeaux's (2013: 22) argument that the concept of the ideal worker is made up of a 'clear, relentless commitment to paid work', where working long hours is expected and distractions outside the paid work environment which may interfere with the role, including family and personal facets of life, are not allowed. In addition, feminist researchers (Acker, 1990;1992; Britton, 2000; Ely and Meyerson, 2000) highlight that the majority of workplaces are organised in such a way as to reward those who prioritise their paid work by working long hours, arrange their outside responsibilities around their paid work, and are willing to travel as requested. This was commonly discussed in all the collected data:

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> *APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

This notion of absolute commitment and devotion to one's work reinforces the expectations, especially when the care of the horse is 24/7:

> *'Horses are not machines, they need checking on, feeding, washing, rugs changing regardless of the time of day. If we have got back from racing late because we were in the last race or the traffic was bad, if the horse is too hot for its stable rug and net then you will be waiting until it's ready, even if it has gone midnight—but I love the horses, so you do it.'* (Heidi)

The culture of long hours in horseracing is the norm, and the hours spent being visible on the yard are held in very high regard because it is assumed that these represent productivity and commitment (Lewis and Taylor, 1996).

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.' *needing to become your new life'* (Meghan), being told to *'keep your head down and don't cause any trouble, racing is too small to upset anyone'* (Rose), suggesting that, if you raised your head above the water and were noticed for the wrong reasons, you would no longer be able to stay in this exclusive world of racing because you had not followed the "rules". One of the focus group respondents summed it up concisely:

'*INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.*

In line with the findings of Blair-Loy (2003), such behaviours signal absolute devotion to one's work and this is expected to continue into adulthood. In short, presenting yourself as an ideal worker is a critical way to embody masculine characteristics and protect the legitimacy of your position in the yard. One interviewee suggested that:

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Bonnie's quote highlights multiple interesting concepts such as: working in racing means you are no longer part of *"normal … society",* which would reaffirm the idea that part of the development of a racing habitus is the distancing from previous experience, as well as acknowledging that the people who are *'just starting out'* are not fully aware of what is required until they enter the workplace as seen in another interview with Nigella:

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The use of the word *"commitment"* reflects the different expectations among in *"real life"*, and this reflects the high-performance work systems.

One major biological difference between men and women is the ability to carry and give birth to a child, which has a physiological impact on a woman's body as well as an impact on her ability to be visible on the yard. Time has been defined as a commodity which is "given" to paid work and/or family (Lewis, 1997), and it is often attributed to being white, male, middle class and part of a professional workforce (Kelly et al., 2010). Interestingly, a large portion of the interviewees discussed pregnancy and maternity in response to my question "*Have you ever thought about leaving the industry?"*

Additionally, they all associated starting a family with leaving the industry and presented different concerns or justifications, all of which contribute to the concept of the ideal worker:

> *'I do have to devote a lot of time to my job, I mean, you're at the yard at six, you work like that six days a week racing, if you're going racing with the horses. Saturday, I worked and travelled* [down south]*. Well, I normally would finish at half twelve on a Saturday. I didn't get back to the yard till seven o'clock at night, obviously Wednesday at the night meeting, I started work at ten to seven in the morning and I worked pretty much through till ten o'clock at night. Stuff like that and obviously, you'll know that like things like that, yes, racing does take its toll and it is a big part. Racing is not a job; it's a lifestyle and you have to be prepared for that. There's no way you could work in a yard go on maternity leave, not a chance and especially yard as small as mine.'* (Jade)

Prioritising the "lifestyle" associated with racing over the ability to take time away for maternity leave reinforces the traditional male model of work (Cook, 1992; Pleck, 1977;Gibson, 2004) which constructs the concept of the "ideal worker". Some would argue that it is impossible to balance both pregnancy and work, mainly due to the increase in the number of women being seen in the labour force, as well as the continuous career development model no longer being representative of the contemporary workforce (Halford et al., 1997; Lewis, 2010; Schuurman, and Sireni, 2016). In particular, the concept of the "ideal worker" is applicable when there appears to be an inability to integrate multiple factors (Maguire, 2009), and the expectation for it to 'become a way of life' (Butler, 2012):

> *'I guess I would leave when I start having a family maybe. I guess the risk of getting hurt is pretty high. It doesn't matter whether you're actually riding or more just working with them on the ground. They can be a handful, and I guess the risk of getting hurt is quite high. When you've got other things, other people to think about in your life, you have to put them first, don't you, when you have a baby.'* (Michelle)

This approach described by Michelle aligns with thoughts historically presented by horseracing prior to allowing women to compete in National Hunt racing, as it was perceived as dangerous. Inadvertently, this reinforces the notion that women should not be getting hurt, especially when they are care givers, and emphasises how capitals are allocated differently pre- and post-pregnancy.

> *'Pregnancy is a long time, nine months of not riding, we lose a lot of fitness and put on a lot of weight and I think it would be hard to come back from because often people's careers*

massively change once they've had a baby because they don't have as much time to themselves and their bodies change, from what I've seen of people having babies.' (Heidi)

By considering the bodily hexis associated with racing, and the way the body is required to move, the choice of physical activity and the subsequent appearance or ability is important due to the performative nature of the racing habitus and the significant ability for the body to accrue physical capital (Metcalfe, 2018). As a result of the physical requirements associated with horse racing, it is crucial to connect a woman's body with the habitus.

At this stage in this section, it is essential to recognise that there are different expectations and understandings in relation to mothers, as evidenced by the different perspectives above. All of these participants recognise that they are less likely to pursue continuous, full-time employment in the horseracing industry, and, therefore, women, and mothers in particular, are less able to gain the economic rewards associated with being an ideal worker.

On the other hand, it is not always the choice of the individual if they leave the industry after deciding to start a family. On occasions, women reported that they did not want children because:

'I am too career-driven and I'm too selfish. I want to have a good career. That's all I want. I want to be a successful empowered female, and you can't do that with a child in the racing industry.' (Jemima)

The emphasis on career and success agrees with previous research which found that the racing habitus demands hegemonic masculinity, and any variation challenges the "rules" (Salway et al., 2005). Consequently, women become dismissive of the idea of having children and suggest it would be *"career suicide"* (Vogue), further highlighting the perceived opinion of women who decide to have children or start a family. One respondent reported her own experience, where she had a supportive network of family to enable her to return to work because it was her whole life (Amy). She also found:

'I honestly, we came up with all kinds of scenarios. My parents were willing to move to the next village, 20 minutes away to help with my childcare while I worked so I could go back sooner, but that wasn't even mentioned because [they were not] interested in listening to what we have planned. It was the case of we can't accommodate you. We haven't really got a place for you anymore. The moment you had a baby you were kind of exiled or alienated from the yard, you weren't allowed to be part of that work team anymore.'

Amy refers to alienation and being excluded from the team, which suggests that, by having a baby, you lose fundamental capital and you can no longer live up to the ideal worker norm or maintain a privileged position in the yard.

This section has explored the dilemma between being an ideal worker and being a mother in the horseracing industry. Working in the horseracing industry was deemed to be all-consuming and, therefore, it was not perceived as possible to also be a mother, reproducing the belief that horseracing was "naturally" for men or childless women. Consequently, there is an increased demand to focus on equity and worker wellbeing (Bryson, 2010) and eradicate the gendered subtext to organisational logic (Acker, 2012; Benschop and Doorewaard, 2012), which reduces opportunities for females to remain in the racing workforce post-pregnancy. Moreover, this dualism has the potential to function as a "rule", reinforcing inappropriate behaviours that dictate how women can use their body to accrue capitals. In addition, the implications of the "ideal worker" concept and the pregnancy penalty are particularly relevant to this research due to the current stable staff shortage, perhaps unsurprising female attrition and female absenteeism (Lewis et al., 1996), which, in turn, have created a stronger argument for developing newly restructured workforces and family-oriented policies.

Chapter Summary

The women across all the data collection sessions discussed the role of their body in relation to job role, opportunity and frustration of perceived competence, in comparison to the perceived experience of their male counterparts. This perceived difference has consequently become normalised and reinforced in the collective racing habitus. Young aspirational females explained that they are unable to accrue symbolic or social capitals from participation; hence, the emphasis focused on more stereotypical "girly" activities (such as plaiting manes) which does enable them to accrue capitals, even more so when linked to economic gains such as selling a horse or winning best turned out. The gendered discussions around ability, body and strength emphasise that the male body is seen to be more able in the racing habitus, and this encourages success through providing opportunities that could result in gaining economic reward, such as professional rides under rules. For young women in this study, their body shape and alleged lack of strength legitimises the segregation of horses into "boys' ride" and "girls' rides", with little room to challenge the accepted status quo. Horseracing has been reported as incongruent with the feminine body by the participants within this study, and many young women decide to challenge this notion by making alterations, such as starting earlier, requesting help or taking contraceptives to prevent menstruation. In addition, this chapter has

demonstrated how, for some women, their body represented a barrier to participation and, therefore, may have contributed to the attrition rates of women in racing.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. During this time, they learn to navigate their own gendered selves and positionality among peers. When the women join horseracing, they are required to negotiate its hierarchy and "manage" their capital, which is gained through participation and demonstration of particular skills, behaviours and abilities. This chapter emphasises the importance of the female, material body and its embodiment in the racing habitus; and, therefore, it is not something that can be taken off or applied at will once it is fully developed.

The prioritisation of masculine traits in the majority of the roles in the horseracing industry indicates the different expectations of women in the development of their racing habitus. Moreover, the young women in this study accepted their position within the racing industry, but recognised they had to work hard or make changes to their body to maintain their position, which symbolised acceptance. The strict awareness of the "rules" in relation to the 'appropriate' roles in horseracing, the hierarchy of position which dictates the way capital is distributed, and the binaries in the embodied racing habitus show how young women are often "othered" by their gender to reproduce the dominant norms of the field. The regulation of accepted use of the body, in line with the concept of the ideal worker, indicates how some young women have felt alienated out of the racing industry, especially with reference to pregnancy and maternity. The gendered undertones and the organisational logic are implicit elements of the labour force in horseracing. In contrast, some young women are encouraged to be "girly" when this can accrue economic capital or social capital, but this is simultaneously ironic in an industry that has a high attrition rate, celebrates equality and requires physical strength in all manual activities.

The argument that women are "othered" in all aspects of the industry, and more specifically how they respond to the power differentials that are validated through sexual misconduct, inappropriate language and the desire to be accepted ,will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: GENDER AS A GAME IN HORSE RACING

'Her wings are cut and then she is blamed for not knowing how to fly.' de Beauvoir (1949: 660)

This chapter examine how the use of gender, and sexuality, in the racing field can be seen as a game, by respecting that the gendered racing habitus influences all elements of a young person's life.

I have discussed at great length (see in Chapter 5) the way in which femininity and masculinity are positioned as oppositional. The persistent focus on gender as an organising principle should not, in this instance, be considered in isolation. Throughout this research, there have been class differences inferred in the way young people perceived opportunities afforded to some women, both evidenced by the vignettes and real-life examples, which suggest that there are subtle "rules" of gender that can

reflect the immediate backgrounds of young people. It is within this chapter that I shall consider the use of intersectional feminism alongside Bourdieu's concepts to understand the daily negotiations with gender. The capitals that are referenced, or considered available, are in the form of symbolic power depending on the physical, social and economic worth of the respondents. Through associating the game of gender to the allocation of capital(s), this chapter explores how acceptance is enhanced through "winning" at the game of gender while giving consideration to the methods used by females in the racing industry to exploit the "rules" of gender to their benefit.

The field is a space of and "games" are often used as analogies or metaphors by Bourdieu and by researchers drawing on his work to explain the workings of "field" (Bathmaker et al., 2013). The metaphor of the game indicates that the field is governed by rules, and the people involved are players, in competition for the maintenance or increase of capital. In addition, the term "game" is used by Hodkinson et al. (2007) to indicate strategy and unofficial rules and that, by participating, one is pledging commitment to the value of the activities and the belief that the investment is worthwhile.

However, I should point out that, while the negotiations follow the logic of the field, this does not mean that the process is rational; instead, positioning is dependent on judgements of 'the impossible, the possible, and the probable' (Bourdieu, 1977: 78). The first part of this chapter is particularly relevant because I consider how the field is a space of contestation, involving struggle or tension (Martin, 2003; Wacquant, 2007), as well as the minor, yet critical details of the "game". Indeed, just like a game, a field has a set of rules to play, points or a form of value (or capital), and strategies for winning (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). By viewing gendered behaviours and ideologies as a form of practice, Adkins (2003:24) stated 'competencies, know-how, dispositions, [and] perceptions … operate below the level of consciousness and language through a "feel for the game",'. Therefore, the "rules" of gender represent the unconscious habitus that influences practice, while the changing direction between the unconscious and the conscious enables space for people to challenge the "rules" and "play the game" differently.

REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Furthermore, I consider how women positioned as "other" are unlikely to be afforded opportunities due to the multifaceted, complex inequalities which infiltrate the racing habitus. Through being in positions of power, those who have the authority to determine what is reproduced in reference to capital. In this chapter, I share the lived experiences of young women using terms that Bourdieu would have described as alienation, misrecognition, symbolic violence and illusio (Butler, 2013).

There are quotes within this chapter that reinforce the unconscious nature of the racing habitus and, without personal reflexivity, the young women often do not consider themselves as players within a sociological vortex that rewards heteronormative behaviour and punishes anything considered different. As Moi (1991:1022) explained, 'the right to speak, legitimacy is invested in those agents recognised by the field as powerful possessors of capital.' It can, therefore, be intimated from the data that the women who have participated in this study are subject to symbolic violence within the racing field and accept the "natural order of things" (Veija and Flynn, 2010; Butler, 2013). As a direct consequence of this, they are committed to what Bourdieu conceptualised as illusio, which are the values and logic of the (racing) field (Bourdieu, 1984).

I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the structural inequalities of the horseracing field.

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Further in this chapter, the data presented reveal the more 'hidden' side of the racing industry, which directly contributes to answering RQ2, concerning the limited numbers of aspirational females being able to convert their skills into economic capital.

The Rules

Within a social field, the agents negotiate and struggle to maintain or change their power relations (Bourdieu, 1985) depending on the various capitals they have accrued (Matraga, 2007). The field is monitored by four principles (see Bourdieu, 1990; Ohl, 2000), but it is the fourth functioning principle, "reproduction of the field", which is of particular interest in this section. The reproduction of key functioning principles within the racing field is a result of those who can embody the correct habitus and the interplay of their capitals. Therefore, 'the reproduction of the field on behalf of the struggle of its agents therefore does not consist in the exact reproduction of its elements, but of its order' (Bourdieu, 1983: 319); therefore the "rules" which are followed are representative of validated expectations of gender. The racing habitus reinforces biological essentialism, there is a set of sex specific behaviours that maps masculinity to male and femininity onto female (Metcalfe, 2018). In turn, the assumptions and stereotypes reinforce gender norms which act as "rules" and become unspoken rules in the racing habitus.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Gender has power because they are 'explicit formulations of the normative order' *(*Davies and Harré, 1990:44). The rules in this sense are acting as a regulatory principle that can control behaviours

and for a woman in racing the "rules" which are followed are representative of validated expectations of gender.

The unconscious acceptance of "rules", even prior to attending any focus groups or working in the sport was consistently highlighted, suggesting that "rules" create boundaries for how people hoping to work in the horseracing industry present their gender:

> *'I was always the chubby one, but before I came to* [into the sport] *I used to work in a pub at night and when some men* [who visited the pub] *found out this is what I was going to be doing they came down and they used to come in every night and ask if I had lost those few pounds yet, like literally every night say the same to me and I know I am not alone with this, girls now that they have to be the right weight to be able to go and fit in. To be honest I understand why people take Charlie* [drug]. *I used to say "no I haven't you dickhead", but then feel shit about myself and worry about going* [into horseracing]*!'* (Mia)

These parameters, with specific reference to weight, are symptomatic of the way gender "rules" are founded and reinforce acceptable representations of gender.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This consistent recognition of gender "rules" legitimises the associated behaviours in the game. In considering Mia's statement above, she recognises that her perceived ability, and potential, are governed by her own identity and, more specifically, weight. In her interview, Mia highlighted how she was monitored by people who understand, and make, the "rules".

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This, however, should be no surprise, given the prominence of fitting in and being accepted in adolescent social fields (Francis, 2009; Francis et al., 2010; Read et al., 2011), there is likely to be significant motivation due to fearing the negative social consequences from appearing different to their peers.

Initially, there were no clear "rules" that divided the men and women, as explained by Harper:

> *'I mean, there is no difference in activity for the boys and the girls. We all have to be up early, muck out our horses and be ready on time. If you pull out late or you muck out terribly then you are going to get a bollocking no matter who you are, and you don't want to be that person because everyone hears it.'*

Therefore, the focus is to ensure that the "rules" of the racing industry are understood and the care of the horse and respecting the person in charge are the primary concern. The concept of being singled out is important in relation to capital; the individuals who do not challenge the system, and present themselves as close to the ideal worker, accrue more social capital:

'You just have to always work hard, keep your head down and push on. If you want to be successful in racing, you need to show everyone that you are dedicated—regardless of gender!' (Grace)

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The specificity of these rules was explained by Jean :

'Well, over time, it becomes obvious that the lads are the [preference]. They are early, wear the right gear and look like they know what they are doing[…] Sometimes it feels like they will do anything to make sure they stay […], whereas, if a girl gets upset, then it's kind of normal and they leave you to it.'

I have documented occasions in my reflexive journal where this has been implicitly, and explicitly, implied. On an individual basis, Jean's experience emphasises how important aesthetic appearance is in the racing habitus.

The way Jean discusses the "lads" as, in the Bourdieusian framework, this disparity is associated with the negative stigma associated with the increase of social capital: 'wear the right gear and look like they know what they are doing.' This quote further emphasises that gendered "rules" command power which subsequently dictate the way capital is allocated.

'As a girl, you have to make sure that you say the right thing and know the right words for stuff. Girls need to always ride our horses well. Sometimes it's easier to say nothing because you know if you don't say the right thing[…]' (Aria)

This experience evidence that, in some cases, the rules within the field can create a culture of silence, which reinforces a gendered hierarchy (Arnot ,2002). Aria shows that 'as a girl', it is critical that you follow the rules because there is a significant consequence through alienation and being "other".

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Francis et al. (2010) concluded that identities are required to be comprehensible on sight, which, in racing presents a challenge when dressed in all of the safety equipment (hat, boots and body protector), which adds to the unique nature of the racing habitus and present ability:

> *'It is tough to tell who is male and female when they are on the track or even, actually, when we are on the gallops. You don't want to be the one who is obvious because you are riding like a piece of crap or the horse is getting away from you. Just look at [person], they think her technique is what makes her stand out from a lot of other jockeys, not only lady jockeys, but a lot of other jockeys.'* (Zoey)

The experience described by Zoey suggests that women are conscious of the illusio of racing, which embraces values and (physical) capital of the racing field. This experience suggests that, if a woman is deemed to be reinforcing stereotypical femininity due to "a horse getting away from you", then you are not embodying the assertive, tough requirements to "win" in the racing field.

Thus, the successful presentation of gender "rules" in the wider racing industry, which endorses dominant representations of masculinity, consequently, reinforces gender binaries and results in the doxic gender order being unchallenged. I will next discuss the way power and capital are related in the game of gender.

Monitoring and Enforcing the "Rules"

As would be expected with any game, there is a need for an authoritative figure to monitor, and where needed, enforce the rules of the field. In this section, I am primarily focused on understanding how the power relations are monitored and enforced within the racing field. King (2000: 420) recommended that 'individuals act according to a sense of practice which is established and judged by the group', suggesting that an individual needs to be accepted by more than one personal to accrue capital.

In this section, I utilise Connell's concept of gender to explain why women feel othered, which is often for more than one reason, and draw on intersectional feminist literature to further support my claims. In addition, in my Bourdiesian "toolbox" I use the term "alienation" to understand how judgement and acceptance work in the racing habitus. The way that gender "rules" align with the expectations of the field, which, in turn, provides the platform to "win and become legitimate, results in the reproduction of the racing habitus, where, generally, dominant displays of masculinity are allocated more capital, and relationships in the workforce maintain the gendered hierarchy.

The young women in this study were acutely conscious of alienation and being "othered" . Audrey explains:

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Dashper (2019) has suggested that gender discrimination is becoming less overt and a hidden issue to many. The development of a "them and us" interchange recreates a hierarchy that is further enhanced by a reinforced gender "rule" based on largely stereotypical gender ideologies. Audrey is aware that the practices have been structured to suit masculine norms and, perhaps unintendedly, reinforce women as "other". During my data collection, there were four main typology permutations where young women faced alienation or *"othered"* status: internal belief, male-on-female (peers), female-on-female (peers) and authority-on-female (such as manager or instructor) (adapted from Metcalfe, 2018).

The scale of the network of opportunities for women to feel illegitimate emphasises the critical perception of gender and following the "rules" across all parts of the racing field. In the reported instances where young women felt that their legitimacy was being questioned by another woman, there were aspects highlighted that linked to their loyalty and commitment to their training or job, as Willow describes a peer and authority on female experience:

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This quote demonstrates that young women will use alienation and being "othered" or in this case, *"a snitch"*, to propagate their own symbolic violence. This behaviour supports the use of the intersectional concept of "Womanism"*,* which has been used to understand how multiple forms of oppression interact (Chadwick and DeBlaere, 2019). Alice Walker (1983: 217), explained that 'Womanism is to feminism as purple is to lavender.' In contrast to feminism, womanism is 'a consciousness that incorporates racial, cultural, sexual, national, heterosexism, economic, and political consideration' (Brown 1989: 613). In this case, Willow holds multiple marginalised identities, including age, gender and inferior position on the yard:

This experience is reinforced by Cora :

> *'I am probably guilty of it actually, you find yourself being involved with things and conversations […] but you don't actually mean it, you just can't say "ummm, actually I don't agree",' because then [they] turn on you.'*

Another example of the way capital is allocated by a superior, in this case a male, depending on the presentation of a female, is provided by Delilah:

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When asked "Does she know?" Delilah continued and explained:

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These examples indicate that the young women have engrained gender "rules" and are in competition with each other for capital, allocated by acceptance from those who appear to hold more symbolic capital. The significance of this blatant "othering" is of great interest to the wider industry wellbeing strategy, especially because of the well-reported link between sexism and distress (see Moradi and DeBlaere, 2010; Chadwick and DeBlaere, 2019). Similarly, Fisher and Bolton Holz (2010) suggested that there is correlation between recently endured sexist events and continued distress with depression and anxiety. The women who took part in this study (and those discussed), appear to face regular judgement from their colleagues, peers and superiors. In turn, persistent monitoring reinforces the unconscious racing habitus through always questioning female identity. As a woman in the horseracing industry, it appears that you are likely to rejected if you 'have a fat ass' and you do not present a heterosexually attractive identity. This, in turn, trivialises the body as a canvas rather than a necessary tool, as explained by Vivienne:

'I actually hate having boobs and ass. I don't know, I just—that's how the men base their opinion of you and your looks, like having big boobs and a big ass, and that is how they rate you.'

When I pushed her for further detail by asking: "Let me pose it in another way. If you could make your boobs and ass smaller to work in the racing industry, would you?" Vivienne maintained a *"yes"* position, whereas Gillian, another respondent in the focus group, disagreed, '*No, because then they say you got a small ass and boobs'*; the group nodded in agreement, then Dolly exclaimed *'Yes, true. There's no winning!'*

Many young women find judgement from men as threatening (Jackson and Warin, 2000; Warin, 2015;):

'[…] Actually, there's a lot of—yes, that sort of stuff, you know what I mean. Like looking at your bum, making comments on my leggings being see-through. That's not so nice [chuckles]. *I also always used to get asked what colour my underwear was and when I wouldn't respond he would say "I bet I can guess". All that kind of stuff. At the time, it's fine, but actually I'm like, "Is it?"* [laughs] '

This quote and experience was not unique, and emphasises the way that young women's bodies are objectified by young men (Morgan and Davis-Delano, 2016) as seen in other literature, reporting on the sexualisation of female athletes (see Harris and Clayton, 2002; Litchfield et al., 2016; Channon et al., 2018; Cooky, 2018). One particularly challenging notion is that women are expected to be subjects of sexual harassment, innuendo and alienation, and all respondents identified that this is non-negotiable and, therefore, becomes a game that cannot be won:

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This quote is supported by multiple entries in my reflexive journal, either stories that had been reported in the media or anecdotal stories shared with me in the workplace. There is a common undercurrent that reinforces the heterosexual nature of the racing industry and how it is engrained within the racing habitus. The translation of sexual behaviour represents an empirical expression of the way a gendered habitus operates across fields (Metcalfe, 2018). From my reflexive position, in support of my data, I would argue that sexualised messages in the horseracing industry have become normalised, and even expected, within one's (racing) identity, which impacts the way young people present their own, outward gendered identities.

Some of the women that I talked to rejected this behaviour or did not appreciate the judgement, but it appeared to be largely accepted:

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Generally, what was observed throughout the data collection was that women generally were not getting involved in judging other women in this way, which reinforces the hegemonic position of masculinity .The women that participated in the data collection were explicit in their description of the judgements passed by their male peers on the female body, and, therefore, the gendered identity.

Theberge (1995:202), although now dated, reported that, in a similar way, aerobics 'encourages women to experience their bodies as strong' but is not necessarily 'challenging sexual stereotypes.'

Most significantly, when considering the expression of power in the lived experiences of these aspirational women, the men, young or old, peer or superior, grip the power in the game of gender, which constructs the "rules" for "accepted":

> *'I think that the inappropriate comments made to young women, could be one of the reasons why young girls leave [horseracing] I know I've been made to feel quite uncomfortable before. I don't know if it's just me, I'm quite reserved like that and people making that sort of comment to me, you laugh it off and then it's like actually, now I don't know what he's going to go and […] tell everyone else.'* (Michelle)

One area in the field of racing that was not previously considered prior to the interview phase of my data collection, even though I had noted it many times in my reflexive journal, was the way that women were so passive in the hierarchical structures that oversee horseracing. As has been discussed throughout this doctoral research, the power relations of gender vary for different people, depending on their personal characteristics (Christensen and Jensen, 2014); however, Anderson (2005) stated that that class, gender and ethnicity can be considered mutually constituted social systems (Andersen, 2005). It should be noted that masculinity can also intersect other categories in specific configurations that challenge or even destabilise male privilege (Christensen and Jensen, 2014).

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As discussed in Chapter 7, structural conceptions of power are institutionalised in the wider sporting field (Acosta and Carpenter, 2000), and the notion of hegemony, or control through consent, works on the idea of ideological domination through cultural consumption (Gramsci, 1971). As Michelle considers:

> *'[…] It's outrageous. Some girls do like the attention though and encourage it. For me, it made me feel a little bit uncomfortable and I was like, "I don't know if you're being serious or not." I'm not mega confident. […]'*

This quote highlights that, unlike many other cultural forms, such as music and literature, in sport heterosexuality is an *"organising principle"* (Kolnes, 1995). In addition, this quote describes how the *"lads"* control the game of gender, but also reinforces the expectation of heterosexuality and how much capital can be gained from heteronormative behaviour:

The experience described by Joanie exemplifies the pressure felt by women and suggests lack of agency even in their choice of underwear, because the females in the horseracing industry have learned the "rules" of riding out and have been subjected to expectations of exaggerated femininity that are in agreement with the socially constructed norms of the field. Agency is further discussed by Vivienne:

> *'[…] "Congratulations, blah, blah, blah. Oh yes, by the way, you won so easily because we let you pass so we can look at your ass." That was their answer.'*

By saying that the 'lads' let her win, Vivienne is suggesting that men can control their image and behaviours to a greater level. Including ability in the gendered discussion suggests that females should be attractive, which will, in turn, increase the capital(s) available to them. Another potential explanation for the hyper sexualisation of women is to undermine their achievements and reinforce hegemonic masculinity in a reportedly equal sport. In addition, Gendered stereotypes are embedded within the structure of the horseracing industry and share many characteristics of the ideal worker, which, often, are not applicable to women (Heilman, 2001; Dashper, 2019).

This particular quote highlights how embedded and dominant the views are in relation to embodied gender, which can be found throughout the racing field, and this works to reinforce dominant masculinity (Thorpe, 2009) in the racing habitus. Linking this dominance back to the game of gender, some of the young women felt that their male peers are compelled to demonstrate aspects of their embodied gender, which complemented the prioritised representation of masculinity to protect their status and gain social capital. This notion would be supported by the ideal worker concept, that a man should embody masculine traits and achievement-orientated toughness and a women should distance themselves from them (Gheradi and Poggio, 2001).

Thus, the game of gender in the horseracing setting differs for young women and men, regardless of age:

This quote emphasises that the experience of game of gender for women, in the workplace, is mainly focused on appearance, in the words of the respondents, *"sucking it up"* and highly sexualised *"fun".*

Across the data collection period, more specifically the interviews, there was a lot of discussion around "having to suck it up" or not wanting to appear "dry", so having to "give as good as you got":

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This fear of judgement and being "othered" further reproduces the "rules" of gender and means that the participants are presenting an obscure definition of gender that maintains a racing habitus. In this scenario, it could be said that Ivy is reinforcing the ideal worker norm through replicating the aggressive language of her peers (Weyer, 2007) and providing the lead rider with the opportunity to control the situation and demonstrate authority.

In this section, I have explained how there is a potential to appear too feminine and how women have come to internalise the "rules" of gender and understanding how to mould their identity to avoid criticism or being alienated as "other".

In the next section, I will explore how heterosexuality is rewarded in the game of gender within the horseracing field.

Using Heteronormative Priority to Win the Game of Gender

In this section, I will use the focus group and interview data, which were littered with examples of heterosexual priority, to explore the role this has in the development of the racing habitus.

In both the focus groups and the interviews, there is a discussion around young women increasing their sexual activity and their appearance as a precursor to their success in horseracing. Delilah describes a warning given prior to them:

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This quote highlights how there is an expectation for the young women, when entering the workplace, to feel the need to participate in sexual promiscuity. This was clearly frustrating for Delilah, on reflection, because she considers a difference in value being placed in these gender performances, which contributes to gender inequality (Dashper, 2019),supporting the notions that a male's behaviour is considered more authentic. Women are judged for having multiple sexual partners, whereas, for men, having multiple sexual partners reinforces hegemonic masculinity. Delilah identifies that the act of becoming a "bike" is almost expected and there is added pressure to look

attractive and sleep with men, mirroring widely reported sexual activities in the racing industry. Alex explains that there is an expectation for young aspirational women to change when they join the racing labour force, in line with the "rules" of the game:

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This quote reinforces that there is an undercurrent of the ideal worker concept and the desire to demonstrate a 'clear, relentless commitment to paid work' (McClintock-Comeaux, 2013: 22). Alex explains that they *'feel they do it to fit in because that's what everyone else is doing'* and unconsciously reinforcing that any distractions, outside of the workplace, are not allowed. In addition, conforming to the rules reduces the likelihood of being "othered" through alienation.

For these aspirational females, it appeared that it was perceived as critical for them to present a socially validated image that could be seen as taking part in the game:

> *''It's hard to keep up with who is into who and all that. I'm trying to—it's just relentless, it's almost hard to pick out an example because you count it as normal behaviour, so it's hard to think of specific times.'* (Jeanette)

> *'Oh, it all goes on—[…]. Things like smacking people with sticks across legs and the buttock area. What I will say though is that you very rarely see anybody stop that behaviour. You never saw anyone put a stop to it. I'm not sure why they felt like they couldn't stop it. It was quite obvious. I've also seen it the other way around. I have seen females do it to males. I do think they think it's okay to do it back because they have it done to them and they try maybe to joke along and fit in. Sometimes I think that it's a method of flirting, which if it is, is fine. You do see it, people joking around. I think it would happen in other […] environments to some point. If that's a method of flirting I think people would do it. I think they thought it was okay to do it back. No, I didn't really see anybody ever say they had an issue with it. It was just a done thing and you got on with it. It felt like it was just—it wasn't dealt with it. It wasn't mentioned. They don't bring it up as a problem when we've got young lads and lasses coming into racing and you've got older lads and lasses already acting that way, they need to fit in[…]they feel they need to, because that's how their mentors and the people they're meant to be following and*

leading by example are doing. I feel sometimes that is why they feel it's okay to do it.[…] its
quite normal.' (Madison)

These quotes highlight that, if a young woman would like to take part in the game of gender, they must abide by the illusio and believe they can gain capital. In addition, Jeanette highlights that gender "rules", such as *'coming out of a pub wearing next to nothing, throwing themselves to anyone*;, *'wearing hardly any clothes'* and *'sending pictures of all sorts'* to men are considered representative of the expectation and how they should be. When the males in the industry acknowledge or relish the opportunity to participate in this gendered game, they are, in turn, reinforcing the behaviours and allocating capital. Thus, the young women are accruing gender capital, and yet "losing" at the game of gender. Madison's reference to *'that's how their mentors and the people they're meant to be following and leading by example are* [behaving]' reinforces De Vries et al.'s (2006) conclusion that mentoring programmes may struggle to address the systemic workplace discrimination because they do not challenge the masculine model that underpins all structures and processes. It should be acknowledged, however, that, with increased awareness, any formal mentoring programme has the potential to empower women (Dashper, 2019).

When these young aspirational women join the workforce, they are also signing up to the horseracing illusio, which reinforces stereotypical expectations of femininity. Any initiative that empowers women, including the use of social media to increase capital, can be seen as paradoxical. In the case described below, the use of Instagram to appear accessible can be empowering for the followers and profile owners, yet it can also be considered a dangerous practice to reinforce a gendered identity and "rules":

> *'For some reason, I was looking at* [someone] *Instagram yesterday, and it's so sexual. She's obviously a very attractive girl, but she bloody knows it, and she is flaunting herself. So you kind of think, you can't really blame guys for taking the mick and—but then equally, you look at somebody like* [a female], *who I like. I mean, she's amazing, I think she's just absolutely amazing..[..] Just seems like an absolutely lovely person, absolute grafter, has done so well* [against males]. *But to me, I don't think you'd see her posting stuff on Instagram wearing a thong.* [laughs] *She gets to earn the respect from* [males]*. Like you would think she was great, whereas you would* think [the Instagram owner] *was, to put it into* [someone else's] *words is, "Fucking idiot that looks like a whore".* [laughs] *While it sounds terrible coming from a woman, you do have to wonder are these girls playing a game?', and then get cross because men are saying you've got a nice ass.* [laughs]' (Harriet)

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Instagram relies solely on imagery and very few words to portray the message. In this case, the body is being used to demonstrate an individual's identity. However, Harriet appears to consider the posts as a sign of weakness, and the need for special attention to get ahead in her career she continues to explain that women in the racing industry need to have the 'respect', and it should be earned through 'absolute graft', not 'posting pictures of themselves in thongs'. Interestingly, Harriet also acknowledges the *"game"* that is being played across the industry, to gain social capital amongst the key agents. Yet, the concern is that people inside and outside the industry use social media platforms as a reference point.

When talking to a senior member of staff, within the racing industry who has accrued significant capital over time, that communicated in a detached manner. Penelope recognised that women in the racing industry feared judgement and, therefore, behaved in a way that had an exchange value. In the quote below, the sexual behaviour is interpreted differently and overly conforming to the "rules" can have potential negative consequences, as explained by Penelope:

> *'The way girls behave can have a serious impact of their career, I hear girls being called bikes, and like, "She's just--." It's always the girl, isn't it, that's slated for sleeping with loads of people, […]. I feel sorry for girls. Just referring to girls as bikes, or sluts […]"*

The person in this scenario supports the notion that organisations are gender neutral (Acker, 1990; Williams et al., 2012), yet this quote reinforces that the industry is in fact gendered masculine. The notion of the successful worker is built on a masculine norm, and attributes "cleanliness" to male as there is a double standard of expectation. These gendered stereotypes are deeply engrained, and the characteristics of the ideal worker are rarely attributed to women (Heilman, 2001), as Penelope explained.

The focus given to sexual behaviour emphasises the way power is interpreted, and the female superior reflects a traditional expectation of femininity (Bordo, 2003), but concurrently acknowledges that promiscuity is "normal" and there is a divide between achievement and sexual activity, which contradicts the game being played further emphasising that aspirational women *'can never win'*, as explained by Michelle:

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Not only does it appear that aspirational women feel that they need to behave in a particular, sexualised way or present a particular image to accrue social capital, it was also reported that being in a "relationship", casual or otherwise, is a popular decision:

> *'Yes. I don't know what it is. I can't even say is it the* [society] *influence. I just don't know what the reason behind it is, but everyone seems like—but I'm sure in racing, people aren't very—There's no celibacy clubs or anything like that and the girls are just as bad as the lads. Well it's just sort of expected. I know it sounds awful. I've kept myself out of it and I know probably a lot of girls have said that, but that's not for me. I'm too old for that drama.'* (Joanie)

These quotes demonstrate how heterosexuality is rewarded through capital accrual. However, there is a conflict between what is considered appropriate (sexualised) behaviour, and each behaviour has different capital depending on the gender of the person displaying these behaviours.

Not only does this quote highlight the appropriate or expected behaviours, it also demonstrates emphasised femininity reinforcing hegemonic masculinity. It is the direct comparison to footballers that highlights the intense scrutiny of the wives and girlfriends (WAGS) to present femininity in ways that support the dominant view of heterosexuality (Marks, 2019).

Instead, these relationships create a diversity of cultural intimacies that permeate the racing field with enhanced symbolic connotations. In this example, the male is being held up as the "top dog" and, therefore, the standard for all men to aspire to be due to their perceived superiority, sexual desirability and heterosexual prowess in the context of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005).

This gendered oppression described by Joanie supports Gaten's (1996) argument that the oppression of women is regularly reinforced by embodied images that have been perpetuated through social expectation or habitus. Whereas Connell (2005: 77) places emphasis on *'the configuration of gender practice"*, and in particular homosocial practices, that 'guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.' When these societal pressures are experienced in tandem, these frameworks can offer tools to explain the gender-based, lived experiences of young women in the horseracing industry. Inadvertently, these young women are reinforcing the stereotypes and heterosexual desire of sporting achievement.

Bourdieu (1990) explained that relationships are arranged in an order so that one, or both, of the individuals benefit from the other's capital. When this concept is applied to the females in the racing

industry, there is a clear perception that a heterosexual relationship with certain males will enable access to social capital in a far greater way than alternative options.

There is clearly a stark contrast for the accrual of capital for men who demonstrate sexual prowess:

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This is an explicit example of a sexual double standard (McCall, 1992; Girlguiding, 2016; Farvid et al., 2017) which was discussed in multiple interview and focus group settings:

Not only is the power of sexual conduct heavily weighted towards men, but also the parameters of the appropriate behaviours emphasise that males have the power to accept a female into a social circle, as a girlfriend or otherwise, which suggests that the female identity and behaviours should meet the expectations of the wider workforce. It is the men who have this ability to allocate capital to the females who display the appropriate representations of gender. Female acceptance for these young women is largely dependent on male opinion. Ivy explains that:

> *'I know exactly what they're like. You know it's just stereotypical, I know. Right from the get go, I did two weeks of work experience when I was 19, 20.[…] Obviously that's racing and they'll laugh about it. […]"I don't know what to really make of the racing industry. The horses are great, [however, the people] They are just very blasé about the whole thing. It just becomes something you don't register or you don't pay attention to.'*

This quote is particularly pertinent in the explanation of how some people hold the symbolic power and why the young women are accustomed to desire a male partner to *"shag",* which reinforces heteronormativity through the embedded practices.

The other side to heterosexuality being so highly enforced and regulated is that it becomes dangerous when behaviours and identities do not conform to stereotypical ideologies of masculinity and femininity, such as a girl rejecting a male:

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One of the key differences in the "successful" male body in racing, is the requirement to present traits that would traditionally be associated with femininity, such as being light-framed and small (Butler,

2012), which could lead to an assumption that femininity in males is a characteristic of homosexuality (Frosh et al., 2003; Dean, 2013). Butler (2013: 200) described the contradiction within the racing habitus needing to be 'Like a ballet dancer they need to be fit, extremely , light, and have good balance but their heterosexuality may be sometimes questioned by those outside of the sport. The National Hunt jockey embodies a masculinity that is characterised as brave, fearless, extremely tough, able to ride through pain, fit but light and supple and unquestionably heterosexual'.

Subsequently, there is an indication that men may over-emphasise their heterosexuality to ensure their sexuality is "unquestionable" or immediately visible on observation (Jackson and Warin, 2000). One example is:

> *'It's just sexual innuendos, […]and it is just things like I can't even think of off the top of my head. We all have a bit of a laugh and a bit of a joke. Then I have often said to them "I think that this is not ok and if this was a normal job like people would get done for, for like sexual [harassment] sort of thing." A guy could come up behind me and forcefully bend me over jokingly and make actions from behind and everybody just laughs, but I think, imagine if you did that to a waitress or someone in the office in front of everybody, the repercussions will be horrific. I don't know what it is about racing, but that's kind of seen as socially acceptable and it's bollocks and I'm one of them who laughs, because it doesn't—well, it's just sort of expected.'* (Ivy)

This quote demonstrates the lack of capital associated with being in any way feminine, especially in a sport that requires men to be light and small, which would generally be attributed to femininity and, therefore, potential homosexuality. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

When considering the implications of Connell's (1987) gender order, Hearn (2004: 59) noted that the focus on masculinity is not reflective of the wider considerations of men, and that there is a need for examining 'the hegemony of men and about men'' in order to understand that men are 'both a social category formed by the gender system and dominant collective and individual agents of social practice'. This is an important area of focus, especially when considering the wider implications of the dominant form of masculinity and rewarded heteronormative behaviour. Arseth (2009) has worked to explore if a more gender-equity definition of masculinity can be defined that could result in transformation of the gendered division. If this is possible, it could be that there is less cultural pressure on presenting such an explicit form of masculinity and women could be afforded more

power. To contradict Arseth's (2009) notion, the concept of hegemony already is open to change as explained by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 831): 'without a very clear focus on this issue of historical change, the idea of hegemony would be reduced to a simple model of cultural control.' To this point, we know that the definition of masculinity has been reinforced by the historical development of the unconscious racing habitus and is, therefore, resistant to change ; however, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 853) emphasised in their gender theory that there is no definitive end to history and, therefore, 'hegemony might fail'.

So far, I have explored how young aspirational women are following the "rules" of gender in the racing field by reinforcing ideal worker norms that reward dominant gender expectations to gain social capital.

The next section discusses how young people use their gender to work for them and demonstrate agency for some young women in their racing identity.

The Power Players Within the Game

'[t]hose who dominate in a field are in a position to make it function to their advantage, but they must always contend with the resistance … of the dominated' Wacquant (1989:40)

In the previous section, I discussed some of the sexualised activities that will accrue them capital. So far, I have largely focussed on the implication of implicit male priority. In this section, I will examine the power distribution in the horseracing industry with specific reference to the ideal worker norm and the development of habitus. The data shown suggest that those who take part in the game, playing by the "correct" gender rules, accrue power through their popularity and harnessed social capital. However, as previously noted, while there are women in positions of power, they are not always liked as a result of it:

> *[…]I remember literally one girl and a group of lads. There was one girl in the group of lads, and she was better than everyone else, but she wasn't really liked for it.'* (Heidi)

It has become evident that presenting a socially validated gendered identity is important to young women, and it represents how well they are playing the game. Heidi's perception of the woman who 'was better than everyone else' is well-reported in organisational literature because these women are often considered cold and unlikeable (Dashper, 2019) and their career successes are far less likely to be highly valued and directly attributed to their own behaviours (Seo et al., 2017). However, what has

become evident throughout my data collection is that what represents "winning" amongst peers means "losing" among others, such as supervisors and employers.

Therefore, to participate in the "game", you must believe that you are going to gain something, for example, capital that has an exchange value. The "embodied know-how" (Crossley (2001: 3) of the racing habitus implies that the players know the "rules" of how to act, depending on the situation and the company being kept; however, this is developed over time:

> *'"INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR."*

Therefore, this could explain why the people who are deemed superior, such as a senior member of staff, can demonstrate different behaviours and not be alienated or "othered". In addition, it also explains the difference seen across the data collection phase and the way that the more senior females discussed the behaviour of the "young lasses":

> *'I don't know if we have that many"young lasses that would have the confidence and the knowledge to be able to look into it and then approach the [person] if they're not happy with something, so I don't know many young girls that would [...]People just sort of shrug their shoulders and go "Oh, well that's the way it is". [...] I think they must—have the wool pulled over their eyes, but feel like they can't do anything about it, which is a real shame. It's a little bit far out from normal work, just with I don't know, if obviously when you've worked in racing, but just people's attitude, mentality. If that was done in a regular office job or normal job workplace, there would be serious repercussions from it[...].*

The young women consistently participating and, therefore, reinforcing the expectation leads to the "rules" remaining unquestioned. On this, the women who think "oh well, that's the way it is" are reinforcing the "rules" , which means that the standards demanded to gain capital become harder to achieve and, thus, increase the chances of being alienated. In addition, this quote demonstrates how the importance of gender is reinforced through the game, and when the individuals follow the "rules" it validates the habitus, practices and beliefs. Consequently, the agency is removed through the limited available options in the racing habitus, especially concerning social and physical capital.

As discussed earlier, gender segregation is embedded in the structural systems of wider sport and in the cultural domination evidenced by heterosexual men. Importantly, it should be noted that the social constructs of gendered identities sit in a web of intersectional factors, such as race, class and

gender (Messner, 1996). The way that power is held by the people who are well-positioned in the field allows them to create and re-create norms which reinforce their dominant position:

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This quote emphasises multiple structural deficiencies that are engrained within the racing habitus as well as emphasising the dominant position of the white male. In addition, it reinforces that the culture of long hours spent visibly in the workplace is are highly valued because it is assumed that these represent commitment (Lewis and Taylor, 1996) as well as the gendered subtext and organizational logic (Acker, 2012; Benschop and Doorewaard, 2012).

In this section, I have explored how capital can be accumulated for demonstrating appropriate and successful representations of gender that demonstrate maximum commitment to their role.

Chapter Summary

To conclude, this chapter has explored how young women take part in the wider game of horseracing. So far, this thesis has described the different ways that young aspirational women fear being "othered" or alienated if they do not display appropriate expectations of gender with little opportunity for agency. There has been clear explanations of the central tensions between worker involvement, and the possibilities of "win-win" outcomes for all participants (Boxall and Macky, 2009); however, this has highlighted the gendered subtexts that are implicit within the horseracing workforce, that are in desperate need of attention. The desire to fit in through 'an acceptance of risk and the probability of participating while enduring pain' (Maguire, 2009: 1257) promotes the benefits of intersectionality in the quest to understand the lived experiences of women in horseracing.

For many of the young women, it is expected they will get involved in the games. It appears that the young women are unable to "win" at the game of gender because the expectations vary among their superiors. This chapter has not aimed to question the structural power imbalances (Casey et al., 2016) but to understand the organising principles that are in place to assist women to manage life (Ozbilgin et al., 2011) or enact their agency. The women who have internalised the requirements of success are those who follow the ideological representations of femininity and regulate the expectations of others through social position. In contrast, those to do not participate in the games are usually those who distribute the social capital or present a clear and comprehensible identity.

Intersectionality and Bourdieu's concepts in tandem provide a solid theoretical foundation to understand the relationships that have different levels of power.

In reference to RQ1, this chapter has demonstrated that the game of gender is fundamental in the development of their racing habitus. The consistency of behaviours witnessed and explained, regardless of geographical distribution and positionality, emphasises the reproduction of the rules. What has become evident in this chapter is that young women are consistently trying to accrue social capital through using their gender, but the reality is that they can never really "win" because they always "lose" elsewhere. The participants recognised, using a reflexive, or disconnected standpoint (talking about other people) that the young women could bend the "rules", but not without risk of being "othered".

In relation to RQ2, the characteristics of a racing habitus are socially rewarded through capital(s), status and ability. Consequently, it does not seem possible for young women with little or no exposure to work in the racing field, to understand or appreciate the limitations of presenting themselves or behaving in a way that appears on the surface to provide them with access to capitals and opportunities that may be exchanged for economic capital. The way that capital is distributed reinforces the clearly top-down, power relations. It appears that some young women feel that they can gain power through exchanging their gender capital for social capital, which, in turn, reinforces the gender norms. The women who were successful in generating power also were able to dominate the hierarchy and mobility of others.

However, it has become increasingly evident that it is the men, regardless of age and position, who retain the most power in the game of gender, confirming previous research (e.g. de Beauvoir, 1963; Connell, 1996). The power is manifested through behaviours that reinforce the gendered identity of women, such as the desire to become sexually involved with a [male], which, in turn, reduces the likelihood of becoming "othered". Yet the women who choose not to respond to the sexual advances are heavily criticised and judged. In contrast, if the young women choose to accept the advances and play the game, using the gendered rules, are often condemned by their female seniors and peers, which reinforces the notion that aspirational women cannot win the game and, therefore, remain 'othered'. Furthermore, the harassment revealed and discussed by the women in the data collection has become so accepted and *"the way it is"*. These behaviours could be used to explain the high attrition in response to behaviours described in this chapter, if young women do not feel they can "push back". The interview responses have highlighted that this is not only an individual issue, but something that occurs across the field in a range of establishments; yet the women who were

interviewed accepted it as part of the "game" and contributed to the racing habitus. The work of the pro-feminists (see Kimmel, 1986; Connell, 1987; 2019) has been fundamental for the reformulation of the gender order in sport and will be particularly powerful in future anti-harassment advocacy projects. In short, this chapter has demonstrated that young women use their gendered identity and behaviours on a personal level to enhance acceptance and reduce the perceived risk of being "othered", but yet, cannot "win" due to the multiple levels of acceptance; and what is acceptable amongst peers is not honoured amongst superiors, who ironically hold the most power, but do not insist they need to "fit in".

PART 5: THE STEWARDS ENQUIRY

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This doctoral research has explored, documented and given voice to those who maybe would not have spoken out otherwise, and analysed the multifaceted lived experiences of aspirational women in the horseracing industry. Through a methodological approach that has blended the use of focus groups, vignette and interviews with aspirational women in   INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR, this study has investigated how individuals developed their racing habitus with a specific reference to their gender. The central argument throughout my research is that the young aspirational women have had to develop a habitus that rewards masculinity.   Consequently, this leads to some women being "othered" and fearful of being alienated if they do not "fit in" with the dominant and stereotypical expectations in the racing field. In line with the Intersectionality literature, that I have referenced previously, the varied lived experiences that have been shared by the participants in this study, reinforce that there is not a one size fits all approach to take (Harris and Leonardo, 2018). Therefore, my data can conclude that:

- the racing habitus takes various forms depending on the social groups that you interact with and,
- workplace arrangements are built on the foundation of male priority, and the expectations of career success and progression are considered in relation to the individual's ability to embody this ideal.

 Whilst it can only be intimated from the data and my interview notes, INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This, is turn, creates a racing habitus that is gendered, classed and raced, and reinforced through unconscious rules that leave the doxa unchallenged.

The amalgamation of Bordieu's (1984; 1989;1990; 2001; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) theoretical concepts and intersectionality has captured the complex dynamics of being an "ideal" member of the horseracing workforce and the power structures within the horseracing industry. The participants' engagement, with activities that use their bodies to accrue capital, is influenced by the illusio, which dictates the tastes, dispositions and beliefs that lead to being considered legitimate.

This doctoral research provides a unique contribution to the readily increasing body of research which utilises and contextualises Bourdieu's ideas to current social climates. As was discussed in Chapter 2, Bourdieu's field theory enables the different, overlapping hierarchical parts of a habitus to be considered individually and communally (Bourdieu, 1990; Chambers, 2005; Dagkas and Quarmby, 2015), whilst taking the meso-relational organisation power structures into consideration. Thus, the theoretical concepts used throughout this PhD allow for a holistic analysis of how gender operates in the racing field, with specific reference to the lived experiences of aspirational females across the whole racing sphere.

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Initially, all respondents were those whom I met during the focus group element; however, due to the well-reported attrition issues in horseracing, the sample was widened to include women working in the racing industry.

The gaps in current literature that my research has filled are, firstly, the lived experience of those participating in horseracing. Adelman and Knijnik (2013) used a gendered lens to look at the wider equestrian field to understand the historical processes that shaped the bodies and institutions that emerge from the modern world of sport. The racing element, however, is positioned as a spectacle meant for mass entertainment and consumption, which allows space to explore this research.

Secondly, Vamplew (2008) emphasised the uniqueness of horseracing, yet did not explore the amateur or grassroots experiences, which I argue are the critical individuals who remain in the "leaky bucket" .

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The final element of originality focuses on understanding how embodied gender affects the social construction of the ideal worker and the journey into racing being "a way of life" (Butler, 2012; McClintock-Comeaux, 2013). In studying the lived experiences of aspirational females, this research has explored how the racing habitus and gendered rules function for young women in practice, highlighting areas of conflict.

To enable these research gaps to be addressed, my research has attempted to answer these two interconnected research questions:

RQ1. How do females construct their racing habitus in preparation for the real working environments?

RQ2. Why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?

Next, I will continue to offer conclusions in relation to my two research questions. Prior to offering my concluding statements, I will briefly discuss the potential theoretical application, including Bourdieu's "theory of practice" (Bourdieu, 1977:214), Connell's gender order (1977) and intersectional feminism.

In addition, there are multiple areas of potential policy application before concluding the chapter with limitations and areas of future research.

Focus Group and Interview Data Findings

Research Question 1: How do females, construct their racing habitus in preparation for horseracing?

This research has highlighted that the development and understanding of a person's gendered identity are complicated and, in racing, often contradictory. When I started on this PhD journey, I did not appreciate how problematic this research question would be to answer, due to the complex and paradoxical nature of the racing habitus and, more broadly, the concepts of habitus and the ideal worker.

The personal experiences of the racing habitus, along with my data collection, reflexive journal and observations, have created conflicts in certain elements of the reported racing habitus. On a superficial level, the younger female respondents reported the pressure they felt to present an explicit identity that their peers and colleagues could recognise as legitimate characteristics in their gendered racing habitus. However, some of the respondents in this study, the older females who had been in the sport a little bit longer and, therefore, fully understood the "rules", or had accrued significant cultural capital, did not present their racing habitus in an overtly masculine way or hyper-feminised, heterosexual form, further emphasising the importance of the "feel for the game" (Bourdieu 1998: 52). Thus, habitus enables the exploration of behaviours, tastes and dispositions and how these are manifested through behaviours in the racing field. The women in this study highlighted that they have learnt one of the best ways to fit in: *'Young ladies come out of [a place] and change their demeanour and behaviour towards men very quickly. I'm, obviously, quite aware of what goes on and you wouldn't*

expect it from them maybe when they initially arrive, but I have been aware that very quickly they have suddenly slept with several of the [chuckles] *lads on the yard or females on the yard'* which, subsequently, challenges the notion that we are living in a post-feminist world (McRobbie, 2011). The data collected in this study have suggested that these aspirational women are developing their racing habitus while they remain in a world where maleness and masculinity match the initial expectations of the racing workforce, and, unless they were in a position of privilege, they remained "othered".

I attempt to answer my first, complex research question by drawing on my findings and discussion chapters to reflect on how young females develop their racing habitus, which reproduces largely masculine expectations and rewards masculine behaviours. I next consider how, through the game of gender, these young women play out and develop their racing habitus. The notion that there cannot be a field of gender due to the way that gender functions across multiple fields and experiences (Chambers, 2005), means that habitus has been especially useful, although complex and paradoxical, in exploring the lived experiences of these aspirational females.

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Previously Butler (2012:345) reported that working-class women, who entered the racing field as working-class "lads", were like "fish out of water" and were visibly different when working on the yard. This description is still reflective of the lived experiences reported in this study, and directly supports the theory of being "othered". My data saw all respondents report that gender was hierarchical, regardless of positionality, and contributed to the way they presented themselves and formed their aspirations.

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The importance of this knowledge is critical to understanding how young women fear alienation and becoming "othered", and, therefore, develop behaviours that they believe will enable them to accrue capital; however, this often leads to the dominant representations of gender being reinforced and reproduced. As previously mentioned, the habitus is a "structure" (Bourdieu, 1994:214) made up of systematic dispositions.

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Examining this phenomenon through a gendered lens shows that the lived experiences of these women suggest that there is an unconscious relationship between their habitus and racing field, as

described by Jeanette *'I am not going to go far'* in racing. Specifically, what this explanation presents is the taken-for-granted assumption that women are less able than men and, therefore, the second choice, or "other". To avoid being "the other" or reduce the likelihood of alienation, the respondents reported a set of behaviours that enabled the young women to accrue desired capitals by framing their behaviours as a game, with specific "rules" that enable women to be rewarded for the degree to which they do, or do not participate. With that said, the value attributed to certain behaviours is not always consistent with the individuals who can distribute capitals, which results in some people feeling *'there is no winning'* (Dolly). Connell's (1987 2007; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) gender order can be used to explain how the most extreme and hegemonic examples of heterosexuality, hypermasculinity and hyper-femininity are remunerated by the game, which, in turn, writes the rules for these women.

The reality appears to be that the illusio is built of the wider embedded belief that the rules are indisputable, and, therefore, breaking the rules is uncommon and too risky. The guidelines stipulate that gendered identities are determined by the removal and accumulation of capital, which maintains and reproduces the specified expectations in the racing industry.

Even though there are specified "rules", the data collected in this research demonstrated that some young women in the racing industry are consciously creating their identities to avoid being "othered". Some young women reported that they felt the need to emphasise their masculine characteristics such as swearing, *'giving as good as you get'* (Emmie) and *'becoming one of the lads'* (Joanie), which mirrors the dominant behaviours that they are witnessing in the racing doxa. In contrast, others who have accumulated capital (social and economic) are able to challenge the "rules" by introducing non-traditional representations of the racing habitus. In addition, due to the way that young aspirational females have had to develop their own racing identities, there was a pressure to be able to demonstrate that they were physically capable of carrying out the manual work, but maintain a consistently light enough frame to ride. Additionally, when the young women are joining the horseracing industry the entry criteria highlights this conflicting notion of weight and strength, which is an introduction to the future negotiations of hierarchy and capital that can only be gained through participation and demonstration of particular skills, behaviours and abilities.

Throughout this research there has been a common thread and focus on the female, material body which appears to be a critical element of the successful racing habitus which, once developed, is not something that can be taken off or applied at will. In relation to the body and being accepted in the racing workforce, the women spoke of the "game" and gender "rules" which were fundamental in the

development of their racing habitus. These "rules" manage the appropriate job roles and position in the racing industry, emphasising stereotyping of females who challenge the dominant masculine position and risk their ability to participate legitimately. Consequently, the game of gender reinforces the perception of '*girls' rides*' (Becky) and '*lads' jobs*' (Maeve) and the associated embodied demands, which creates an example of "forced choice" (Bourdieu, 1984: 173). Aspirational women can accrue capital by participating in the socially created position, although, interestingly, the women discussed that they could negotiate in the rules to access a "quick win" by rewarding the hyper-heterosexual behaviour of horseracing, without initially recognising that, in the long term, they can never really "win" because they always "lose" elsewhere. Therefore, the development of the racing habitus depends on how the young women utilise their gendered identities and their bodies to reflect what is socially expected or valued. This socially constructed perception of being the second sex or "other" was prevalent amongst the respondents when they had initially discussed their career aspirations with parents prior to applying. A few reported discouragements from their parents due to the perceived male bias, INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. This explicit presentation of male priority feeds the message that a racing habitus requires individuals to become '*both mentally and physically tough*' (Heidi) because that is '*just how it is in racing*' (Audrey) , creating a tension for young women whose identity is initially considered to be removed from what is interpreted as "successful" in the racing field.

This research question has emphasised the contradictions that would be expected from questions to establish how women develop a habitus that has been gendered masculine. I hope that this research has highlighted that there is not a simple, clear answer that can be applied to each individual that has decided to enter this male-dominated sport.

In order to "fit in" in the horseracing community, women (in this study) explained that they develop their physical capital, which allows them to appear tough and hold their own in a horseracing environment.

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These horses are described to prefer a more sensitive approach, a softer touch, and need more care that would only be attributed to a female hand. Therefore, even on the surface when discussing the racing habitus, there is a need for women to be both soft and strong, masculine and feminine, which, for many, is hard to achieve, and getting it wrong means the aspirational female will *"stick out"*

(Michelle). While writing this research it became evident that there was limited reflexivity in relation to gender which, in turn, reproduces gender roles and positions masculinity as superior to femininity.

> Research Question 2: Why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?

This PhD research has explored the reasons why female(s), have been less successful at converting their skills into career opportunities INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The primary finding in relation to this research question was that there was significant prioritisation of males and/or masculine traits in the majority of the roles, and often there is acceptance of the different expectations of women in the development of their racing habitus, which results in reduced opportunities to gain economic and cultural capital. The importance of embodied gender continues as a theme as the young women in this study accepted their position in the racing industry, but recognised they had to work hard or make changes to their body to maintain their position, which inferred acceptance. This embodied capital is particularly relevant because the doxa of the racing field outlines that women are physically weaker and have an unsuitable body to be a work rider unless they are in possession of the appropriate cultural, social and economic capital. The stringent "rules" in relation to theroles in horseracing, the hierarchy of position which dictates the way capital is distributed, and the binaries in the embodied racing habitus show how women are often "othered" by their gender. To ensure they fitted in, the respondents reported adopting a bodily hexis that was similar to their male co-workers, which systematically reproduced notions of masculine domination. This consistent reference was expressed through a tough physical attitude, physically strong and stoical when times were challenging. The young women in this study were able to embody the masculine characteristics and become players in the game of gender with the horseracing workforce.

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These unchallenged and taken-for-granted gendered norms in the racing industry further highlight the contradiction of identities. Although masculinity is generally rewarded, there are occasions when aspirational females are rewarded for displaying contradictory femininity, such as taking a horse to the sales where, on this occasion, young women are successful at converting cultural capital into economic capital but it is based on looks, physical presentation, rather than the ability to ride the horse well. If the aspirational female was taking a horse to the breeze-up sales then the actual riding is often carried out by a male work-rider or jockey, as explained in Chapter 1, further emphasising

Bourdieu's notion of "forced choice" (Bourdieu 1984:173) and justifying the concern of being "othered".

The role of the body and embodied gender has been a prominent theme throughout this study. For Bourdieu, the body is an unfinished entity which develops concurrently to social forces while maintaining social inequalities (Shilling, 2005). In the racing field, the interplay between body and the social positioning appears to be critical. Women do tend to be smaller and lighter, which are key components to success in horseracing, yet the female form is undervalued by their gender capital, which results in limited opportunities due to the perception that they are weaker and less robust than men. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Vanessa Cashmore (2018) used quantitative methodologies to confirm that only 5.2% of all rides were given to female jockeys, despite holding a quarter of the jockey licences (including amateurs) and making up half of the stable staff population. This explicit exclusion reinforces the perception that women are less capable than men, or opportunities are only afforded to those who have the cultural, social and economic capital to be able to negotiate their way through the practices in the racing field. This belief would suggest that the aspirational women would require "practical sense" (Bourdieu, 1998: 25) in that they could navigate their way through the game because the rules were second nature. The deeply embedded "naturalness" of horseracing for the individuals who had been working in the racing industry for a relatively long period, or those who had been born into the sport, demonstrated how the classed habitus, which influences norms and expected behaviours, is also applicable to racing. This experience was beautifully summarised in a strategy meeting: *'Being born into racing is like being born into the Royal Family, you have no choice. You are part of it'* (Lilly). Bourdieu wrote about the classed dimensions of sport (Bourdieu, 1978; 1984), and this association still persists today. All of the focus groups yielded a discussion around *'it is not what you know, but who you know'* (Sammy) which would provide a lived explanation for the 5.2% of rides with suggestions including *'INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR'* (Adela). This distribution of capital to legitimise participation in the racing habitus reproduces and reinforces normative assumption between horseracing, class and gender.

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This policing of the female body further supports the concept of the ideal worker, which can explain how some young women have felt alienated out of the racing industry, especially with reference to

pregnancy and maternity, which, by definition, breaks the continuity of the career trajectory. The respondents in this study suggested that they would need to leave, or have already left, not always by choice, to pursue motherhood. The gendered undertones and the organisational logic are implicit elements of the labour force in horseracing and require addressing at a policy level to reduce attrition. The doxic values in the racing industry mean that embodied gender is complex and contradictory, leaving aspirational females fearful of not fitting in, and compensating their perceived weaknesses by working exceptionally hard to demonstrate they *'are as good as the lads'* (Rose). This behaviour could be used to explain why so many of the successful females do not discuss any discrimination or challenge *'being one of the lads'* (Aofie) because, as first sight, they often do not demonstrate femininity, in line with the common thread of not wanting to be "othered" and potentially lose the ability to accrue economic capital. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR and the subsequent culture of the workplace, reinforce the priority of men. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The significance of this is obvious in the layout of dominant spaces through images and messages that celebrate male success, which, in turn, render women invisible (Lingard et al., 2011), and further fortifies the "rules" of what is expected and acceptable behaviours. This culture and (mainly) invisible male priority reduce the likelihood of women exchanging their skills for cultural capital, in line with Connell's (1987) gender order, because women remain subordinates. Therefore, the young women who do not conform to the norms and embedded ideologies fear being "othered" and reproduce the dominant gender norms of the racing habitus. This pressure from inside the racing field is in addition to the wider societal pressures felt on their body, as described by Bordo (2003), which creates an internalised message and increased awareness of the underrepresentation of females in racing and the wider sporting sphere and, ultimately, contributes to a perceived lack of opportunity for sportswomen to gain economic capital.

The regulation of gender identities through the accrual, or removal, of capital helps to regulate and reinforce the narrow definitions of gender which these people expressed. Despite this regulation and reproduction of gender "rules", the game of gender demonstrates how some young people show agential action in strategically manipulating their gendered identities. For some, this involves emphasising dominant gender characteristics to more closely mirror behaviours which are expected of them, whilst, for others, previously achieved status and popularity allows some individuals to challenge the gender "rules", incorporating non-traditional gendered identities into their behaviours. Subsequently, it would not be considered appropriate for some aspirational females, with limited

exposure to the inner social mechanisms of the racing field, to understand or appreciate the limitations of presenting themselves (or behaving) in a way that appears, on the surface, to provide them with access to capitals and opportunities that may be exchanged for economic capital. The way that capitals are distributed reinforces the clear top-down and, therefore, male, power relations. It appears the young women as part of this study feel that they can gain power through exchanging their gender capital for social capital, which, in turn, reinforces female oppression (Connell,1998). Throughout this study it has become evident that it is the men, regardless of age, who retain the most power in the game of gender, supporting previous research (e.g. de Beauvoir, 1963; Connell, 1996). The power is manifested through behaviours that reinforce the gendered identity of young women such as the desire to become sexually involved with a [a person] which, in turn, reduces the likelihood of becoming "othered". Yet, the young women who do not choose to respond to their sexual advances are heavily criticised and judged.

It would be irresponsible of me to not highlight the considerable amount of harassment exposed and discussed by the women in the study, and the way it has become part of the racing culture and *'just the way it is'* (Grace). I am passionate to emphasise that, regardless of the workings of power and acceptance of such activities, it is important to note that, wherever there is power, there is resistance (Demetriou, 2001) and I will expose these unacceptable behaviours while attempting to explain the high attrition rates and encouraging the creation of a safe space that allows young women to "push back", but also "fit in". I will discuss this in greater detail later under the heading of "policy recommendations" on page 248.

Although these conclusions appear bleak due to the presentation that young women fear being "othered" by their peers and, therefore, behave in a way that reproduces a stereotypical representation of femininity, their participation in this research creates hope. The focus group and interview process encouraged the women to be reflexive, take time to assess the current scenario and critically review their own experiences from a fresh perspective; especially, areas that may limit opportunities for them to present their authentic selves due to this not fitting in the racing habitus. This experience was described by Jade:

> *'Even though I feel like myself, I'm like a boy, at the same time because I'm a girl I'm a lot lighter than a lot of the lads.* INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. *It probably does, but at the same time it probably—like as well, a lot of girls tend to carry more fat than men do, don't they. Especially around your hips and your lower legs and stuff.'*

The concern of being alienated or "othered" is a permanent position, even if the individual is successful in gaining capital through connections, or demonstrating ability, but the reality for aspirational females is *'you are only as good as your last ride'* (Gina), which reflects a similar position earlier reported by Butler (2014) emphasising the "forced choice" (Bourdieu, 1984 :173). The instability of roles and opportunities in the horseracing industry, regardless of role, is an area that could be further researched with a focus on the high attrition rates which have led to the well reported stable staff shortage. There is a potential to create strategies that increase awareness of the unpredictable nature of horseracing and masculine norms.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

<div style="text-align: center">Theoretical Implications</div>

This study has been designed to think *with* and *beyond* Bourdieu's concepts (Webb et al., 2017:140), using the primary concepts of Pierre Bourdieu (symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital, field and illusion) in conjunction with intersectional feminism and the ideal worker concept. Consequently, this study provides evidence that an amalgamation of these sociological standpoints can be used to further understand the lived experiences of aspirational females and how they develop their racing identities. In a wider context, this study shows how Bourdieu's concepts can be applied to sport and the horseracing field with specific reference to stereotypical expectations. In addition, this research has highlighted that there is no singular factor that can be responsible for the success or acceptance of an individual and, therefore, it should be treated with intersectional rigour.

The role of the gendered body, as discussed in Chapter 5 and 9, highlights that females in the racing industry are sometimes penalised for their physical appearance, the assumption that the female body is weaker, and the ideal worker is subliminally reinforced as masculine.

Therefore, aspirational women are using tactics in the game of gender to negate the limited opportunities to accrue capitals. The questions asked in the data collection process, both focus groups and interviews, provided an opportunity for participants to promote reflective thought and conscious awareness about their embodied racing habitus. Consequently, the aspirational women in this study showed the ability to 'bring the unconscious into the conscious' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 136).

Thus, this PhD research emphasises an opportunity to develop a research design that could be used to investigate the deep-rooted doxic racing habitus, and, therefore, utilise the learnings to challenge and change the accepted norms. This research has also highlighted, through multiple quotes, that "gender fatigue" (Kelan, 2009: 198) is embedded throughout the horseracing industry because people are preferring to see a space that is equal, and, therefore, 'gender no longer matters' (Kelan, 2009: 198). As explained in Chapter 8, some young women in the racing industry feel "othered" due to their gender. The concept of the game has been particularly effective at explaining how structure and agency impact the way young aspirational females decide to display their identities. In relation to gender, Bourdieu's use of capital and field are intricately linked to intersectional feminism and can provide an opportunity to further understand how the different spaces these young people operate in interact to develop their identities. The concept of the game can be used to enhance the previous

research that has discussed the way gender is socially constructed (see Butler, 1988; 1990; Connell, 1996; 2007) and, more specifically, how Connell's (1987; 1995) gender order is reinforced through seeking capital accrual (Paechter, 2003a; Schippers, 2007).

The game of gender highlights that the structures in the racing habitus can have significant influence on how individuals behave, and, ultimately, their success in the horseracing industry. This research has explained the lived experiences of aspirational females in horseracing. The use of the ideal worker concept can be seen through the narratives shared by the participants in this study and how they understand their position within the sport (Britton 2000; Ely and Meyerson 2000).

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By rewarding masculinity, the female position is weakened due to the absence of these attributes or, if they are present, they are not considered legitimate.

The way that the varying fields overlap throughout this study created an opportunity to view the experiences of the respondents in a holistic and representative manner. This overlap enabled consideration of multiple variables that contribute to the way that young women develop their identities in racing. Most notably, as discussed in Chapter 7, the importance of social class and cultural capital, in accessing opportunities especially as an amateur rider. Understanding this paradigm further could increase understanding and counteract the argument presented by many successful females in racing that it is just down to hard work, supporting that generalisations made by some women for all women (Moganty, 2003), should be rejected.

In horseracing, there are some spaces that operate in a similar way to the time of second wave feminism, where women fought for the basic right for equal opportunities and pay. In short, the female form and body are seen as a limiting factor because the racing habitus rewards masculinity, and any deviation may restrict opportunities for capital accrual and subsequent social mobility. This study emphasises the notion that gender is socially constructed and the horseracing field has a unique perception of gendered identities. As explained in Chapter 1 and 6, the racing industry itself is historically male dominated, steeped in aristocracy that actively excluded women from participation, which is far removed from the cosmopolitan and diverse workforce seen today. With that said, the respondents in this research recognised that the inclusion of women was relatively new and they were grateful to be allowed to participate at all.

Incidentally, the conclusions I draw in this study are specific to the sample used; however, I confidently challenge the idealistic notion that horseracing operates on a gender-neutral platform and no gendered inequalities exist.

Potential Policy Implications of this Study

This whole study has explored and outlined the lived experiences of young aspirational females and how they negotiate their identities throughout the early trajectory of their career. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. The researchers before me who have researched female jockeys (see Butler and Charles, 2012; Butler, 2013) have focused on the professional or competitive aspect in relation to equality. Most notably, this conversation has led to the development of the *Just Jockeys* video initiative (British Horseracing Authority, 2019). This industry campaign has been created to question the stereotypes that are associated with female participation in sport and horseracing, as well as normalising the female jockey. However, this study has highlighted that there are in fact many young women who are aspirational; however, it is the process towards becoming accepted that does not recognise female potential or support success.

Starting with the recruitment policy recommendations discussed in Chapter 10, there are many parents who do not support the choice of their child to join the racing workforce illustrating that there is a gendered perception of racing which needs addressing to prevent the "male dominance" being an immediate reference point.

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However, I do challenge the assumption that the only reason they drop out is due to their gender, because this generalises the experience for all young people and will not improve the experience and subsequent retention for all.

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With that said, another area which requires attention is the wider recruitment strategy into positions in the industry. As Jenny explained in Chapter 7, *'I don't want to just be a work-rider'*, which suggests the negative connotations of this prestigious and rewarding role. Therefore, policy is required in

relation to the management of expectations, due to the harsh reality that only 11% of females become jockeys; however, there are other opportunities available, such as work-rider or racing groom.

Although these are all areas that require policy change, the most significant area that requires focus is the hyper sexualisation and heteronormative nature of the workplace. Not only is this critical for the retention of staff, but it is also a legal requirement under the Equality Act 2010, which states that 'employers are legally responsible if an employee is sexually harassed at work by another employee, and the employer had not taken all steps they could to prevent it from happening.' The stable staff shortage and wider perception of the industry will not be able to change until there is an increased awareness and education of inappropriate behaviours and correct reporting lines. Research (see Bowling and Beehr, 2006; Harris, 2017; McLaughlin et al.,2017; Zarkov and Davis, 2018; Harris et al., 2020) has identified sexual harassment as a cause and a consequence of gender inequality in the workplace, including pay gaps and the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles. There are multiple, historical examples of workplace cultures adopting policies in relation to sexual harassment, which have seen landmark changes. It is felt that the most applicable to this piece of research is the sexual harassment in the workplace report (Hall and Hearn, 2018). The report acknowledges that sexual harassment is embedded in our culture and sexual harassment in the workplace is commonplace: importantly, harassment includes sexual comments. What has become evident throughout this study is that people in positions of authority do not always tackle the issues, or they are not perceived as issues, and, therefore, people do not get protected from unwanted behaviours. Most recently, the #metoo movement has drawn the spotlight on sexual harassment and emphasised that it is not a new phenomenon (see Gibson et al., 2019). Previously, when the Equal Opportunities Commission existed until 2007, there was regular discussion to challenge workplace sexual harassment, which led to the ongoing work by the government to understand sexual harassment in schools. Notably, their 2016 report reported that sexual harassment of girls was being accepted as part of daily life, and that schools and teachers needed better support and guidance to ensure that they were not failing their students in this way, which could have direct policy implication for the horseracing industry. Critically, I must stress that I recognise that men can also be victims of sexual harassment (perpetrated by both women and men), and women can be perpetrators (against both men and women) (McDonald, 2012; McDonald et al., 2015), and I acknowledge the risk that this research portrays this as an issue that only affects women, which, in turn, could discourage male victims from reporting complaints. Therefore, it would be beneficial to implement a behavioural code

of conduct that outlines the expected behaviours that are expected, and, consequently, those which will not be tolerated.

In summary, the key policy and operational recommendations from this study are;

- An industry wide code of conduct that is governed within the British Horseracing Authorities governing power
- Annual continuous personal development opportunities for all staff to ensure that practices stay current and in line with legislative expectations.
- An educational e-learning module on sexual harassment to sit within the wider licencing department
- The development of a Sexual Harassment toolkit developed in conjunction with key industry stake holders.
- The need to highlight the importance of fit of equipment and clothing to ensure safety and comfort of women in the horseracing.
- A consultation into female jockey facilities within the racecourse to highlight and subsequently reduce the barriers to achievement associated with gender.
- A further understanding of the limitations and barriers to participation associated with menstruation and period shame.

Limitations of the Study

This research has provided an investigation into the lived experiences of aspirational females at regular intervals in the horseracing industry. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. As a result of some decisions made in relation to the methodology, there are some limitations. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. All of the sessions, in their own way added to the overall research however, it was actually the follow up interviews that provided the most significant data such as the acceptance of sexual harassment. With that said, sexual harassment was mentioned, albeit in passing during two of the focus groups had advised them *"not to become bikes".* On reflection, the focus groups did provide an opportunity to visualise and briefly experience the group dynamics and gendered hierarchy that was reported widely. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

This use of focus groups could have provided an opportunity for women to hear other women's experiences of sexual harassment and created a cooperative discussion in a similar way to the #metoo movement. It is often only when people start discussing their own experiences and realise that there is common ground. Once this experience has been identified and there is enough momentum, then people feel that there is scope for structural change, as reported by DeRogatis, (2017) and Jaffe (2018). It should be noted however, that some women would not have been able to share their experiences in this forum due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the fear of being "othered".

Due to the close-knit nature of the racing industry and what has come to be the central theme of my research, the fear of being "othered", I was unable to provide a comparison between INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR.

If this comparison were possible, it would allow a sub-assessment of the classed habitus in the racing field that is anecdotally linked to success. However, the pooled data analysis findings make a wider statement about the impact of the collective racing habitus. With that said, I am unable to make generalisations of all young people in the racing industry that I have not interviewed as part of this process. There are likely parallels between all females in the racing industry; however, any overarching generalisations should be avoided or made with extreme caution.

The respondents in this study reflected the female employees in the racing field, who are mainly white and of similar ethnic origin.   Any further research that recognises the whiteness of knowledge, such as using elements of critical race theory (Hylton, 2008), would yield positive results in widening the diversity pool in horseracing. This need to increase the representation of people from diverse backgrounds is already being considered by the Diversity in Racing Steering group.

Although I researched the lived experiences of the young aspirational females throughout their journey, I did not address or contact those who had left, especially during any training period. The experiences of those who decided to completely leave the horseracing industry could have a critical contribution to enable a deeper understanding of the limited experiences.

There is the potential that leaving the horseracing industry is closely linked to themes that were alluded to, such as risk and fear of getting hurt, being homesick, sexual harassment and missing their family. According to Bourdieu, the family is the crucial place for the primary socialisation of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Huppatz, 2012b) and we already know (see Chapter 5) that young people are often discouraged before they get started. I did discuss the development of social norms in the interviews and the reaction of parents when the respondents had initially shared their aspirations;

however, I could have given an increased focus on how the influence of family changed throughout their horseracing journey.

Recommendations for Future Study

The recommendations for future research that could follow this study are focused on five main areas:

1) research targeting those who choose to leave the industry before entering the workforce
2) research to further understand male priority and motivation for the hyper-heterosexual behaviours that dominate the working field
3) research targeting the disconnect between expectation and reality;
4) research emerging straight from the conclusions that will enhance knowledge
5) research that focuses on addressing the limitations above.

Due to my position in the horseracing industry (and a former member of the stable staff workforce), my ambition was to understand the lived reality of the aspirational females, challenge the "that is just racing" attitude and initiate change. Although I am confident that I have addressed the lived realities of the aspirational females who took part in this study, I feel that I have not been able to fully challenge the accepted attitudes in racing due to the unexpected themes that emerged during the data collection. Therefore, I suggest that future research aims to use the theoretical knowledge gained in this research and apply it specifically to the accepted sexual undertones and the associated gender order that is widely accepted in the horseracing industry. I argue that the young women in this study felt that they would be "othered" if they did not participate. A further piece of research could be beneficial to enhance the consciousness of young aspirational females to question and challenge the racing habitus which rewards stereotypical representations of gender. Implementing specific resources to increase awareness and challenge the taken-for-granted norms of the racing habitus could initiate change.

A further piece of research that could be of interest would be interviews with capital-rich males, who are described throughout this study, to establish their motivations, awareness of their actions and further understand the role of the aspirational female. It is the unconscious nature of the habitus, which can be further understood through creating strategies to increase consciousness, which drives the rationale of these recommendations.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR. Topically, as highlighted in the limitations section, another area of racing that requires further research is the racial dynamic and recruitment of certain ethnicities that have limited representation across the racing field. The sample of people used in this study meant that the opportunity to consider race was limited; however, a future piece of research may want to consider how race affects the socialisation and the racing habitus to reinforce the "rules" which are raced and classed. It would be challenging to recreate this study with an exclusively minority ethnic group due to the significantly low numbers of representation; however, this knowledge does create further questions regarding the recruitment strategy of the industry and the wider perception amongst minority cultures. Bourdieu did not conceptualise greatly about how race could mould one's habitus; therefore, this would be a particularly unique contribution to the development of the racing habitus, illuminating how racial stereotypes of gender, and other factors, impact the recruitment and retention of people in the racing industry. I believe that more research is required to fully understand the way that the racing habitus is developed by the individuals who are capital distributing, so that they can recognise where young aspirational women are being prevented from thriving.

Overall Conclusions

This research has highlighted that the aspirational females (involved in this study) manipulate their gendered identity to avoid being "othered", and consequently reinforce traditional racing stereotypes. These stereotypes and behaviours have become so embedded in the racing habitus and social structures that opportunities are, therefore, not being afforded to aspirational females.

Even though there has been an increased focus on equality, inclusion and opportunities for women, this research has shown that many women in the racing industry are still working to remain visible and considered for opportunities, as a result of gender fatigue and invisible male prioritisation.

As I have previously mentioned, the respondents in this study were encouraged to reflect on their experiences and motivations to remain part of the racing field. In the opening chapters of this thesis, I explained my own positionality and motivations for completing this piece of research, which, in short, is because I have felt othered and witnessed discrimination against women in the racing industry. Throughout my PhD journey, I have continually developed my reflective practice and thought through journaling. These activities have afforded me the opportunity to explore my own views that have been

developed through working in the racing industry. I recognise that I may have been guilty of reproducing the very heteronormative identities and masculine prioritisation which throughout this work I have reported as toxic. It has become clear that it is these kinds of beliefs that are responsible for inciting insecurity and fear of alienation.

In addition, the negative perception of horseracing, and engrained belief (of the people that participated in this research) is that horseracing is a male preserve by the parents of some of the female participants, is an area that requires attention if the industry is to successfully repair the "leaky 'staff' bucket". The most disappointing aspect of this research is the normalised sexual behaviours which mean some young women "can never win" the game of gender, regardless of how they play the game. By using my perspective when I was growing up, I felt pressure to conform, accept and normalise what other fellow equestrians expected from me so that I was not "othered". This whole process, however, has enabled me to develop an informed position that can be used to encourage and lead the development of practices that acknowledge gendered needs.

This thesis has painted a rather disappointing picture of how some young aspirational females feel "othered" in the horseracing industry and held back by historical gendered "rules" which punish femininity. Although I have been able to report some examples of women who have been able to challenge historical patriarchy, there has been an overwhelming sense of women following the "rules" based on masculine priority. The use of Intersectionality and a Bourdieu's lens has emphasised that encouraging self-reflection can be effective in challenging a habitus and the masculine ideal worker norm.

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1. APPENDIX 1

Vignettes

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Vignette 1- First week

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Vignette 2- Mid-point

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Vignette 3- Final focus group

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

2. APPENDIX 2

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

3. APPENDIX 4

REVISED RESEARCH ETHICS AND RISK ASSESSMENT FORM, MAY 2015

SECTION A: INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION

A.1. Name of researcher(s):	**Eleanor Boden**
A.2. Email Address(es) of researcher(s):	**Eleanor.R.Boden@durham.ac.uk**
A.3. Project Title:	INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR
A.4. Project Funder (where appropriate):	**Part funded by the Racing Foundation (letter and emails attached)**
A.5. When do you intend to start data collection?	**September 2017**
A.6. When will the project finish?	**October 2020**
A.7. *For students only:* Student ID: Degree, year and module: Supervisor (s):	**Ktxg76** **PhD October 2015 – 2020** **Dr. Stacey Pope and Dr. Martin Roderick**
A.8. Brief summary of the research questions: RQ1. How do females, construct their racing habitus in preparation for horseracing?	

RQ2. Why have females been less successful at converting their skills (cultural capital) into career opportunities (economic capital)?

A.9. What data collection method/s are you intending you use, and why?
INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

SECTION B: ETHICS CHECKLIST

While all subsequent sections of this form should be completed for all studies, this checklist is designed to identify those areas where more detailed information should be given. Please note: It is better to identify an area where ethical or safety issues may arise and then explain how these will be dealt with, than to ignore potential risks to participants and/or the researchers.

	Yes	No
a). Does the study involve participants who are *potentially vulnerable*[i]?	☐	☒
b). Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge/consent (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)?	☐	☒
c). Could the study cause harm, discomfort, stress, anxiety or any other negative consequence beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	☐	☒
d) Does the research address a *potentially sensitive topic*[ii]?	☒	☐
e). Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	☐	☒
f). Are steps being taken to protect anonymity and confidentiality?	☒	☐
g). Are there potential risks to the researchers' health, safety and wellbeing in conducting this research beyond those experienced in the researchers' everyday life?	☐	☒

SECTION C: METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

C.1. Who will be your research participants?

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C.2. How will you recruit your participants and how will they be selected or sampled? INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR	

C.3. How will you explain the research to the participants and gain their consent? (If consent will not be obtained, please explain why.) INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

C.4. What procedures are in place to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of your participants and their responses? All stakeholder participants will be anonymised through the use of a pseudonym, removal of any particularly identifying information and disguising of the organisation. Any data provided will be treated in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998. The focus groups will be recorded and transcribed. However, participants will not be identified in the recordings. The information that is provided during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any data collected will be stored in a secure, password protected area on the Durham University server. All recordings will be securely destroyed after transcription.

C.5. Are there any circumstances in which there would be a limit or exclusion to the anonymity/confidentiality offered to participants? If so, please explain further. All participants have the right to remain anonymous and all data are confidential in relation to the study. INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

C.6. You must attach a **participant information sheet or summary explanation** that will be given to potential participants in your research.

Within this, have you explained (in a way that is accessible to the participants):	Yes	No
a). What the research is about?	☒	☐
b). Why the participants have been chosen to take part and what they will be asked to do?	☒	☐
c). Any potential benefits and/or risks involved in their participation?	☒	☐

d) What levels of anonymity and confidentiality will apply to the information that they share, and if there are any exceptions to these?	☒	☐
e). What the data will be used for?	☒	☐
f). How the data will be stored securely?	☒	☐
g). How they can withdraw from the project?	☒	☐
h). Who the researchers are, and how they can be contacted?	☒	☐

SECTION D: POTENTIAL RISKS TO PARTICIPANTS

You should think carefully about the risks that participating in your research poses to participants. Be aware that some subjects can be sensitive for participants even if they are not dealing explicitly with a 'sensitive' topic. Please complete this section as fully as possible and continue on additional pages if necessary.

What risks to participants may arise from participating in your research?	How likely is it that these risks will actually happen?	How much harm would be caused if this risk did occur?	What measures are you putting in place to ensure this does not happen (or that if it does, the impact on participants is reduced)?
1. The participant discriminated against on the grounds of their contribution to the research.	Low	INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR	INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR
2. Fire during interviews and focus groups.	Low	High	INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR
3.	Low	Medium	INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

The participant becomes distressed talking about any previous experiences			

SECTION E: POTENTIAL RISKS TO RESEARCHERS

You should think carefully about any hazards or risks to you as a researcher that will be present because of you conducting this research. Please complete this section as fully as possible and continue on additional pages if necessary. Please include an assessment of any health conditions, injuries, allergies or intolerances that may present a risk to you taking part in the proposed research activities (including any related medication used to control these), or any reasonable adjustments that may be required where a disability might otherwise prevent you from participating fully within the research.

1. Where will the research be conducted/what will be the research site?

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

What hazards or risks to you as a researcher may arise from conducting this research?	How likely is it that these risks will actually happen?	How much harm would be caused if this risk did happen?	What measures are being put in place to ensure this does not happen (or that if it does, the impact on researchers is reduced)?
1. Driving to the offsite centres Having an accident Breaking down Puncture Getting lost Bad weather- limiting driving conditions.	Low	Low	Check oil and water Car fully MOT'd and insured Member of the AA recovery Take a fully functioning Satellite Navigation device. Allow enough time to get to the destination Take a contact number for the coordinator so I can call ahead if required.

2. Burnout from hearing negative experiences of learners and the racing industry	Low	Medium	I will always follow safeguarding procedures and policies, which will relieve the burden of hearing any experiences. I will be able to discuss any matters with my supervisory team and Durham University Counselling Services if required.
3. Pressure from above to not use information in data	Low	High	All participants will be fully briefed and informed about the research and how the data will be used. In addition, all participants have the right to withdraw as stated on the information sheets.

SECTION F: OTHER APPROVALS

	Yes, document attached	Yes, documents to follow	No
a). Does the research require ethical approval from the NHS or a Social Services Authority? If so, please attach a copy of the draft form that you intend to submit, together with any accompanying documentation.	☐		☒
b). Might the proposed research meet the definition of a *clinical trial*[iii]? (If yes, a copy of this form must be sent to the University's Insurance Officer, Tel. 0191 334 9266, for approval, and evidence of approval must be attached before the project can start).	☐		☒
c). Does the research involve working data, staff or offenders connected with the National Offender Management Service? If so, please see the guidance at https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/national-offender-management-service/about/research and submit a copy of your proposed application to the NOMS Integrated Application System with your form.	☐		☒
d). Does the project involve activities that may take place within Colleges of Durham University, including recruitment of participants via associated networks (e.g. social media)? (If so, approval from the Head of the College/s concerned will be required after SASS approval has been granted – see guidance notes for further details)		☐	☒
e). Will you be required to undertake a Disclosure and Barring Service (criminal records) check to undertake the research?	☒	☐	☐
f) I confirm that travel approval has or will be sought via the online approval system at http://apps.dur.ac.uk/travel.forms for all trips during this research which meet the following criteria: For Students travelling away from the University, this applies where travel is not to their home and involves an overnight stay. For Staff travelling away from the University, this applies only when travelling to an overseas destination.	Yes ☒		No ☐

SECTION G: SUBMISSION CHECKLIST AND SIGNATURES

When submitting your ethics application, you should also submit supporting documentation as follows:

Supporting Documents	Included (tick)
Fully Completed Research Ethics and Risk Assessment Form	/
Interview Guide (if using interviews)	/
Focus Group Topic Guide (if using focus groups)	/
Questionnaire (if using questionnaires)	N/A
Participant Information Sheet or Equivalent	/
Consent Form (if appropriate)	/
For students only: Written/email confirmation from all agencies involved that they agree to participate, also stating whether they require a DBS check. If confirmation is not yet available, please attach a copy of the letter that you propose to send to request this; proof of organisational consent must be forwarded to your Programme Secretary before any data is collected.	Please see attached email to INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Please indicate the reason if any documents cannot be included at this stage:

(Please note that any ethics applications submitted without sufficient supporting documentation will not be able to be assessed.)

Signatures

Researcher's Signature:

Date:

Supervisor's Signature (PGR students only):

Date:

Please keep a copy of your approved ethics application for your records.

If you decide to change your research significantly after receiving ethics approval, you must submit a revised ethics form along with updated supporting documentation before you can implement these changes PART F: OUTCOME OF THE APPLICATION

<u>Reject</u> The application is incomplete and/or cannot be assessed in its current format. Please complete the application fully.	
<u>Revise and Resubmit</u> The application cannot be approved in its current format. Please revise the application as per the comments below. Please complete the application fully.	
<u>Approved, with Set Date for Review</u> The application is approved and you may begin data collection. A date for further review of the project as it develops has been set to take place on: _____ The anticipated nominated reviewer will be:_____	
<u>Approved</u> The application is approved and you may begin data collection.	

<u>Comments:</u>

I approve this Ethics and Risk Assessment application and I have no conflict of interest to declare.

First Reviewer's Signature: INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

First Reviewer's Name: INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

First Reviewer's Role: Chair, Ethics Committee

Date: 25/09/2017

If applicable:

I approve this Ethics and Risk Assessment application and I have no conflict of interest to declare.

Second Reviewer's Signature:

Second Reviewer's Name: INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Second Reviewer's Role: INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

Date: 26/09/2017

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[i] ***Potentially vulnerable groups*** can include, for example: children and young people; those with a learning disability or cognitive impairment; those unable to give informed consent or individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship.

[ii] ***Sensitive topics*** can include participants' sexual behaviour, their illegal or political behaviour, their experience of violence, their abuse or exploitation, their mental health, or their gender or ethnic status. Elite Interviews may also fall into this category.

[iii] ***Clinical Trials:*** Research may meet the definition of a clinical trial if it involves studying the effects on participants of drugs, devices, diets, behavioural strategies such as exercise or counselling, or other 'clinical' procedures.

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

1 APPENDIX 5

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR

2 APPENDIX 6

INFORMATION SHEET

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

INFORMATION REDACTED TO PROTECT PARTICANTS IN LINE WITH RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL AND GDPR