Cultural Barriers for Female Jockeys – The Biggest Hurdle

By

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I certify that the thesis entitled

Female Jockeys - The Biggest Hurdle

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is the result of my own work and that where reference is made to the work of others, due acknowledgment is given.

I also certify that any material in the thesis which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by any other university or institution is identified in the text.

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ABSTRACT

Cultural Barriers for Female Jockeys - The Biggest Hurdle

This thesis argues that inclusion of women jockeys at the elite level in the racing industry in Australia was enabled by the equal opportunity legislation first introduced in 1977 but that subsequently, the legislation has failed to sustain its initial promise. Analysis of the history and culture of the industry and of women jockeys needs to address social change over time. Cultural barriers inhibiting social change and assumptions about the female body inform and authorise unfair workplace practices inhibiting professional opportunities and substantive equality for female jockeys. Detailed cultural analysis of this particular workplace provides insights which may be useful in targeting efforts towards substantive equality for women in the future.
INTRODUCTION

Most working women are in subordinate, poorly paid jobs... There is considerable resistance in business organizations to the appointment of women to important positions, not least because of the well-known aversion of Australian men to having a woman as a boss. One of these days Australian men will find themselves confronted with a woman jockey. Then they will know the battle has finally been won (or lost) (Tiddy, 2001:14)

This thesis addresses the application of the provisions of the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act (1995), (VEOA) the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth), (SDA) and the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity) for Women Act 1986 (Cth) and its successor the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999 (Cth) (EOWWA) to the working lives of professional women jockeys. The thesis argues that the current one dimensional legislative solution to enduring low rates of participation on the part of female jockeys ignores a range of historical, social and cultural factors particular to the racing industry which are important in assessing the reasons for the limited effectiveness of the legislation in promoting substantive equity for women.

The analysis is drawn from data on the participation of female jockeys at the top professional level of horse racing on the flat (that is, horse races which do not include jumps) in Victoria from 1995 to 2005, with reference to the processes of social change towards equal employment opportunity for women. The thesis includes critical analysis of the discourses enabled by the legislation as well the practical limitations of its application and moves to suggest the circumstances in which further change may be possible. The approach taken here is to examine closely the culture of the racing industry as a place of work rather than as a recreational sporting realm.

The discussion does not assume that formal equality at the elite level is the problem. Formal equality refers merely to an equal chance to participate. Rather, the question examined here is why formal equality or the equal chance to participate has not resulted in substantive equality. Substantive equality is defined as being a more equal outcome in terms of actual participation (or in this case numbers of women riding on horses with a chance of winning at the most prestigious race meetings). The question therefore relates to redistributive justice. In other words, the thesis shows that the legislative decree of requiring an equal chance to participate does not result in actual participation. The benchmark against which this equality of employment outcome is assessed is that of the participation of the female vis a vis the male jockeys at the top professional or elite level. The discussion maps some of the factors that continue to work together to produce the startlingly unequal outcome revealed by the quantitative research component of the thesis. The thesis also draws upon a range of literature and secondary sources, discourses of equal opportunity, theoretical exegesis and empirical data, both quantitative and
Qualitative; the latter encompassing the lived experience of women jockeys. The data explores the interpersonal and domestic spheres of women jockeys and considers how these interface with their workplace, the cultural artefact that is the thoroughbred horse racing industry.

The reasons for the inadequacy of the legislation pertain to the social, and cultural milieu of the industry, as well as aspects of the legislation itself. Firstly, the pieces of sex discrimination legislation are instruments in the legal realm lacking the capacity to address the range of cultural issues around sexual discrimination in a complex multi-dimensional field. The remedy of a solution in the legal realm is based on an inadequate theory of justice. According to van Hooft (2010) following Honneth (2003) the cosmopolitan ideal of justice encompasses the need for respect and recognition in the realms of love and achievement as well as under the law. In addition, in Australian society, a number of high-profile sports play a role in creating and institutionalising sex/gender differences and male dominance that become expressed in unequal economic status and social success in Australian culture. This is particularly true for the thoroughbred horse racing industry with its cultural roots deeply embedded in a class and status saturated history, and with methods of work organisation which remain largely unexamined, unmodified or substantially unchallenged. This industry is also a field for creating and displaying forms of symbolic, cultural and economic capital. The resistance to women jockeys at the professional level remains resilient due to the role of some sports, particularly horseracing, in the creation and maintenance of a traditional male cultural identity in Australian society or ‘hegemonic masculinity’ (Connell:1987). Therefore the very presence of women as jockeys poses a challenge to a well-established binary of culturally-encoded ideas of ‘maleness’ and ‘femininity’ which continually promotes a backlash against women’s involvement. This is achieved through a systematic lack of recognition for women’s demonstrable skills as riders. As a corrective to cultural norms and dominant discourses, the equal opportunity legislation fails to redress inequalities because it addresses the solution to inequality within the legal realm only. It further fails due to the fact that its remedies of individual complaints and reporting by large organisations do not have traction within the racing industry. Further the legislation is not relevant to female blue collar casualised workers such as women jockeys. It is my contention that the case study of women jockeys provided in this thesis indicates that the channeling of efforts towards change for women into the narrow legal realm, with its limited remedies, has contributed to the shrinking of discursive space for the substantive equality project in the public sphere in Australia in the late twentieth century. To be effective, such efforts would need to address fundamental cultural change in breaking down modernist gender binaries and instituting instead well-deserved respect and recognition for women’s achievements in the public world of racing.

Yet the data gathered for this thesis shows that despite the inadequacy of the legislation, systemic discrimination, lack of job security and economic uncertainty, women jockeys have remained remarkably persistent in pursuing this form of work. Their persistence needs to be theorised lest the casual observer is lulled into a false sense of confidence that the legislation is adequate in ensuring substantive equality. I argue in this thesis that although the legislation has failed women jockeys, they continue to sustain a presence,
not because of the equal opportunity legislation, but because of a factor operating in the
work of riding horses that I have termed ‘Hyperphysicality’. This refers to the
enhancement of a strong physical and emotional self identity created through the act of
riding horses that includes a relationship of love with the animal. This phenomenon is not
peculiar to the racing industry but is a factor in other equestrian sports also.
Hyperphysicality is a micro-interactional-interspecies dynamic. It is backed by the
longstanding cultural embedding of horses in western human societies. It is experienced
on multi levels, from an intimate individual physical level to the cultural and social status
levels. It is experienced as extremely empowering, in an individual visceral physical way,
for both male and female riders. This embodied horse/human relationship constitutes a
form of recognition as it is often a realm of love and is often supported by conducive
contextual and familial factors. This factor, while experienced at an interactional level by
both men and women in the same way has different cultural effects for men and women.
For the men, it supports a discourse of men’s superior physical and emotional strength.
For the women, it creates a radicalising factor inculcating a habitus that challenges the
discourse of women’s inferior physical and emotional strength. Hyperphysicality forges a
space for women to experience a robust self identity and leads to the development of
what I call (adopting from Bourdieu) a radical habitus.

The radical habitus of women jockeys is experienced at a deeply embedded level of body
awareness, or embodiment and comprises the resilient enduring element that sustains
women riders in their difficult quest to compete in a male-dominated milieu. This radical
habitus provides women jockeys with the ethical resilience to mount a cultural challenge
to male domination in racing. Paradoxically however, the female radical habitus also acts
as a reflexive inhibiting factor to change as all jockeys operate as opponents in a highly
individualistic fiercely competitive field within which there is a lack of recognition for
the achievements of women. The professional individualised identity of the jockey
precludes the formation of an identity of victim-hood which would lead to a collective
political ethos that would be a precursor to long-term changes to workplace bargaining
and working conditions; changes that would need to disrupt two socially encoded binaries
– that of male/female and animal/human.

This case study of women jockeys in the context of second and third wave feminism and
beyond demonstrates that significant social change for women requires a combination of
factors to be present and activated simultaneously. First, there needs to be a more robust
discursive space in the public realm of advocacy for substantive equality for women. This
discourse needs to encompass a theory of justice that is based on respect and recognition
across a range of social spaces. It needs to eschew cultural binaries and gender
essentialisms, that is, to be inclusive of a range of social statuses and recognise a more
expansive catalogue of knowledges and life experiences (specifically those that are non-
rational and non-positivist). Fundamentally this means recognition of women’s skills.
Second there needs to be individuals (enabled by their unique place in social situations
and structures) who are prepared to act as change agents, that is, to capitalise on a
prevailing mood and initiate action and leadership. In addition, coalitions of these change
agents need to be located in strategically important domestic, personal or structural
relationships particularly within the workplace. Finally, and most importantly, there
needs to be empowerment for women at an individual embodied level. The thesis argues that bringing about enduring social change for women jockeys would require both analysis and action within the interacting realms of what Bourdieu calls capital, field and habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant: 1992) and within the complexities of culture that are enacted in particular workplaces within these interacting categories.

This argument unfolds in Chapter One which reviews the literature assessing the limitations of the equal opportunity legislation and outlines some case studies in the history of equality for women jockeys. It establishes that while the legislation has been an important factor in supporting and establishing a discourse of equality for women it is seen as being inadequate to address systemic discrimination. It is clear that the legislation is effective at some levels in that it has raised awareness of the issues of harassment and discrimination in the workplace and provided a forum for individuals to seek a limited form of redress. The construction of the legislation, its philosophical basis and the range of its influence in particular and differing circumstances, is relevant in analysing its effectiveness within the racing industry. Also there has been little research addressing the relevance of the legislation for particular types of workers and workplaces using a comprehensive theory of justice within a richly textured, integrated schema such as that provided by Bourdieu. For women jockeys, the legislation manifests as a simple one-dimensional instrument and lacks capacity to address the range of issues around sexual discrimination in a complex multi-dimensional field.

Chapter One also reviews change for women in the racing industry outlining how this has occurred over time. It illustrates the importance of Bourdieu’s emphasis on using history to explain social change and how it occurs (Lovell 2007:107) providing a background to the emergence of a radical equestrian habitus on the part of women, by showing the tenacity of women who, in the past, have worked towards long-term change in racing. Examples illustrate how the official acceptance of women as riders, owners and trainers of horses has diminished with the increasing status, power and prestige of the industry in Australia. This historical perspective illustrates the contention that the racing industry is a field where contestation for forms of capital is fierce. The review shows that the equal opportunity legislation, while facilitating a major change for women in the mid 1970’s so that women could compete professionally against men, has provided little traction since in an industry based on an ethos of individualism and competition, which relies on essentialist and exclusionary cultural norms to misrecognise and undermine women’s skills.

Chapter Two advances the argument by presenting further cultural background to the racing industry in terms of Bourdieu’s schema of capital, field and habitus. An analysis of the cultural background to the industry using this schema illuminates some of the factors that simultaneously enhance and inhibit the equal participation of women as jockeys. The horse, in western culture, is a vehicle for gaining, displaying and increasing social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital. The chapter begins by reviewing the sociological approaches to the position of the animal in human society. Both the racing industry and the broader Australian culture are strongly influenced by discourses of
horses and riding springing from this ancient human/animal alliance. The selected examples from history of the horse as a status symbol and as an object of non-rational desire given in this chapter illustrate part of the background to the development of the hyperphysicality factor for women and their consequent formation of a radical habitus. A picture is drawn of an industry in which both mythical/ritualistic and instrumental/economic discourses hold sway, and which are utilized by the racing elite to maintain and contest social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital.

The case is made here that the racing industry operates as a field with structures that are used to reinforce class and gender hierarchies. Firstly, sport looms large in Australian culture as an important cultural artefact and as a cultural space to develop and valorise traditional notions of masculinity involving physical and emotional strength resilience and toughness. Secondly, the strength and durability of the culture of the racing industry forms a complex structure and culture that works against women’s participation as jockeys. A feature of the industry is the non-rational basis of many of the decisions and cultural norms. Logical, instrumental thinking does not hold sway in this realm. For example the uncertainty inherent in the industry and the belief that luck can instantly change an individual’s social status and economic circumstances powerfully influences decisions facing all participants; owners, trainers, riders and punters. Finally this chapter illustrates the point that the racing industry in Australia has been substantially resistant to feminist challenges to male dominance apart from being influenced by the equal opportunity legislation which meant only that that women were allowed to ride against men in races. This is because its structures and systems remain almost impervious to the aim of the legislation of achieving substantive equality due to the mismatch between the provisions of the legislation and the workplace culture of the industry. The third section of this chapter develops the analysis of the cultural background to the world of women and horses by addressing more specifically the role of the horse and rider in Australian culture. This section tracks the popularisation of a form of horse training known as ‘natural horsemanship’, and the relevance of this particular discourse around women and horses in the development of the radical habitus for equestrian women. This illustrates further the cultural background to the hyperphysicality factor. I argue that women find hyperphysicality a particularly desirable state because they claim that it enhances their relative sense of personal and professional competence. The relationship with the horse provides a form of love and recognition; one of the fundamental and irreducible pillars of justice.

Chapter Three outlines the theoretical approach of the thesis. A range of theoretical approaches are reviewed as being useful contributions to the argument. The principal approach used to frame the analysis is the relational theory of Pierre Bourdieu as explained and analysed by Swartz (1997) and adapted to feminist research by writers such as Skeggs (2004), Silva (2005) McNay (2008) and Thorpe (2009). Within this framework, the cosmopolitan theory of justice advanced by van Hooft (2010) following Honneth (2003) is illustrated. The strength of the concepts of Bourdieu in relation to the question of this thesis is that his approach addresses social change and the relationship between culture and power that includes a consideration of the role of myth and ritual in cultural analyses. It is within this theoretical framework that the argument of this thesis is
contextualised. Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus, and capital are used to analyse the contradictory forces utilised by, as well as working for and against women jockeys at different levels, in four of the social spaces that they inhabit and simultaneously navigate. These spaces are:

- the micro level of interpersonal interspecies subjectivity
- the domestic field of family and intimate personal relationships
- the world of professional race riding in the Victorian racing industry
- the broad discourses surrounding women and equality at work

Within these spaces it can be seen how respect and recognition is accorded or denied through the formation of a riderly habitus, and the gaining of various forms of capital.

Chapter Four explains the choice of methodology and outlines what data was collected in the empirical work of the study. The choice of theory influenced the methodology and data collection. Although Bourdieu’s own work was concerned mainly with class analysis and the importance of education as a social force, his concepts in their depth and interrelatedness lend themselves to being utilised in gender as well as class analyses. Swartz (1997) describes the breadth of the methodology offered by Bourdieu.

No single indicator of class is sufficient, and Bourdieu stresses the limitations of purely statistical analyses. Rather, class analysis calls for a particular method. It is ‘the work of construction and observation…..to isolate relatively homogeneous sets of individuals characterised by sets of properties that are statistically and ‘sociologically’ interrelated’(Bourdieu 1984:259) Class analysis involves the ‘work of construction’ in an effort to assemble two total systems of factors; the conditions of external existence and the corresponding dispositions (Swartz 1997: 157)

In an effort to avoid any single indicator in assessing the factors at play in the world of the woman jockey, and to follow Bourdieu’s example of addressing the mythical-ritualistic aspects of culture (1977:120, 1991:117), a range of data was collected. This includes quantitative data such as information from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Racing Victoria Limited as well as form guides and race results as published in The Age newspaper. Qualitative data was also collected through personal and telephone interviews with male and female jockeys, trainers, apprentices, rider’s agents and retired jockeys. Secondary sources reviewed in previous chapters included academic and popular historical commentaries on horseracing, newspaper articles pertaining to women jockeys, biographies and autobiographies and documentaries on jockeys.

Chapter Five discusses the findings from all sources of data. In the time frames studied, the pattern of overall participation in this sport for women as jockeys indicates little improvement. While the increase in the numbers of women apprentices is commensurate
with the increase in the number of women in the Australian workforce overall, the numbers of women riding at the top professional level has failed to keep pace. Thus the numbers of women in training as apprentices and registered to ride does not give an accurate picture of the actual participation of women riding in races at the top levels. In the period 1990 to 1995, for the period August to November, in the metropolitan race meetings in Victoria women jockeys were offered only between 1.4% and 2.8% of the available rides. This period is the premier racing carnival for this state. However in a testimony to women jockey’s skill and professionalism, the data also indicated that in each year from 2000 to 2004, the horses that were ridden by women achieved better results than was expected. Recognition for their achievements is systematically denied to women jockeys.

The interview material reveals gender differences in many of the responses, notably the difference between men and women in their avowed love of horses as a factor for them. Interviews also revealed tolerance by the women of a high level of unlawful harassment and discrimination against them that is not tackled due to the nature of work allocation within the industry. This amounts to systemic discrimination. Much of it is informed by negative perceptions of women’s physical capabilities, both within the industry and in society at large. The overall view is that there has been little progress for women due to a dominant prevailing discourse about women’s lack of physical capabilities. This is reflexively paradoxical for the women jockeys whose radical equestrian habitus of physical and emotional strength and independence is not only intrinsic to their self-identity but is also crucial factor that propels them into, and sustains them in, this difficult type of work.

Chapter Six elucidates how paradoxical and contradictory discourses are utilised by, and operate upon, women jockeys in the various social spaces which they simultaneously inhabit. It comments on the effects of the equal opportunity legislation for women jockeys within each of these spaces. There are four of these social spaces as outlined earlier. This chapter explicates why these skilled and resilient women jockeys remain demonstrably denied recognition and respect despite their track record of better than average wins on lesser horses. I show how discourses formed and encouraged at some levels paradoxically work as barriers at other levels. An example of this is the radical habitus born in the micro field of intimate relationship with horses and underpinned by hyperphysicality. This discourse enables entry into the field of the racing world but then becomes contradictory in the world of the broader society, circumscribed by a dominant hegemonic femininity shaping normative ideas about cosmetic appearance and dress and the challenge that the androgenous equestrian woman poses to these.

In summary, this thesis argues that qualitative change for women jockeys at the elite level in the racing industry in Australia was enabled initially by the equal opportunity legislation when the legislation was first introduced, but that since then, the legislation has had little practical effect. Further change for women jockeys needs to include a comprehensive theory of justice which includes justice in the realm of love and achievement as well as in the legal realm. A comprehensive analysis of the history and culture of the racing industry and of women jockeys needs to address how social change
occurs over time. It needs to examine how cultural barriers inhibit social change and how assumptions about the female body lead to a lack of recognition for women’s achievements and inform and authorise unfair workplace practices that inhibit professional opportunities and substantive equality for female jockeys. In addition, comment is made as to how the detailed cultural analysis of this particular workplace could provide insights to better target efforts towards substantive equality for women in general.

This thesis advances the discussion of women and work in Australia in a number of ways by:

- For the first time collecting data on numbers and actual participation and success of women jockeys
- Critically addressing the effectiveness of equal opportunity legislation in relation to professional race riding, a blue collar casualised workforce of elite professional sportspeople
- Proposing that cultural and historical analyses specific to particular workplace cultures that encompasses a broad theory of justice is crucial to fully understand the effectiveness of legislative change
- Applying the relational theory of Bourdieu to consideration of social change towards equality for women jockeys
- Proposing a fourfold approach to change for women jockeys and
- Proposing a new term, hyperphysicality, to explain the resilience and comparative success of women jockeys in the formidably closed male domain of Australian horse racing, and as a possible key to further levels of empowerment and transformational change for women.
CHAPTER ONE

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY LEGISLATION AND WOMEN JOCKEYS IN AUSTRALIA

The revolution in our heads was just as important as structural and attitudinal change (Sawer 1990:16)

This chapter provides background to the contentions of this thesis – that the Equal Opportunity legislation has been inadequate in facilitating substantive equality for women jockeys and that an analysis of the legislation along with a close cultural analysis the industry over time using a broad theory of justice is necessary to explain the situation for women jockeys. These analyses need to occur in order to develop proposals about where further efforts towards substantive equality for women jockeys may be directed. The chapter is in three parts. Firstly, it provides Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) definitions of the work of the jockey, background information about the racing industry and some data regarding women’s work and pay equity. The second section presents a literature review and discussion of assessments and effectiveness of the Equal Opportunity Legislation. The third part of the chapter reviews secondary sources about women in the racing industry with an emphasis on case studies of women’s participation and activism for change towards equality.

To contextualise the thesis, ABS and racing industry data provides broad brush information indicating that the racing industry occupies an important social space in Australia. It tells us that while the total number of jockeys increased and the proportion of women jockeys increased Australia wide, in general, people working in sport and recreation were more likely to be working part-time and have low incomes. Data is presented in Chapter Five which shows that while the overall numbers of women jockeys may have increased, their numbers at the top levels of the sport where there is a capacity to make a living from this work are still very low compared to the numbers of men.

Discourses of equality and equal opportunity and assessments of the legislation are then reviewed. Issues covered include questions of the changing notions of equality, the origins of equal opportunity legislation in Australia, how, when and why it was introduced as well as how it has been supported, implemented and reviewed. Discourses around the issue of women’s work in the broader society which impact on women jockeys as workers are considered. The chapter provides a selective background history of the evolution of the sex discrimination legislation in Australia as it pertains to the workforce participation of women jockeys. There is no doubt that the legislation provided a discourse enabling the participation of women jockeys in the racing industry after a long history of active exclusion. The chapter outlines critiques of the legislation which claim its’ provisions are weak and that it is limited as a tool for redistributive justice. These claims point to the narrow interpretations of the act by the courts, the fact that the legislation requires individual women to take action and the lack of auditing of data and
plans required by the EOWW Act. The legislation approaches equality from a largely economic/materialist framework which does not encompass the complexities of particular workplace cultures, nor does it allow for complex situations where class and gender intersect with race or the nexus of paid work/domestic work. This economic/materialist political focus has led to a one dimensional solution to inequality in the form of a legal remedy whereas the issue of women’s participation in the formal workforce remains largely a cultural issue. This is why an apparently radical legislative tool has had a limited impact in bringing about social change - particularly in blue-collar male dominated industries. The legislation fails to address the underlying deeply embedded discourses relating to gendered bodies and women’s work. While this has been recognised in the critiques of the effectiveness of the legislation, calls for action in the social and cultural realm have been subsumed by the presumption that further legislative and regulatory remedies in the realm of the economy and the polity will be effective. There is a view that the legislation has had a great impact in providing a discourse of the legal requirement not to discriminate. The legislation has been influential in its symbolic value but weak in its practical application.

In order to illustrate the next layer of the argument advanced by this thesis – that a close cultural analysis of the discourses prevailing in this particular workplace is necessary for a detailed explanation of the positioning of women jockeys in their workplace as well as where efforts towards further change for these women might be best directed - this chapter also reviews literature on women and racing in Australia. This highlights the efforts of women in racing to be treated on equal terms with men and how women have utilised equal opportunity discourses at various times, often with great tenacity. The case studies outlined illustrate the social importance of the racing industry in Australia and the circumstances in the past where change for women in racing was possible.

WHAT IS A JOCKEY – CONTEXTUALISING THE WORK OF THE JOCKEY

THE AUSTRALIAN RACING INDUSTRY AND DISCOURSES OF WOMEN’S WORK

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)

The ABS has developed definitions of various occupations in a schema called the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ABS, 1997). These definitions are categorised according to two broad criteria; skill level and skill specialisation. The occupation of jockey is listed under unit group 3993 *Sportspersons, coaches and related support workers* who are defined as people who *participate in sporting events for monetary gain or recognition, coach, train and instruct sporting competitions and officiate at sporting events* (ABS 1997: 287). This definition is the one applicable for the time frame of the data sampled – 1995-2005. A jockey is a person who *rides horses in competitive races, race trials and in exercises*. They are people whose occupation requires
high levels of physical fitness, sporting ability and personal commitment as well as, or in place of, formal qualifications or experience. Registration or licensing is required....

The tasks of a jockey include;

- rides horses in exercises, race trials and races
- receives racing instructions from trainers before races
- determines race tactics with reference to a horse abilities and track conditions
- monitors health and condition of assigned horses
- reports to trainers on the performance of the horse after races and exercises
- advises trainers on factors affecting horses
- observes safety requirements relating to equipment and race riding conduct

The work of a jockey - Qualification notes - from the National Training Information Service

The work of a jockey and the skills required is described more fully by the National Training Information Service in its’ description of the Certificate IV in Racing (jockey). This service has been developed by federal and state governments to provide access to current and emerging training market information and products in vocational education and training.

This qualification reflects the role of independently employed persons who are responsible for organizing their own work.

A jockey is an independent professional sportsperson licensed by thoroughbred racing industry authorities to compete in industry-regulated competition. The jockey contracts riding services on a daily basis to owners and trainers. A jockey possesses the highest level of race riding and horse handling skills, which require application of problem solving skills to unpredictable problems. As some of a jockey's income is derived from percentages of prize money, the jockey must compete with peers to obtain the best mounts. This requires marketing and communication skills and the ability to operate autonomously in the choice of mounts, trainers and venues.


The information provided goes on to describe the skills required of jockeys including the ability to choose mounts, a high degree of decision-making skill during races, communication of performance and fitness of the horse to trainers and owners and in-depth understanding of anatomy, physiology and health of the horse in the context of a competitive environment. It also describes the necessity for a high degree of physical fitness at the same time as an adherence to weight requirements as well as the ability to understand rules and legal procedures and the ability to defend reputation and livelihood in stewards’ inquiries.
These definitions give a picture of the uniqueness of the work that these professional sportspersons undertake, the high level of skill, and high level of industry and equine knowledge that the jockey needs. However, these definitions are not able to encompass the other attributes that are essential to the work of a jockey. The term ‘sporting ability’ for a jockey means not only the physical capacity to be able to ride the horse but also the empathic ability to be able to connect with the animal in a way that enables the animal to have confidence in the rider and the willingness to perform at its best. The definition also cannot describe the necessary attribute for jockeys of self-confidence or self belief. This is needed in order to gain work and to work with the horse. The definitions are examples of an instrumental/economic discourse operating in the world of racing and work of the jockey that do not adequately describe the scenario.

This study has not attempted to examine the work or participation of all women jockeys. Some people may describe their occupation in a census as ‘jockey’, but not necessarily work professionally as a jockey very often nor derive their only source of income for the entire year as a jockey. I have chosen as a sample the work of jockeys at the top of the professional level, those registered as ‘Jockeys A’ in Victoria, as this is the level where those who aspire to earn a living from the work register themselves. This is an important point when looking at more general overall data about jockeys.

**Australian Bureau of Statistics - Women in Professional Sport and Recreation - Jockeys and the racing industry**

In 2001 the ABS published an issue on “Employment in Sport and Recreation” in which specific data on workers in sport and recreation occupations and other leisure occupations was taken from the August 2001 census. There are several findings of relevance from this report. Between the 1996 census and the 2001 census the percentage of employed persons with their main job in a sport or physical recreation occupation increased from 0.9% to 1%. The majority of sport and physical recreation occupation groups showed some increase between the 1996 census and the 2001 census. There were more males (50,113 or 60.4%) than females (32,895 or 39.6%) employed in sport and physical recreation occupations. Thus a very small proportion of the population work in sport and a great majority of these are men. This preponderance of men as professional workers in sport and recreation indicates that overall, despite the equal opportunity legislation, women are still a minority the workplaces of professional sport.

Data available about the workplace involvement of women jockeys is published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2003:36). This source gives a useful background and an Australia wide view. However it does not give a detailed picture of the work of women jockeys in terms of their participation on a day to day basis or their career progress either as individuals or as a group over time. In 2002 the second most highly attended sport in Australia was horseracing with 1.1 million males and 802,600 females attending. This attendance rate increased slightly from 12.3% in 1995 to 12.9% in 2002. (ABS 2003:36). This information indicates the importance of the horseracing industry as
a cultural icon in Australia. This high status makes the racing industry a fertile space for the contestation for economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

The numbers of jockeys Australia wide increased. In the 1996 census, 874 people listed their occupation as jockey, 705 males and 169 females. The 2001 census recorded 1,124 people as jockeys 813 males and 311 females. (ABS 2003:45) These figures show a percentage increase in the number of women over this timeframe with 80.67% of the total number of jockeys being men and 19.33% women in 1996, and 72.33% of the jockeys being men and 27.67% women in 2001. With regard to earnings and hours, the census found that people working in sports and physical recreation occupations were more likely to be working part time than those in other occupations. Almost two thirds or 64.6% of all employed people worked full time (35 hours and over) compared with only 52% of people employed in sports and physical recreation occupations. Further, average income was lower for people employed in sports and recreation occupations at $453 compared with $587 for all occupations. This is to be expected with the high number of part time workers in these industries but the average incomes of full time workers in these industries was also substantially less at $690.30 than the average across all industries at $878.40. (ABS, 2003:46). In general, the 20-24 year age group had the largest number of persons employed in both sport and physical recreation occupations (16.2% of all persons employed in sport and physical recreation) (ABS: 2003). However the census report notes that over forty per cent of those employed as horse or dog racing officials and as horse breeders were aged fifty years and over. With regard to qualifications, it was found that post school qualifications in sport and recreation were held by 6.1% of those employed in those occupations. The occupations having the highest percentage of employees with a post school sport and recreation qualification included jockeys with 26.6% having a relevant qualification. Of the people employed in sport and physical recreation occupation who held a post school qualification in sport and recreation 49.7% held a certificate, 15.9% held an advanced degree or diploma.

Notwithstanding the low socio-economic qualifications of jockeys and other employees within the industry, jockeys need to have high levels of skill as the well as meet demanding physical requirements in order to have to capacity to even be considered for work. This is within an industry that is highly rated in terms of its contribution to the Australian economy.

**The horse industry and the Australian economy**

The Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation developed some estimates of the contribution of the horse industry to the Australian economy (2001). These estimates cover all of the horse industry including recreational equestrian activities and other forms of racing such as harness and give specific information on thoroughbred racing as well as providing an overview of the importance of the racing industry in Australia. In this report, the contribution of the horse industry to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is estimated to be at over $6.3 billion. Of this, the racing industry (including breeding, wagering and the cost of keeping young horses) is estimated to contribute around $3.9 billion to GDP. Wagering is estimated to contribute almost $1 billion to government revenue and if based on the average tax rate of 25 percent income
taxes on labour would contribute $100 million in federal government revenue. (Gordon, 2001: vii)

The scope of the size of the racing industry Australia wide is summarised as follows:

*In 1998-99 there were 425 race clubs operating on 380 tracks. They held 3110 race meetings and 22, 018 races (an average of seven races a meeting). The total number of horses involved in racing was 32,039, of which 800 are jumps horses. The number of starters was 211 283 implying that on average each horse participates in seven races a year. There were 6 869 trainers of which 1 428 were owner trainers, and 1 587 jockeys of which 329 were apprentices and 139 amateur jockeys (Australian Racing Board (ARB) 1998-1999) Total spectator attendance was  5 124 636.

The prize money for the 1998-1999 year was $284 811 671 with $13 342 000 in incentive payments. If prize money and incentive payments are the only return for race horse owners then, on average, the cost of owning a race horse for a year must be below $1300 a horse for owners to make a profit on their investment. The fact that costs are significantly higher implies that there are either other sources of income associated with owning a racehorse or there is considerable 'mental income' or enjoyment derived from involvement in the industry. (Gordon, 2001: 29)*

This report further emphasises the importance of horseracing as an economic entity in Australia. As such, it is a field for the contestation for economic capital. The report also, in the last paragraph quoted, alludes to the mythical/romantic discourses also prevailing in the industry when it refers to the ‘mental income’ or enjoyment derived from involvement in the industry. It is a significant inclusion in a report that otherwise seems to be in an economic/rational paradigm. The author, in explaining the economics of owning a racehorse, clearly identifies a factor which is not congruent with a rational, economic framework. This mental income or enjoyment encompasses contestation for social and symbolic capital in the form of the status that comes with being a racehorse owner and the owner of a winning horse. As argued in Chapter Two and later, I believe that this non-rational desire to be associated with the horse as a cultural icon has resonated with humans through time and is a crucial factor in the work of the jockey, particularly for women. It is a factor that is not recognised or addressed fully in an instrumental/ rationalist discourse.

Background to the situation for women in the workforce in general indicates an opening up of opportunities for women in the workforce.

**Australian Bureau of Statistics - Women in the workforce**

The proportion of women in the workforce increased significantly over the years studied in this thesis. This was a reasonably steady increase from 40% in 1979 to 53% in 2004. There has also been a slight decrease in the proportion of men in the workforce over this time from 74% in 1979 to 68% in 2004 (ABS 2006:2). This increase for women has in
general been across all age groups but with variations across age groups changing slightly according to the increasing average age for childbearing. The increased average age for childbearing has meant that the proportion of women employed peaked for women aged 20 -24 years at 71% during the timeframe studied. This would be the age at which a jockey would be expecting to establish a career following the apprenticeship which typically finishes at age 20-21.

This data however does not give detail of women in specific industries or the level of women’s involvement in particular kinds of work and has been critiqued by those who believe it masks ongoing problems for women workers such as Summers (2003) and Charlesworth (2007). The statistical data in Chapter Five which reveals the participation of women jockeys at the top levels shows that these overall statistics do not mean that there has been improvement for all women in all workplaces. However the discourse of women’s equality is a powerful one and one that prevails in society in general.

**Pay equity in the workforce in Victoria**

There have been a number of pay equity reports produced by state governments (NSW 1999, Qld 2000, and WA 2004.). Amongst these is a report produced for the Victorian State Government by a tripartite working party in February 2005. This working party reviewed the various measures which could be used to measure a pay equity gap and concluded that whatever measure was used a clear gender pay equity gap still existed in Victoria. The working party calculated this gap at as great as 18.4% based on total weekly earnings for a full time adult worker and at 11.2% if only full time non-managerial employees are considered. The working party concluded that there had been no substantial improvement in women’s pay as a percentage of men’s since 1986. (Victorian Pay Equity Working Party 2005). The working party noted that, while Victoria’s and Australia’s gender pay gap is not as great as in some other OECD countries, this was primarily due to the historical advantage enjoyed by Australian women from the 1972 Equal Pay Case and its introduction through centralised wage fixing.

With regard to pay equity in the broader society the gap has remained between women and men’s pay. However I believe the concept of pay equity may sometimes be conflated with the idea of ‘equality’ as meaning ‘equal access’. The attitude that women are ‘equal’ due to the fact that they have putative equality of access is one that prevalent. This ‘equality’ discourse is one that is fraught for the women jockeys. They need and accept this discourse as a precursor to claiming their right to compete in professional race riding. However acceptance of this discourse paradoxically inhibits any identification of the systemic sex discrimination which they suffer in the horseracing industry and thereby any efforts to remedy that situation.

This data has indicated some of the prevailing discourses in the broader society within which the racing industry operates and which are part of the background ideologies for the view of women jockeys that is formed by the general public. It shows the emergence
of competing discourses for women. The racing industry is an economic force in Australia within which participants are acknowledged as making decisions which are not rational in an economic sense.

**EQUAL OPPORTUNITY LEGISLATION IN AUSTRALIA- IS IT EFFECTIVE - NOTIONS OF EQUALITY AND HOW CHANGE HAS OCCURRED**

Which legislation are we looking at?

Three pieces of Equal Opportunity legislation are referred to in this analysis. The pieces of legislation that are being discussed are the *Victorian Equal Opportunity Act (1995)* (VEOA), the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)*, (SDA) and the *Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity) for Women Act 1986 (Cth)* and its successor the *Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999 (Cth)* (EOWWA). The first two pieces of legislation have the same intent, that is, of prohibiting discrimination. The EOWWA is designed to improve the situation for women at work by encouraging organizations to see discrimination as an issue and through their own processes put in place measures to eliminate that discrimination. A brief outline of the legislation, followed by relevant critical reviews from the sections below.

*The Equal Opportunity Act 1995 (Vic)* is the Act that specifically operated in Victoria to prohibit sex discrimination. Its antecedent, the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act of 1977, preceded the Commonwealth Sex Discrimination Act. This Victorian Act prohibited discrimination on the basis of marital status and gender in employment, education, accommodation and the provision of goods and services. The Victorian legislation has been expanded over time with the addition of prohibitions on discrimination against people with a disability, people of a different race etc. A review of the Act in 1995 saw the addition of attributes relating to, amongst other things, physical features and industrial activity. There are now over twelve attributes listed in this legislation. This Act was from its earliest days a more general equal opportunity act and did not concern itself solely with gender. The existence of separate legislation enacted by the States is an anomaly of the legislative system in Australia. However the existence of two pieces of legislation addressing the same thing is an issue only when a complaint is made under this legislation and the complainant must choose under which jurisdiction to complain. Common to both state and federal equal opportunity (or anti-discrimination) legislation is the first step of attempting to resolve complaints by mediation or conciliation. In this, either the state Equal Opportunity Commission or the federal Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission operate mediation and conciliation processes. When complaints are not able to be conciliated or the complainant chooses to enter formal legal proceedings under the legislation, which usually involves suing for damages, either piece of legislation needs to be invoked. A change in Victoria saw the introduction of a new piece of legislation. The Victorian Government passed a new *Equal Opportunity Act (2010)* in April 2010. This new Act replaced the Equal Opportunity Act 1995 when it came into effect in August 2011. The new legislation aimed to strengthen discrimination laws in Victoria. It changed some key definitions, created new responsibilities for the
Commission and strengthened the **Commission’s role** in helping government, business and the community to identify and eliminate discrimination. The new act provided a benchmark for equal opportunity legislation in Australia by providing the capacity for the equal opportunity commission to tackle systemic discrimination through an investigation process. However, a change of government has meant that there is now an attempt to water down this historic act. This indicates how fragile the legislative agenda is for equal opportunity when not backed up by a significant change in the culture at the same time.

In looking at the history of the legislation it can be seen that there were cultural changes leading up to the development of this legislation and in the early determinations of case law. The federal Sex Discrimination Act 1984 has the basic purpose of prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex. This is worded in the legislation itself as the elimination *as far as possible* (s3) of discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status, pregnancy or potential pregnancy in the areas of work, accommodation, education and the provision of goods facilities and services. In the early application of the Act it was determined by case law that the prohibition on discrimination on the basis of sex covered what became known as sexual harassment. It is significant for the purposes of this study that the Act was limited to selected areas of public activity and there were a number of specific exemptions written into the Act. Sport was one of them. The Sex Discrimination Act relies solely on complaints and legal action by individuals who have to pit their resources often against companies or large organizations. This is a disincentive to many in pursuing claims. Claimants are not able to be assisted by the Commission charged with implementing the Act as the Commission’s role is to conciliate disputes and provide education services. The legislation was strengthened over time (Gaze, 2004:59) with reductions in exemptions (the exemption for sport remains however) and a change in the burden of proof in complaints. As Gaze (2004) points out, during the time of the Howard Liberal government there were significant attempts to reduce the impact of the Act and to undermine the processes for its implementation. This included overt political support for the privileging of men by providing male-only scholarships for teaching and attempts to remove the specialist sex discrimination commissioner. These attempts are further examples of the fragility of a legislative remedy alone that is not accompanied by respect and recognition for women’s achievements and change agents able to champion changed discourses in the broader culture. Application of the legislation has led to discrimination being described as being direct, indirect and/or systemic. Direct discrimination is not defined in the Act but is understood as being a situation where a woman is treated less favorably than a man would have been. Indirect discrimination occurs where there is a rule procedure or practice that appears to be reasonable but which results in an unfair effect on a particular group. Systemic discrimination can be described as patterns of behavior, policies or practices that are part of the structures of an organization, and which create or perpetuate disadvantage.

*The Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity) for Women Act 1986 (Cth) (AA)* and its successor, *the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999 (Cth)* (EOWWA), were originally intended to be part of the Sex Discrimination Act but became a separate act which took a further two years to pass through parliament. The AA (EOWW) Act focuses on the preparation of plans. Every organization with more than 100
employees is required to prepare an annual plan containing a report of the numbers and positions of women in the organization and how the organization plans to address issues for women that the organization itself identifies. There is no auditing of these reports for accuracy or follow-up to ensure that any actions outlined in the plans are implemented. This program is run by a very small and sparsely staffed agency.

It is these pieces of legislation which are referred to as equal opportunity legislation in this work.

**Equality and inequality - what is it?**

*For at least 300 years much of western political debate has focused on equality and the drive to implement various interpretations of it has been a major force of the twentieth century. Despite conceptual muddle over its positive content, the principle of equality has been negatively of great value in placing the onus of justification firmly on its opponents (Bullock and Trombley 2000:280).*

Ideas of social inequality, inherent in studies of human society, became a focus from the time of the Age of Enlightenment and became particularly important around the time of the French Revolution (Jary and Jary 2000:10). This era was characterized by both a questioning of traditional forms of social organization and an effort to place a reliance on human reason to determine and explain social practices. The new ideological premise was the notion that reason was paramount in human affairs. This formed the basis of an evolving philosophy of views on equality and inequality. A detailed review of the evolution of these philosophies is not attempted here. Rather, I provide an overview of some of the concepts of equality as they pertain to analyses and development of the Australian EO legislation in the late twentieth century and the effect of these contested ideologies have had on the discourses surrounding the work of women jockeys.

Firstly, as Thornton (2001) has pointed out, the notion of equality itself is always contested. For modern theorists equality can only be understood with reference to its opposite, that is, inequality. Thornton has elucidated this in describing equality as always being in reference to ‘Benchmark Men’, namely those who are typically white, Anglo-Celtic, heterosexual, able bodied and middle class. This is the standard against which ‘others’, including women, are measured. She also unpacks the important differences between equality of treatment (formal equality), and equality of outcomes (substantive equality). She points out that, *A formalistic incarnation of equality enables liberalism to avert its gaze from the unequal effect that equal treatment can produce (2001:81).*

Notions of equality have been understood over differing historical epochs as referring to equality of treatment in the law, equal right to participate in the exchanges that constitute the economy, and equal access to the ‘goods’ of citizenship such as education and political participation. These equalities are always intertwined but, as other writers also have pointed out (Pocock 2006, Charlesworth 2007), there is a symbiotic relationship between the private and public spheres which necessarily impacts on equality and which while being highlighted in many reviews and analyses of the legislation (Charlesworth
2007, Pocock 2006, Thornton 2001), is not sufficiently addressed by the legislation itself. Efforts to address this relationship in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries by the promotion of discourses around women’s role as mothers and carers and the issue of their domestic work have been used by opponents of equality to further encourage women into these roles through a range of policy and legislative measures such as the ‘baby bonus’. (Summers 2003, Thornton 2001). The idea of equality is still one that is thought to operate exclusively in the public sphere and to be rightly a matter of public policy. Overall,...

utterances of the kind ‘all men (sic) are created equal’ are best viewed as moral exhortations to allow at the very least, that by virtue of their shared humanity men (sic) should enjoy equal satisfaction on certain basic common rights and needs (Bullock and Trombley 1999: 280).

The inclusion of women in the philosophies of ‘mankind’ has historically been a contested issue as the wealth of feminist history and research attests. Thornton (2001:79) points out that concepts of equality in citizenship go back to pre-classical Athens but that even then, the notions of to whom ‘equality’ should refer were men and men of particular racial and economic status. Macintyre (1985) also discusses the importance of this social and historical context of the changing ideas of equity and fairness in his discussion of the changing landscape of social justice in white Australian history. This background illustrates the changeable nature of discourses around women’s work and the shifts over time between emphasis on regulating women in the public realm and attempts to regulate women’s domestic status. He refers to a variety of social movements in Britain and Europe throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, making the point that ideas of social justice, or equality and inequality, have changed according to social and economic conditions. Macintyre starts by using a classic Marxist framework:

Social justice is therefore an historical category. It enters the vocabulary to shape behaviour only when certain historical conditions obtain. In the first place, it is necessary that the imbalances within the society are sufficiently marked and systematic to constitute social injustice. This implies a social order in which one class controls the labour of another, and where the dominant class extends and systematises its advantages into all the corners of social life. Secondly, if the category is to have any analytical vitality, then it needs to be located within the customs and norms of that society (Macintyre, 1985: x).

This orientation is particularly relevant to a discussion of inequality within the world of work. Foregrounding work and an individual’s access to particular types of work as an indicator of social standing became a major aspect of the discourse of equality for women in Australia in the late twentieth century. The framing of the problem of social equality for women in the mid 1970’s by liberal feminists and other reformers, as well as of the possible solution to it, was predominantly sought through the world of work. The equal opportunity legislation addressed this realm. It sought to address inequalities between men and women by providing a forum for complaints by individuals and by an affirmative action program that only pertained to large organisations. A critique of this
strategy by radical and other feminists was that these legal instruments failed to recognise the cultural embedding of women in domestic life as ‘natural’ carers of children and men so that, instead of creating a level playing field between men and women in the workforce, the legislation only addressed conditions of work leaving women to undertake the ‘second’ and ‘third’ shifts at home, thus rendering their formal workforce participation of secondary importance. In contrast, for women in the racing industry however, the close connection between the public and the domestic fields in the sub-culture of the racing industry acts as a crucible in fostering forms of social and economic capital that enable their inclusion in the racing industry. However, women jockeys are prime casualties in the failure of the legislation to address deeply embedded cultural notions of gendered bodies, as well as the lack of reach of the EOWWA Act to the workplace of jockeys. Jockeys are unwilling (Chapter Five) to take individual complaints of harassment or discrimination when such an action would mean that their symbolic capital in the racing industry, that of legitimisation/inclusion/compliance with the culture, would be destroyed.

Thornton (2001) takes up the discourse of the domestic division of labour with its ramifications for public life for women by pointing out that the historical philosophical framing of notions of equality have led to an emphasis on equality in terms of citizenship or participation in public life. She avers that a homology has developed between: equality and the public sphere on one hand and inequality and the private sphere on the other, dualisms which in turn, have assumed a gendered character (Thornton, 2001: 79). For Thornton, therefore, equality is only comprehensible in the public sphere because ancient social practices dictate the relationship between the public and domestic spheres. Women and slaves were responsible for the domestic while men took their proper place in control of the political and economic realms. The importance of the history of the development of the philosophy of equality is further illustrated by the discourse of liberalism, the dominant political philosophy of the Enlightenment. This governed the political, economic and social development of the western world. According to this discourse, equality means equal treatment regardless of situation or social context. Therefore, in the context of equal opportunity at work, substantive equality requiring redistributive justice for equal outcomes remains a problematic and much debated concept. This chapter later provides additional detail about different interpretations of equality in addressing analyses of the effectiveness of the legislation.

In the context of a long history of contested definitions of equality, this thesis presents a range of data both secondary and primary including numbers of female vis a vis male jockeys to explicate the inclusion of women jockeys. In addition, trainers, apprentices and agents are interviewed to gain a picture of the attitudes prevailing. Following chapters set the scene of the complex cultural background in which the horse racing industry operates. The approach to the examination of equality for the women jockeys used here takes a multi-level and multi-faceted approach following the outline of Grieg et al (2003) and using the approach of Bourdieu (1977, 1991) within a theory of a cosmopolitan ideal of justice to analyse how various social forces both facilitate and hinder for social change. These schema address the social construction of inequality in a way that provides both a framework for analysis and a proposal for a remedy. Grieg
Chapter 1  Equal Opportunity and Women Jockeys in Australia

Cultural Barriers for Female Jockeys -The Biggest Hurdle 2012

Pamela Bjork-Billings

draws together three dimensions which can be used to analyse differing approaches to social justice over time and is thus relevant to the discussion of substantive equality namely, “The sociological approaches to it (theory), the extent of the individuals experiences of it (self-experience) and the evidence for its existence (empirical reality).” Grieg et al (2003:2). The authors further address five facets of inequality around the broad domains of the body, the self and politics:

(1) Whether inequality exists in a particular social setting;
(2) the nature of the structure of the inequality;
(3) the factors producing it;
(4) the factors maintaining it;
(5) the effects of the inequality. (Greig et al, 2003 :4)

This thesis uses these five facets of inequality to describe the situation for women jockeys at each of the four levels at which they operate as social beings namely, the micro level of interpersonal subjectivity, the domestic sphere of family and intimate relationships, the subculture of the racing industry and the broader social realm with its ideologies of women’s work

The following section outlines some examples of the historical development of discourses of equality and women’s work. It also expands the theoretical base to the work by briefly reviewing these changing discourses underpinning the legislation as it developed in Australia.

Equal employment opportunity legislation in Australia

In advancing the argument that the legislation has failed to deliver substantive equality for women jockeys and that close cultural analysis of particular workplaces along with a complete theory of justice is needed to develop actions proposals for substantive equality for these women, further relevant background is presented here. This includes some of the history of the background to the legislation and the subculture of the racing industry. These historical roots are crucial for understanding both the exclusionary and beneficial forces facing women jockeys. This section outlines some relevant aspects of the EEO discourse in Australia.

The theme here is how three circumstances enabled a seismic shift of change to take place. Firstly, women jockeys gained ground in the 1970’s from changes in the public discourse around women and ideas about their social and economic equality which were underpinned by changing social constructions of women’s bodies and social identities. Secondly, during this time, individuals exercised agency through forming coalitions of change champions. Examples of this in racing are discussed below. Thirdly, the way that women were mobilised through social structures such as the Women’s Electoral Lobby and the women’s liberation movement more generally were relevant at this time as it was through these organisations that a public discourse emerged that inspired change agents. Individuals capitalised on changing discourses and circumstances and took action that had a greater effect than the same action may have had without the change in discourse.
They did this by simultaneously helping to form discourses and leveraging off those discourses in the social realm. They established social and political power bases sometimes through organisations dedicated to radical change and formed alliances with those in power. This often led to gaining positions of power for themselves in political or organisational structures. The case studies of Linda Jones and Pam O’Neill outlined later in this chapter show the relevance of this concatenation of factors for women jockeys. In Bourdieusian terms this was the creation and utilisation of forms of social and economic capital within fields of contestation that were, for that moment in time, open to change. Within the cosmopolitan theory of justice it was the recognition of women’s achievements. This history of the movement towards social justice for women in society through actions in both the polity and the cultural realms contain some indicators of what has worked in the past in moving social change towards equality for women. I believe that these three key changes that worked together in the past provide signposts for future action.

**Discursive space in the public realm for the advocacy of equality for women**

This first and probably the most important point is the way in which discourses around equality and inequality in the public realm have influenced changes. In the past 25 years the prevailing discourse has ranged from a sense that huge changes were both imminent and possible in the mid 1970’s to what analysts (Thornton 2001, Summers 2004, Sawer 2007) have described as a situation of backlash against the ideologies of equal opportunity for women to the point that progress has been slowed or actually reversed. Fraser (1997) has also highlighted the importance of the social and historical context in the creation and foregrounding of ideas of equality and inequality in her analysis of what she calls the ‘post socialist’ condition. She uses this term to describe a ‘mood or condition’ that marks the post 1989 state of the Left, and which is characterised by doubts about the possibilities for progressive social change.

The development of the Australian equal employment opportunity legislation has been much documented and analysed (Sawer 1985, Thornton 1990, Watson 1990, Burton1991, Poiner and Willis 1991, Tiddy 2001, Summers 2003). The range of social forces leading to the enactment of this social legislation forms the backdrop to analyses of the participation of women in the racing industry. Change in the ideologies around workplace equality over time are outlined by Macintyre (1985) and also by Greig et al (2003) who have examined state interventions into the employment relationships of women beginning with white settlement and the establishment of a Female Factory in Parramatta in 1821 as an alternative to the assignment of female convicts (Macintyre 1985:xiv).

Economic conditions and social attitudes towards women in nineteenth century Australia combined to produce several pieces of legislation. The Factory Acts of 1873, 1885 and 1895 were aimed at limiting women’s employment under the guise of concern for the appalling conditions under which people worked in factories. Greig et al (2003) summarize this concatenation of social attitudes and economic ideologies and imperatives, a paternalistic concern for women, a desire by the emerging nation to forge a
modern economic niche and social identity and to develop a strong manufacturing and industrialized economy. This meant a more marked division of labour between unpaid or poorly paid domestic work and paid work in the formal capitalist economy. The culmination of these forces produced the first piece of legislation that defined Australian women’s role in the workplace and society for the first half the twentieth century as one of dependency on men. This was the Harvester Judgement in 1907. This historic piece of legislation set a minimum wage for men deemed to be sufficient to support a family of spouse and children. (The subtext being that women’s primary work was conducted at home while men took on the role of breadwinner). As Grieg et al (2003:200) outline it was not until 1919 that a minimum wage for women was adopted and this was set at 53.8 per cent of the basic male wage. By fiat, this legislation also reinforced what was seen to be the culturally appropriate sphere for women, the home. Paid work outside the home was properly the domain of men. This was a milestone because it marked the creation of a discourse that became a paradox for women. It appeared to support the claims of the women’s groups of the time for recognition of the family and the importance of their role in it while at the same time further cementing men’s economic and political advantage. This historical discourse of the primacy of women’s domestic role continues to hold sway in the popular imagination. Subsequently, the early years of the twentieth century were marked by governmental regulation of the domestic sphere that Grieg et al (2003:204) refer to as the realm of the “citizen-mother”, as distinct from the “citizen worker”. Other commentators on the social discourses of the twentieth century Australia (Tiddy 2001, McGregor 1966) remark upon the changes in the first decades of the 20th century in the level and extent of government intervention in social affairs. There was a view that governments should provide for citizens, particularly the provision of a decent standard of living and access to basic services. Thus the idea prevailed that governments were responsible for addressing inequality. At this point in time issues around economic and social equality for women remained low if not invisible on the official agenda. Paradoxically, parallel to these changes in the regulation of women’s work, in the social and cultural realm, women were not denied participation in the racing industry. At first women’s involvement in the racing industry was not regulated. At that time the racing industry itself was not highly regulated. With increasing regulation of the racing industry, came increasing regulation of women’s exclusion until the mid 1970’s. This is discussed below.

As Summers (1994) points out in the depression on the 1930’s, the predominant preoccupation of historians of the time was the documentation of the range of problems encountered by men. She argues that women’s history of the time has been largely undocumented. Summers describes the passing of the Married Women (Lecturers and Teachers) Act in New South Wales in 1932 which meant that women had to resign from teaching upon marriage but were able, if married to teachers, to keep working as instructors of needlework or domestic arts with the proviso that their salaries for this work were payable to their husbands. This was a time of entrenched paternalism and continued official relegation of women to the domestic sphere, a pervasive discourse that held sway for over half a century and only began to be seriously challenged by the second wave of feminism in the 1960’s and 1970’s.
At the same time as these legislative and official efforts confined women to the domestic sphere, there were many groups and individuals organizing and working towards economic and social justice, and equality for women. These political and social women’s movements illustrate the way in which women have always worked to challenge and change limiting prevailing discourses. Ann Curthoys (in Evans and Saunders 1992:429), provides an illustration of the power of women’s collective and individual agency in bringing about social change when she outlines the range of women’s political activities after World War Two. Notably, respected women’s organizations and professional women’s clubs such as The Australian Federation of Women Voters, the Union of Australian Women and the Country Women’s Association, including those which were communist, utilized polite forms of protest, were generally respectable and set very modest targets. The women’s groups did not focus on the world of work as a key factor but addressed themselves to a broad spectrum of social conditions which they felt should be modified. They were asking for respect and recognition of women’s traditional roles and the valuing of domestic work within the family as they simultaneously sought equity of access to the world of paid work outside the home.

By the mid-twentieth century the social construction of equality and inequality through legislation started to swing in the direction of attempts to legislate for social justice around the notions of discrimination in the workplace. This change of mood was driven by social movements such as the civil rights movement and the women’s movement with its publicly visible champions for radical change. The beginnings of state interventions that specifically targeted work towards equality of opportunity in the workplace had begun in the USA in 1941 when President Roosevelt issued an Executive order prohibiting discrimination in employment by Federal contractors in response to a threatened Black march on Washington. This was again promulgated in 1967 with President Johnston issuing Executive Order 11375 as a result of pressure from the Women’s Movement (Sawer 1985: 2).

Within the women’s movement a change of focus occurred over time from the early years of the twentieth century, when traditional women’s groups emphasized a range of moderate social recognition for women, to younger women choosing more radical groups and issues in the 1960’s. By the end of the 1970’s, activism was focused primarily on attempts to achieve substantive equality in the economic realm through equal opportunity in employment. This change in emphasis was influenced by theoreticians of the time. Evans and Saunders (1992:442) give an example of this in their discussion of socialist feminism. Here they outline how this viewpoint facilitated the exploration of the relationship between women’s oppression or patriarchy and capitalism. Influenced by Althusser, a French structuralist Marxist who developed functionalist accounts of capitalism, socialist feminists argued that women’s oppression in the domestic and public realms was functional to the capitalist state.

**Change champions in strategically important structural relationships**

Over time there was the increasing utilization and creation of changing discourses around meanings of equality and inequality and what action women could take, individually, and collectively to manage their contradictory roles in public and private life. Sawer (1985),
in a collection of essays on affirmative action in Australia, highlighted the link between broad social movements and economic conditions. She and other authors in this collection discuss the importance of individuals in positions of power who were prepared to champion the introduction of equal opportunity legislation through parliamentary processes and the early successes of such programs within work environments that were highly bureaucratic and structured. Watson (1990) sums up development of Australian equal opportunity legislation whereby a number of individuals took on a ‘change champion’ role. These included Senator Susan Ryan and Ian Macphee in driving the 1984 Federal Sex Discrimination Act (Sawer, 1985: 16), Peter Wilenski in providing for the inclusion of affirmative action programs in the NSW Public service through the introduction of the Public Service Reform Act in 1984, and the first Women’s Advisor to the Prime Minister, Elizabeth Reid, who was instrumental in establishing UN forums and processes for women. These individuals were part of, and instrumental in, developing social and political movements of the time which were crucial in effecting change. There was great significance in the generally progressive climate of the Whitlam years. This was continued in part during the years of the Fraser government federally and in states with Labor governments. When the Hawke Labor government was elected in 1983, there was commitment to feminist priorities through the enactment of equal opportunity legislation federally as well as the enactment of state equal opportunity legislation in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. Summers (1994:516) notes that the feminist movement in Australia developed rapidly with Australian feminists initially drawing on the agendas of women in the United States and Britain but before long compiling their own political programs aimed at pressuring governments to take on a leading role in legislating for social change. Australian feminists were particularly successful at this.

Among the changes which came about following the 1972 federal election was the setting up of bureaucratic structures designed to address women’s issues in particular. The first of these was an advisor in women’s affairs accountable to the Prime Minister. This was followed in 1974 by the establishment of a Women’s Affairs Section in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. In November 1974, the International Women’s Year Secretariat was established which among other initiatives led to a decision implemented in October 1975 to establish an Equal Employment Opportunity Section of the Public Service Boards. During this short term of Labor government there was the creation of structures in government and the employment of a group of feminist women referred to as ‘femocrats’ who continued to influence moves towards the addressing of women’s issues in the public sphere. There was a rapid infiltration of the legislative sphere by women who were determined to change the situation for women in society via official legislative and regulatory frameworks. These activists, when they became ‘femocrats’, changed the focus from grass roots social change to working for change in the economic and legislative spheres, thus paradoxically while achieving much for women, at the same time, moving the energy away from social and cultural change.

From the mid 1970’s to the 1980’s the equal opportunity legislation in Australia was enacted. This was in the form of both federal and state legislation. By mid 1975, the Labor government had proposed anti-discrimination legislation to cover women but had lost government before this could be achieved. With the advent of a Coalition federal
government in 1975 the women’s movement transferred its focus to state governments. In 1975, one state passed legislation proscribing sex and marital discrimination followed by two others in 1977. Following their federal election defeats in 1975 and 1977, the Labor Party developed new policies directed towards eliminating women’s inequality. In this context Senator Susan Ryan introduced a private members bill in 1981 committing future Labor governments to such action. In 1983 following the election of the federal Labor government, Senator Susan Ryan was appointed Minister for Education and Minister assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women. In June 1983 the Sex Discrimination bill was introduced. Much controversy followed with right wing pro-family women’s groups emerging. (Ryan (1999) describes this at length in her autobiography aptly titled “Catching the Waves”).

From the beginning criticisms emerged of the shortcomings of the legislation. The provisions covering affirmative action had not been included in the Sex Discrimination Act of 1984. This was seen by some women’s organizations as a back-down and compromise. A process then began of engaging the community in debate and Prime Minister Hawke obtained the co-operation of twenty-eight major private sector companies and three higher education institutions to participate in a twelve month voluntary affirmative action program. Affirmative action legislation was then introduced in early 1986. It is significant to note that the focus was predominantly in white collar professional spheres where large companies or employers could be held accountable. Early affirmative action programs in Australia which preceded the enacting of the Federal Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986 in the NSW public service and the ALP are reviewed in essays in Sawer (1985). Kate Moore, in analysing the affirmative action program in the ALP which began in 1981, emphasized the importance of women working together within the party, utilizing party organizational structures, gaining support of the current Prime Minister and targeting specific desired outcomes. Senator Ryan recounts in her autobiography the incredible personal pressure that she was under during this time from family, friends and conservative lobby groups. Her story of her determination, with the substantial support of Prime Minister Hawke, is an example of an individual who made a difference at a crucial time. This was at a time when there was a groundswell of popular support for changes for women.

The writers chronicling this period (Sawer 1985, 1990, Poiner and Willis, 1991, Watson 1990, Ryan, 1999, Tiddy 2001) consistently describe the coming together of a number of forces which shaped aspects of the social situation in Australia in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s which led to the introduction of the sex discrimination and affirmative action legislation.

- The change in thinking and ideas in society about equality and particularly ideas about economic and social equality for women that were driven by women and became enacted through key legislation.

- The mobilisation of women through social and political organizations such as the Women’s Electoral Lobby which provided an accessible and effective
forum for the women’s movement to influence the political and bureaucratic agenda.

- The emergence of champions or individuals who had a position within existing political and bureaucratic structures where they were able to take a lead on proposing and implementing changes to legislation and ways of operating in these bureaucratic structures.

In summarizing this period of history themes emerge. Of significance was the increased emphasis on the world of work as a key site of change for women. This was at a time when increasingly the economic and material aspects of life were those through which success and social status were measured. However this emphasis on the world of work, and the lessening of the focus on the social relations within the family, including the idea of the ‘natural’ division of labor as well as other cultural factors pertaining to particular types of work, led to a reliance on a purely legislative approach. This legislative approach has failed to achieve substantive equality for women. The legislation has little traction in the racing industry which has been built around historical and cultural aspects of the horse ownership and recreation. A remedy in the legislative realm fails to address culturally defined notions of physical strength attached to male and female bodies and the discourses prevailing about the nature of appropriate work for women. Nevertheless, powerful discourses of change for women were created and drawn on by women from the mid 1970’s to the early 1980’s leading to the enactment of legislative regulatory frameworks with the intention of enabling substantive equality. As the public discourses changed, individuals emerged who were able to exert significant influence at key points in time.

Assessments of the effectiveness of the equal opportunity legislation

There are a range of critiques on the effectiveness of the Australian equal opportunity legislation. However, few address particular groups of workers or blue collar casual workers and none to date looking at the situation of equality for women jockeys. Some have emphasized the importance of the legislation as being of symbolic importance in providing a form of discourse through which changes are seen to be officially sanctioned and desirable (Bieleski 1985, Sawer 1990, Summers 1994, Tiddy 2001, Gaze 2004). Others have pointed to the limitations of the legislation due to the philosophical bases which underpin it and the interpretations and misinterpretations of these in particular contexts. (Sullivan and Ronalds in Watson 1990, Thornton 1990, 1994, Burke, 2004). Some work has occurred on analysing the legislation for particular groups in the workforce and the effects of an increasingly tokenistic support from government (Charlesworth 2003, 2006, Thornton 2000, Gaze 2000). Other analysts have approached the legislation from a juridical point of view (Bennington and Wein 2000, Smith 2008, Thornton 2008). Overall, the conclusions are that while the legislation has had a great impact as a symbolic social indicator, contested ideas of equality and the mobilization of these discourses at differing points in time have hampered the original aim of the legislation in achieving substantive equality for women. Part of the failure stems from a reliance on individual complainants to bear the burden of establishing that discrimination
has taken place. Further, there has been a lack of appropriate regulatory sanctions through the agencies charged with implementing and promoting the legislation and, in addition, the legislation sits within a judicial system that relies on legal precedent and is staffed predominantly by “Benchmark men”. Thornton (2000:78) defines “Benchmark Man” as invariably white, Anglo-Celtic, heterosexual, able-bodied and middle class and who constitute the standard against which women and others are measured. There have also been few examples of work examining particular workplace cultures, their impact on the women within them and the effect of the legislation in particular contexts.

Amongst those emphasizing the important symbolic function of the legislation, Summers (1994) quotes former sex discrimination commissioners and the Lavarch inquiry of 1991-1992 (Half-Way to Equal). She emphasizes the importance of the Act for providing a formal avenue of redress for individuals and refers to the large numbers of women who have taken individual complaints under the Act and thus, by the building up of the case law, moved social attitudes about what is and is not acceptable in terms of harassment and discrimination. Charlesworth (2006) also stresses the value of raising of awareness of discrimination in changing corporations’ responsibility on this issue. Sawer’s (1990) history and analysis of the influx of feminists into political and bureaucratic structures in Australia in the 1970’s and 1980’s refers to the interplay between the successes that women had in these forums and the effect that this had on increasing women’s individual and collective confidence to further pursue this way of working towards progressive change in society. She sums this up by saying that, The revolution in our heads was just as important as structural and attitudinal change (Sawer 1990:16)

I argue that for women jockeys the symbolic value of the legislation is almost the only way that it is of value to them following its initial effect of allowing women to compete against men. It has provided a discourse that they were able to utilize to fashion a changed social identity more closely resembling the embodied self-identity they experience when riding and handling horses. Conversely, the actual application of the Sex Discrimination Act is extremely difficult for women jockeys because the Act requires the lodging of individual complaints of sex discrimination against other individuals, employers or companies. This is an anathema to jockeys because they have no ‘job’ as such but are contract workers who are engaged on a race-by-race basis. They are not even employed to work for one day. The work is so fundamentally insecure that it is easy for an employer to find many reasons not to engage a particular jockey again. The AA (EOWW) Act has no practical impact at all on the workplace for women jockeys as most are not employed by an employer who has more than 100 employees. They are essentially piece workers. Opportunity to work in the industry and the opportunity to succeed both depend on the gaining of social capital (which I identify later as ‘riderly capital’) which can only occur through patronage and goodwill.

**Degendering and biological discourses**

Debates around the exemptions in the Sex Discrimination Act rightly highlight the importance of critically evaluating ‘degendering” or the “biological” discourses (Sullivan in Watson 1990:173). The degendering discourse argues that the visibly different gender roles adopted by men and women are wholly the result of socialization. The biological discourse contends that the different social roles adopted by men and women reflect an
immutable and biological division between the sexes. Using as examples the issues of abortion and paid maternity leave, issues of public policy which concern the particular needs of women, sex equality as provided for by Australian legislation, implies that women need only have the same rights as men, regardless of major differences in needs and concerns. This ideology is basically one of degendering which imposes male life experiences on female subjects or, as outlined earlier, women are defined in relation to ‘Bench mark Man”. This is in the context of a society with deeply embedded, valorized, androcentricity (male-centredness) and within dominant structures such as workplaces and regulatory mechanisms (including regulatory instruments). In this context women have been forced to deny the lived experience of the female body in their public lives or suffer as the ‘other’ in comparison to the benchmark male norm. For women jockeys this is a particular dilemma because they are rendered less able workers through the commonsense acceptance of modernist binary division between male (physical toughness, mental resilience) and female (physical depletion and mental fragility). Since horse-riding demands both physical and mental toughness, women jockeys have suffered under this exclusionary binary. Further, evidence suggests that when women are included in competitive racing there is a systematic lack of recognition of their competence (Chapter Five). It is possible that by their very existence in an industry that is a potent cultural marker of masculinity, they constitute a threat to traditional notions of maleness. Women jockeys demonstrate in a very tangible physical way through their work, the degendering discourse.

*By attempting to make women ‘equal’ in the public sphere, liberal discourse is brought into confrontation with an existing sex based hierarchy of rights and duties. In Australia, feminists have been able to take advantage of this confrontation by making explicit the conditions necessary for women’s equality in the public sphere. By emphasising the connections and interdependence of public and private life a range of other issues and demands such as the need for child care paid maternity and paternity leave may be brought into focus (Watson, 1990: 187).*

The Lavarch Report (1991), a government review recognized the importance of action in the cultural and social realm by suggesting both further education on the implications of the Acts and some amendments to the current Acts to reflect changing levels of public understanding. Several writers (Bieleski in Sawer 1985, Sullivan in Watson 1990) support the importance of a legislative regulatory framework to ensure progress for women in society. They make the point that progress to improve women’s status and rights has not occurred through good will or gradual attitudinal change. Legislative changes to remove barriers or to provide access including voting rights, equal pay, maternity leave and access to public employment are crucial in catalyzing attitudinal changes and general flow on to behaviour in the workplace. An example of this is the change in norms about appropriate workplace behavior that have taken place after publicity surrounding high profile sexual harassment cases. However, as outlined in later chapters, these changed norms have not necessarily been adopted wholeheartedly in the racing industry. I argue that this is due to the culture of the racing industry with its long history of particular methods of work organization and culture that is resistant to change. As the case studies presented in these background chapters illustrate, cultural change in the racing industry has occurred when coalitions of change champions amongst racing
‘insiders’ have been able to utilize discourses for change that are present in the broader society outside the industry.

**The putative redundancy of the Equal Opportunity framework**

Towards the end of the twentieth century discussions about equal employment opportunity have been taken up by writers such as Patrickson et al (Patrickson 2001) in the framework of management education with the terminology around discussions of equality and injustice changing to that of ‘managing diversity’. In this work theories of equality or inequality are not addressed as such but focus shifts to a human resources framework addressing the management of a workforce that is diverse in terms of its gender and ethnicity. Writers in this genre relocate the equality discussion from a human rights framework to an economic issue by making much of the ‘business case for managing diversity’. This focus does not seem to be any more effective in either capturing public attention for a groundswell of support for workplace change for women or in having any other demonstrably positive effect. Placing the issue of equality into an economic frame increases emphasis on the individual. This has been accompanied by a move to have issues of equality dealt with through the industrial relations realm specifically in the Workplace Relations Act (2006) and subsequently the Fair Work (Registered Organisations) Act 2009. I do not propose to pursue an analysis of the diversity agenda and the recent development of ‘gender main-streaming’, nor a discussion about pay equity which is an aligned issue. The concern in this thesis is the issue of equality of opportunity to participate and to have skills and talents recognized. It is these basic first steps to equality at work that are demonstrably still issues for women jockeys.

The twentieth anniversary of the Sex Discrimination Act (SDA) in 2004 was an opportunity for many to specifically review the act and assess its value and impact over time (Gaze 2004, Guest 2004, Charlesworth, 2007). Gaze’s assessment sums up the issues raised in these reviews and is concise and compelling. She refers to the changing discourses for women that the Act has enabled and points to the paradoxes that have been created by some of the detail of the implementation of the SDA which makes it problematic as an instrument of change for women. Gaze (2004:57) believes that too much was expected of the Act in its early days. She points to the dilemma that women face in juggling contradictory discourses of biological determinism that limit women to roles as primary-care givers at the same time as discourses of equal opportunity encouraging them to excel at work. Gaze points to the limitations of the concept of the elimination of discrimination in the public sphere when this involves redistributive justice or the transfer of resources or power. She points out that the Act has been in operation during a time in Australia of increasing de-regulation of the workforce which has outflanked the progress that may have been made by women in the paid workforce. Gaze further points out the limitations of the Act in its practical application such as the difficulty of proving discrimination and the ‘reasonableness’ test which blunts the Act’s challenge to systemic discrimination.

*Courts have also handed down decisions which have interpreted the law narrowly and technically, in order to limit the impact of indirect discrimination. When courts*
engage in technical and narrow readings of these provisions, the scope for the SDA to remedy women’s workforce disadvantage is seriously affected (Gaze 2004:59)

A further thread of critique of the legislation concerns the view that the laws would only be utilized and of value to educated middle class women. Sawer (1990) addressed whether the legislation is effective for women across all strata in the workforce. She claimed that the legislation has had a broad effect but that there has been a backlash against it, namely through included a process of ‘death by a thousand cuts’ or the under-resourcing of the administration of the Act and appointment of staff with lack of commitment in the relevant instrumentalities.

The belief that the Sex Discrimination Act would mainly be of benefit to middle-class women proved to be unfounded. Most complaints related to discrimination in employment including sexual harassment and came from women working for small businesses, relatively few complaints were lodged by professional women (Sawer, 1990:76).

It seems that the Sex Discrimination legislation has worked well in some cases for working class women who have taken complaints of sexual harassment against both industrial giants and small employers. However the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 2001(former Affirmative Action Act) does not address itself to all women in the workforce. It applies only to organizations employing more than 100 women. These organizations are required to submit a report on their progress towards workplace equality for women. The sanction for lack of achievement or failing to submit a report is merely to be named as non-compliant by the Agency monitoring this legislation. For women jockeys, who predominantly work for small business owners on a day by day basis, this piece of legislation has no effect for them at all.

An additional line of critique of the legislation is that it has been accepted by some parts of the women’s movement as a panacea for workplace inequality thus dissipating energy from addressing the social issues underlying the reason for this inequality. There is a view that the legislation itself is flawed. Proponents of this critique (Watson, 1990, Poiner and Willis 1991, Probert in Pritchard-Hughes 1997, Thornton 1990) further argue that the Australian sex discrimination laws have significantly limited the realization of sexual equality in the Australian body politic by the incorporation into the legislation of a number of significant cultural prohibitions and constraints. These included a number of omissions and exemptions regarding positions of combat, combat related duties, and significantly sport. The Sex Discrimination Act 1984 contains an exemption permitting exclusion of persons of one sex from participating in any competitive sport in which strength stamina and physique in important. Therefore the legislation itself perpetuates the stereotyping of women’s physical capabilities. These sporting stereotypes carry over into the employment sphere and for women jockeys constitute a ‘double whammy’ as they are professional sportspeople. Horse-racing is for these women, as my data later shows, at once a sport, source of employment and a ‘calling’. I argue this is particularly significant in Australia which is a country that is known throughout the world as a ‘sporting nation’. In Australia sport is an important mechanism through which the enactment of gendering takes place. Sport is a primary cultural site for the creation and
maintenance of male gender identity. In addition, the racing industry is a multi-million dollar industry of economic and cultural significance. This alignment of the sport with entrenched economic interests makes any challenge to its traditional ways of operating even more fraught.

More satisfying and richly textured analyses of the relationships between the legislation and its philosophical basis are needed to unpack what is seen to be the limitations of the legislation as tools to address inequality at work. Burton (1991) and others (Thornton 2004, Gaze 2004, Charlesworth 2007) have moved in this direction. Burton began a focus on the effectiveness of the equal employment opportunity programs in organizations that are implemented as a result of attempts to implement the spirit and intent of the legislation. She claimed that the reasons that over a decade of programs in mainly public sector organisations did not deliver the expected outcomes is that the central issue is the social construction of gender and of power relationships within organizations. Burton’s assessments began relating broader sociological theory to the debate about the effectiveness or otherwise of the equal opportunity legislation.

Wallace (in Sawer 1985:16) furthers this theoretical discussion by proposing two models of society as a framework for understanding equal employment opportunity in Australia. These are firstly the ‘rat race’ model which is a laissez-faire blueprint with its origins in the nineteenth century whereby women among others are not prevented from participating in what she calls the rat race. She concludes,

> Looked at in this way such legislation demonstrates the problematic nature of ‘equality’: those treated equally can participate equally in the race, but because of inequality of ability, experience, inherited resources and education, are unlikely to “win”. Saying that everyone must be treated the same then, is not necessarily to provide equality (Wallace in Sawer ed 1985:17).

This issue of terminology in that for many, equality of opportunity means equal treatment regardless of underlying social inequities and gendered construction of bodies and identities, has been a persistent difficulty in the application of the legislation (Thornton 1990, 1994).

The second model proposed by Wallace (1985) is the ‘distribution’ model or redistributive justice. This model recognizes that society allocates scarce resources and focuses on the way in which these resources are allocated. Rather than proposing equal treatment this model is opposed to the principle that everyone must be treated the same. The aim of this model is not that everyone should be allowed to participate but to ensure that all participate in and benefit from the social good. Wallace discusses issues around these models in relation to the federal Sex Discrimination Act. This Act, while in its original form included provisions for affirmative action programs, was passed only when these were removed. The emphasis of the Sex Discrimination Act is thus the prevention of discrimination through an individual complaints process. She concludes,

> Legislation such as the Sex Discrimination Act can be seen in fact to legitimise the unequal position of women on the grounds of their sex by not taking into account the social circumstances in which women find themselves. Only when women are in a position to benefit equally from equal treatment is such legislation meaningful. Something more than this present law must be our immediate aim: equal opportunity
of women to participate in the benefits of our society on the basis of their own unhindered abilities which involves special development programs and means to amend the effects of past socialisation and discrimination (Wallace in Sawer 1985:32).

Critiques of the legislation from a legal point of view have analyzed in detail cases of discrimination become part of the formal legal realm. These have included responses to the report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in 2007 recommending that the federal government address issues for workers of combining work and family. (Bennington and Wein 2000, Smith 2008, Thornton 2008). They detail how the case law has both been a reflection of the views of the ‘Benchmark Man’ (the majority of judges falling into this category) and has served to further reinforce those views. This is against the backdrop of a legal profession that is itself critiqued for continuing with sexist practices (Thornton, 2007). Smith (2008) points to the problems inherent in the legislation of this issue of the ‘comparator’ leading to notions of formal rather than substantive equality. The legislation requires only an entitlement to be treated the same as someone else regardless whether that treatment is good or bad. She also points out the way that the legislation, in its attempt to make workable the notion of equity in employment, contains a range of exemptions that in fact serve to encourage legal argument and encourage efforts to extend these exemptions. Smith (2008) further draws on regulatory theory in advocating a move away from a victim/complaints driven model towards a legally enforceable duty that can be regulated by an enforcement agency. Bennington and Wein (2000) pick up on other discussions of the effectiveness of the legislation pointing out that any analysis gets caught up in the issue of whether equality of opportunity is an issue of human rights or economics. Thornton (2008) discusses the most difficult to pinpoint yet insidious form of discrimination, systemic discrimination, which is not able to be addressed through a purely legislative framework.

Indirect discrimination nevertheless cannot really capture the more subtle instances of systemic discrimination that are embedded in the social fabric because there is still the need to establish an identifiable discriminator, who is unequivocally linked to the complainant through the impugned conduct. It is not possible to institute an action against society Thornton (2008: 41).

Smith (2008:27) sums up these critiques,

A comparison of the Wardley and Purvis cases makes clear that the jurisprudence of direct discrimination has developed over the past 30 years in a way that does little to promote substantive equality. It has again reinforced in our legal system and any public consciousness that flows from this an understanding of equality that is limited to formal equality rather than substantive equality.

There is also agreement among these analysts that in any further efforts to legislate or regulate equality in employment attention needs to be paid to the culture of particular organizations.

organizations, such as corporations, operate as their own sub-systems within society, with their own inner logic; for law to be effective it must be able to recognize this inner logic and construct a set of procedural stimuli that lead to the targeted sub-system adapting itself (Smith 2008: 137).
In summary, the discussions around the effectiveness of the legislation point to the limitations of the legislation in working towards redistributive justice, or substantive equality, for women in the paid workforce. The factors operating here include the weak provisions of the Acts, the difficulty that individual women face in pursuing complaints of discrimination, narrow interpretations of the act by the courts, and the lack of follow up or auditing of the plans required under the EOWW Act. There is also recognition of the often paradoxical discourses operating around the Acts. However there is also a widespread view amongst the analysts that the legislation has had a huge impact in terms of the creation of a discourse of legal requirement not to discriminate and to address workplace issues for women. It is in this context, of legislation that is weak on practical application but influential in its symbolic value, that the impact on women jockeys is examined.

Further, the way that the equal opportunity legislation addressed equality in the late twentieth century in Australia led to an almost exclusively economic and materialist approach to both work and the social structures that surround the world of work. Aspects of culture, history, the social structure and culture of particular workplaces, and factors other than the economic and material are not able to be accommodated in the current legislative approach. The complexities of a situation where issues of class intersect with gender and race are also not addressed in a legislative framework where race and gender are dealt with separately and class is not addressed at all (Syed: 2007). The legislation has not sufficiently addressed the public/private nexus where women’s work in the paid workforce and the private work in maintaining family social life and community are at odds. It does not provide the tools to examine the peculiarities of the almost closed shop of the racing subculture. Moreover it does not address the motivations and experiences of those who work in the racing industry which, as I argue in more detail later, are paradoxically driven by economics and materialism at the same time as by counterintuitive factors that are embedded in the myths and rituals surrounding the industry and its work practices. These conclusions begin to explain why the participation rates of women jockeys have not shown greater improvement over time.

In this section of the chapter I explore some of the history of equestrian women in Australia women in the racing industry and of women jockeys in Australia. This highlights the roots of the socialization of, and discrimination against, women jockeys. This background to the history and the culture of racing provides a picture of a workplace that is extremely resistant to the inclusion of women, based not only on economic and rational discourses but also on the basis of its particular cultural parameters. This section of the chapter illustrates the longstanding participation of women in racing. It outlines how women in the past have negotiated domestic relationships and the changing regulatory circumstances surrounding the racing industry. This background illustrates several important points of the argument of this thesis, namely that women’s involvement in the industry is longstanding, that domestic and other relationships such as that of the rider and the horse are crucial in horse-racing culture and that women have needed to maneuver amongst competing discourses to maintain their involvement in the industry. The background illustrates that in the face of changing exclusionary social forces and regulations women have been able to maintain involvement through the agency of a coalition of industry-insiders operating together from structurally advantageous positions.
as change agents for women. It also advances the argument of the radical equestrian habitus created by the hyperphysicality of horse-riding by illustrating the tenacity of many women in overcoming obstacles so that they could participate in the sport/workplace of their choice. This tenacity is an outcome of the habitus that women form when they successfully work with horses.

WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN RACING – EITHER UNSEEMLY, UNSAFE OR UNFAIR

The aim of Bourdieu’s work is to demonstrate how social advantage is historically based and maintained
(Lovell 2007: 107)

The history of racing in Australia

The historical literature on women in racing in the Australian context refers to women’s participation in other forms of equestrian sports and the situation of women in the racing industry in New Zealand where there has been a greater acceptance of and a higher participation rate for women jockeys. This history has examples of efforts to deliberately exclude women along with examples of women’s resistance and persistence. Significantly, the radical equestrian habitus of resilience and physical and emotional toughness is evident in these examples.

As racing developed from its early colonial days as an informal community activity into a commercial and highly regulated industry the participation of women was challenged at all levels by the men who controlled the recruitment practices including registration of jockeys. Although the participation of women in racing per se is not well documented in any one study, several sources (Couch-Keen 1990, Vamplew and Stoddart 1994) indicate the strong involvement of women in equestrian pursuits from the beginnings of white Australian history. However, a somewhat different narrative emerged in the twentieth century. A review of the accounts of the efforts by women in the racing industry towards achieving substantive equality in the 1960’s and 70’s shows that there was both strong resistance to women’s participation and at the same time equally strong support and encouragement often from influential men in the industry. It seems that at particular points in time, individuals have utilized the women’s liberation and equal opportunity discourse in the broader community and issued challenges to the status quo. They have done this by utilizing a variety of positionings within the industry or forming coalitions with others in structurally significant positions. This has enabled the opening up of a discursive space to promote women’s right to equality in employment. Change of this type is accompanied by, and would not be possible without, the extreme resilience of women riders who have a radical habitus formed by the factor of hyperphysicality.

The story of horse-racing shows that is has long been a social space where social capital is bound up with the culture of racing. From historical accounts of the organization of racing, gender distinction was obvious and overt.
Apart from the ‘men only’ sections in the official stand women were discriminated against through their ineligibility to join the main racing clubs. Few women perhaps considered this a disadvantage, as each (male) member usually received two “ladies’ badges” allowing women use of most of the members facilities without charge. Nevertheless, women were excluded from any race club decision making. They were also excluded from the professional side of racing – as trainers, jockeys and bookmakers. Before the senior race clubs gained control of the sport a few women had enjoyed brief careers as horse trainers, notably Van Dieman’s Land’s Moll Smith in the 1840’ and Maitland’s Mary Dickson in the early 1860’s. However, as the principal clubs gained greater control and established common regulations and practices in the decades following 1880 such women disappeared from the sport. In all the colonies except Western Australia the controls on racing were tightened by the clubs themselves. Senior bodies such as the Australian Jockey Club in New South Wales, the Victoria Racing Club in Victoria and their counterparts in other states assumed responsibility for the conduct of racing in their states- and insisted that all race meetings run under their rules should be registered. In part this was a response to the growth of amateur race meetings and picnic events where owners rode their own horses for minimal prize money (Vamplew and Stoddart 1994:103, 105).

As racing gained prestige and social clout women were increasingly formally excluded despite the ubiquity of the horse in colonial culture and the necessity of the horse for physical mobility. The prowess of women in equestrian pursuits through white Australian history is well documented, from accounts of female convicts who were transported for horse stealing, to details of the equestrian attire brought by Elizabeth Macarthur (Couch-Keen, 1990: 29-31). Colonial women during the Victorian era are pictured on horseback in early portraits, the women in side saddles, the young girls astride. The novels of Mary Grant Bruce and Elyne Mitchell chronicle outback station life in which skillful and courageous girl riders are the heroines and Couch-Keen’s work describes the unique form of horse competition, show ring jumping, which flourished in the first half of the twentieth century. This was an organized and popular spectator sporting event at agricultural shows with sizeable prize money where women riders demonstrated high levels of skill. Teams of horses and riders traveled the eastern states of Australia and women were prominent in this sport which was every bit as dangerous as racing at a gallop. A Mrs Ester Stace established a world record for riding side saddle over jumps at the Sydney Royal Show in 1915 when she cleared six feet six inches (1.981 metres) on the horse Emu Plains (Couch –Keen 1990: 125)

Assessments of the participation of women in horse racing in colonial times differ. Lemon and Freedman (1987:223) report that the Argus Newspaper of 1853 claimed that amongst a crowd of thousands at the races there was only one woman, whereas Stell (1991) uses evidence from letters and diaries to claim that women attended horse races as spectators, horse owners and gamblers (Stell, 1991:10). Lemon and Freedman describe Mary Dickson who, in 1861, trained and raced horses in the Goulburn area. There was nothing in the rules to disallow her entry. The assumption that racing was a male preserve was so firmly entrenched that no-one had legislated to make it so (Lemon and Freedman 1987:277). They allege that Mary Dickson was a fiery character who took on
the racing establishment of the time, engaging in court cases with stewards over her right to race horses, the utilization of a legal remedy for injustice.

The class and gender discrimination that has historically been part of the culture of the racing industry has been well described. The Melbourne Cup of 1867 was a social gathering that carefully preserved social class and gender segregation.

*To a careful observer, class and gender differences were perhaps more apparent on a race-course than elsewhere. The Governor and his party in the grandstand were carefully insulated from the less acceptable elements of Melbourne society on the flat or on the hill. Ladies restricted their promenading to the lawn in front of the grandstand: those who ventured beyond the lawn immediately lost their respectability and were characterized as loose or fast women. While it was acceptable for women to bet a pair of gloves with each other (or even with their male escorts) it was unacceptable for them to wager significant sums of money or to be seen betting with bookmakers. Their expected role was to adorn the occasion, to add elegance and respectability to what was clearly intended as a male sport (Vamplew and Stoddart 1994: 96).*

Other class differences were just as apparent. Although all levels of society might meet on the course, the wealthy had places in the stand with entry fees ensuring, if not social homogeneity, then at least economic homogeneity. In the celebration which followed victory, class differences were emphasized further. The winning owner was invariably feted rather than the horse trainer or rider. Etienne De Mestre was in the happy position of being both owner and trainer of Tim Whiffler so he was the toast of Melbourne after the 1867 Melbourne Cup – but the winning jockey, John Driscoll, was simply an employee doing his job. He may have celebrated his victory among his peers on cup night but he was quickly forgotten by Melbourne society. The class and gender distinctions and the employer/employee relations which at first sight appear blurred on the racecourses were in fact heightened in the sport. Racing rejoiced in its claim to be the sport of kings and although Australian racecourses welcome the participation of all social levels, control of the sport (and most of its spoils) was held firmly in the hands of the colonial gentry.

An example of the exercise of this social control through the racing industry by the deliberate exclusion of women were the actions of the Victoria Racing Club (VRC) in the 1930’s shortly after government legislation made it the licensing and regulating body for the sport. In 1931 the VRC banned a Mrs W. Murrell from riding in a jumps race at Bacchus Marsh. The next year a woman owned and trained the horse which won the Grand National Steeplechase of 1932. She was not allowed in the mounting yard for the presentation and, within a week, the VRC had passed a by-law disallowing women to be registered as trainers. This by-law stood for another 30 years. Following this, in 1938 when a New Zealand woman trained the winner of the Melbourne Cup, her husband’s name was recorded in the record books as the trainer (Lemon and Freedman, 1987:478).

As well as demonstrating their competence as trainers women have historically demonstrated skill as riders. The importance of the professional levels of race riding as a
creator and marker of gender identity is illustrated by Penton (1987) in the case study of ‘Granny Smith’. Granny’s name was Bill Smith and he rode in North Queensland for many years. His nickname was due to his perceived effeminacy and some of his behaviors which were regarded as odd. He always came to the races already changed and did not strip to change in the jockey’s room with the other jockeys. He never showered in the jockey’s room after a race along with the other men. When he was old he became ill and had to be taken to Hospital near Cairns where the nurse found out that Granny was actually a woman. In order to transcend the customary barriers to women’s equal participation in public life Granny had lived all of her life as a man, working as a seaman and a miner as well as a jockey. Despite all indications from her behavior in the jockeys change room that she was a woman she was accepted as a man as that was what she presented herself as. This is an extreme example of what is still observed with jockeys. External markers of gender identity are masked for jockeys. Their bodies are uniformly slight and faces and hair are covered by goggles and hats. At the races it is still common not to be able to discern the gender of jockeys who are ready to race. Women jockeys thus unconsciously challenge the male/female binary of gender. Granny Smith consciously continued this choice of gendered identity to its utmost.

This background of the culture of horse-racing being tied to markers of gender and class identity continued into the mid twentieth century. Hargreaves (1994) describes the situation in racing in Britain as a struggle on the part of women for equal recognition with men in this very popular and public sport which she claims was a bastion of male power. Although class location could mediate women’s participation in horse racing, gender remained a dominant social barrier.

**Trail blazers of resistance-Blowing the whistle on bigotry**

Chronicles of women in racing provide examples of the resilience of women as riders. Marion Stell (1991) describes the sexist and classist milieu of horse racing as well as the tenacity of individual women in persisting and insisting on inclusion on equal terms with men.

*One group who have provided the most vigorous opposition to women in sport are the ‘gentlemen’ of the turf. After being rejected for a jockey’s licence in the 1960’s Betty Lane became one of the first women to earn a living from racing as a trainer. In 1987, she had her hundredth winner at Randwick. Women jockeys mobilized in Australia after women in 16 countries, including the United States, Canada and Ireland, successfully fought to become jockeys in the early 1970’s ...It wasn’t until 19 May 1979 that Pam O’Neill became Australia’s first woman to ride against men. To celebrate the day she rode three winners at a meeting in Queensland. .....Women have continued to enjoy outstanding success as jockeys simply because they have had to be better than males to be given a chance in the first place (Stell, 1991:268).*
An example of how changing discourses for change in the broader society were able to be utilized by women in racing in the mid-twentieth century is described by Penton (1987). In 1977 the Australian Jockey Club in Sydney allowed women to become apprenticed and ride against men. Women in Australia, who were advocating for change, had gained inspiration from other women jockey pioneers of the time in America and Britain. In the US the opposition to women jockeys was particularly fierce with boycotts by male jockeys of early races in which women were scheduled to compete. These included a ride by Penny Anne Early at Kentucky’s Churchill Downs where all of the male riders in the race refused to ride causing the race to be cancelled. The opposition from the men continued for some time in the face of threats of fines and suspensions by officials and legal action from the American Civil Liberties Union (Penton 1987: 239).

Antagonists to women jockeys in the mid seventies in Australia included top trainer Tom Smith who was reported as commenting; They (women) are not strong enough to kick a lazy horse out and too weak to hold a frisky one (Penton 1987: 229). Penton qualifies this comment by pointing out that this was not unreasonable given the physical differences between men and women though he does not elaborate as to what particular physical differences he is referring (Penton, 1987:239). The implication in his writing is that everyone would accept that there are physical differences between men and women that make men superior riders. As discussed later, jockeys (both men and women) who were interviewed for this study dispute that physical strength has any bearing on riding success or that there are any gender-based differences in riding skill. Interestingly, the women trainers also believe that gender based physical strength is not an issue while the male trainers were guarded and equivocal in their responses to this question in the interviews.

Penton (1987) gives a thorough history and commentary on the efforts by women jockeys in Australia to be accepted as professionals on the same basis as men. He describes how, in 1970, two women (Sandra Groves and Carolyn Howard) who were working as strappers at Randwick for Jack Green, petitioned the AJC to allow women to be registered as jockeys. This stance by the women was inspired by similar agitation from women in Britain but proved fruitless. Penton’s tone gives an indication of dismissive attitudes to women that he felt unashamed to present as late as the late 80’s when he was writing. His chapter on women jockeys is entitled ‘women’s lob’ (sic) and his history is interspersed with qualifications about the differences between men’s and women’s physical capabilities. His comments position women as lesser according to gendered assumptions about their ‘proper role’. For example he refers to the highly successful jockey Linda Jones as ‘a little blonde mum’ (Penton 1987: 242) and describes in patronizing tone, the aftermath of her win as the first professional woman to win against men in a betting race in Australia. With her baby, Clare, in her arms Jones turned on the waterworks of happiness at the presentation ceremony and the punters enjoyed every minute of it (Penton 1987: 242).

The story of Linda Jones also provides a clear example of the strength of the coalition of racing insiders acting as change agents who were able to utilize prevailing discourses for change for women. It further illustrates that while there is strong evidence of the deliberate exclusion of women by the controlling bodies of the sport, sometimes it is the
encouragement of women by *individual* males within these bodies that has encouraged women to persist in efforts to break down the barriers put up against them. The change to the total exclusion of women as race riders occurred during an upsurge in the discourse of women’s equality and rights. Linda Jones had come from New Zealand on a promotional tour as a gimmick after her success as a race rider in New Zealand. The fact that she was able win races in Australia against men shamed racing officials at the time and paved the way for the licensing of women to ride with men. In 1973 all the New Zealand Clubs for various reasons abandoned their ‘lady riders’ races to the chagrin of the recently formed Lady Riders Associations. It was this that caused Linda Jones, a successful female jockey in these women-only events, to take up the issue in New Zealand of women riding against men. Linda enlisted support from press man John Costello and pursued the issue for the next four years.

During this time Linda came to Australia to represent New Zealand in a series of international women rider’s events in Queensland. In Australia there was a separate circuit for women riders with stake money riding fees and open to normal betting. In this series were the American and Canadian representatives who were professional jockeys, able to compete on level terms with men in their home countries. In 1976 Linda was invited to Brazil for the lady rider’s world championship. At this event 16 countries were represented but there were only two, Australia and New Zealand, which did not allow women to become professional jockeys. This proved a catalyst for Linda’s campaign to change the situation in New Zealand, especially since those attending included Joan Phipps, who won the series and had ridden 250 winners as a professional jockey in North America, and Joanne Morgan who was the leading apprentice in Ireland and had beaten senior rider Lester Piggot in a race.

Upon her return to New Zealand, Linda publicly announced her decision to apply to the racing conference to become a probationary apprentice to her husband. She had been riding track work, in trials and in ladies races for nearly ten years. The rules of racing in New Zealand at this time did not specifically discriminate on the basis of sex and in fact stated that the word *imputing the masculine gender include females* (*Mountier* 1993:125). Linda’s application was turned down. The executive explained to the appeal body that Linda Jones was, *too old, married, not strong enough and would be taking away a male jockey’s livelihood* (*Mountier* 1993:126). In other words unseemly, unsafe or unfair. The decision caused an outrage. Leading feminists and civil rights activists including Raglan MP Marilyn Waring lent support to Linda amid great public controversy. The issue was resolved in 1977 with the passing of the Human Rights Bill and Linda’s stated intention to challenge the decision under this new legislation. She was quietly granted a license to ride and went on to a spectacular professional career riding 36 winners in her first year.

*For any first season apprentice it would have been a remarkable achievement. For a female apprentice, in the first season women and girls had been licensed as apprentices it was little short of phenomenal.* (*Costello* 1979)

As well as undoubted talent and great tenacity Linda had another attribute that contributed to her popularity. Interestingly, her overt femininity when not riding a horse
ensured that she could not be easily discredited. Linda took the opposite route to Granny Smith when confronted with the male/female gender identity binary.

Had Linda been plain, cross eyed and retiring by nature, she would not have received the acclaim her brilliant entry to the racing scene merited. Because she was blonde, petite, and attractive, with a flashing smile and a warm outgoing personality, she became the darling of the race crowds wherever she rode (Costello, 1979: 11).

The brouhaha over Linda’s brilliant debut did not go unnoticed in Australia. Mountier (1993) reported that the Australian racing world was thrown into a tizz when Linda announced that she intended to ride in Sydney at a major race meeting. Trainer Bart Cummings, who had previously been reported as saying it would be madness to let women ride against men, was quoted by fellow convert Pat Farrell in the Daily Mirror.

You’ve got to forget the male and female factor since nearly all the physical work in a race is done by the horse’. He added a discouraging note however, saying... ‘One Linda Jones doesn’t necessarily mean a bunch of women jockeys are going to be an asset to the racing game (Mountier 1993:129,130).

Linda’s appearance at Rosehill gained so much advance publicity that the Australian authorities moved forward their plans to license women riders. Linda was then courted by race clubs and for the next six weeks engaged in a round of public engagements, television and radio appearances and more rides.

Naturally photogenic, immaculately groomed and dressed and always obliging, Linda provided Australians with a new kind of heroine: demonstrably tough and talented yet deliciously feminine. Along with her equally photogenic baby daughter, she was a media dream come true (Mountier 1993:130).

Linda’s success as a rider was followed in New Zealand by other women riders, proving that Linda’s skills as a jockey were not just an aberration. Linda Jones had consciously decided to challenge the prohibition of women in professional race riding. She did this at a time of un upsurge in the discourse of equality for women in the broader society and with the active support and assistance of a trainer, her husband and an influential sports reporter who not only gave her good press at the time but continued to form a mutually beneficial partnership with her, subsequently writing her biography. Linda’s tenacious radical habitus had been developed and supported in the domestic sphere. There was also a broader social discourse for change and a supporter who could ensure that her efforts had maximum positive publicity. This gave her the impetus to act as a change champion with great success.

Another example of an individual able to influence change due to their positioning in the racing industry was Bruce Fullerton. As Tasmania’s chief steward he encouraged and trained a small band of girl apprentices despite opposition from some sources. After a very short period of race riding, East Devonport apprentice Beverly Buckingham (aged 15) rode her first winner on Melbourne Cup Day, when Limit Man won in the Sheridan
Textiles Novice Handicap in Devonport. That season she finished runner up in the apprentices’ premiership. The next season Beverly set a world record and entered the Guinness Book of Records by taking out the Tasmanian Jockey’s premiership, the first time a female had won a major jockey’s title anywhere in the world. Even though at the time Beverly seemed a solitary figure in this previously male dominated world, her success and the attendant publicity represented a challenge to the accepted wisdom of the time, that women were not strong enough to ride against men. Others soon followed (Childress 1985).

In Britain, there were also exceptional individuals who had made a difference.

In the case of horse racing Florence Nagle campaigned for twenty years to be allowed to train race horses in her own name. Finally in 1966 she secured a legal victory over the exclusive male Jockey Club, compelling it to grant her a trainer’s license and therefore breaking its all male monopoly. Florence paved the way for the future success of female trainers. She was clear about her position: ‘This was a matter of principle. I am a feminist. I believe in equal rights for women. Things should be decided by ability not sex.’ It was not until 1972 when the Ladies Jockey Association was inaugurated that women were first allowed to race on the flat, and then in 1976 they could ride the jump. (Hargreaves 1994).

In Australia, women soon made their mark following the changes brought about by Jones and others. These included Pam O’Neill from Brisbane who has had the highest profile of any of Australia’s women riders. She was the wife of former leading Brisbane jockey Colin O’Neill who was now a trainer. She had ridden around 25 winners from 50 mounts against female riders and amateur males. Colin was behind her push for equal opportunity. Pam was the first Australian woman to win in the professional ranks winning three races at the Southport track on the Gold coast, a world record for a jockey of either sex on his or her debut. Pam’s story provides an example of the strength of the support given to women riders in domestic situations when they are situated or situate themselves within families or intimate relationships that comprise ‘insiders’ in the racing industry.

An examination of these selected historical examples of participation and change for women in racing shows that the racing industry has been highly regulated both informally through its clubs and formally through government. The history also shows the classist and sexist parameters that have been supported and maintained by the industry. Case studies of women becoming able to ride against men and advocating for change have illustrated where efforts for change in the future may be best directed. Women riders themselves utilized the discourse of equality of opportunity that was emerging in the broader society. They also utilized their habitus of strength, tenacity and skill developed as riders, and social capital in the form of alliances with and support from influential men in the industry and others in powerful positions such as the press. It can be seen that individual trailblazers operating at particular points in time have enabled a shift in the
culture. However, women jockeys are still denied genuine acceptance by race-horse owners and trainers.

**Women in Australian Racing - towards the 21st century**

Commentaries about women in the racing industry in the late twentieth century following the changes that enabled women to ride against men in races are few. However, amongst contemporary writing about women in racing are several biographies, autobiographies as well media productions, and occasional press articles. Penton (1987) is one of the few writers on racing who directly addresses the issues of women’s work as jockeys and tracks their involvement. He outlines the situation as it stood in 1982 after three years of women being able to race as professionals in Australia. Apart from the initial thrust by Pam O’Neill and Linda Jones to be able to ride against men and the intense interest that this evoked, there was a barren period for women jockeys. He maintains that the only real progress for the women’s cause was in 1980 when the VRC organized a feature race, inviting international women jockeys to ride against Harry White and Roy Higgins. The race was won by Pam O’Neill.

Penton (1987) points out that racing is somewhat of a closed society with family and connections being all important. He describes an almost tribal subculture. He points out that in the early days for women as professional jockeys those that were successful, without exception, had the backing of some strong family connection and encouragement. This enabled them to get rides. Linda Jones and Pam O’Neill were both married to trainers whose horses they rode. Diane Mosely was apprenticed to her father and the horse that she rode with much success was owned by her parents. Beverly Buckingham was apprenticed to her father and rode horses that the family owned. Debbie Healy’s parents in New Zealand bought a horse with the express purpose of ensuring that Debbie would get some rides. The only exception to this family connection documented by Penton is Maree Lyndon who was however strongly supported by the powerful Brian Smith stable at Rosehill. These examples also illustrate what Penton (1987:304) calls the ‘closed society’. He likens the racing industry to a tribal community in which family and connections are key organizing principles. He describes the industry as being made up of trainers, jockeys and their spouses. In Australia, racing families whose involvement goes back generations include the Waterhouses, the Hoysteads, the Clarkes, the Hoods, the Courtneys, the Millers, the Coxes and the Wootons. The importance of this family connection or strong support from an individual trainer in the lives of jockeys was explored and confirmed in the interviews with the jockeys (Chapter Five).

Penton questions whether the women would have done so well without this support from family. He outlines what he sees as two main problems for women jockeys. The first he calls “a matter of muscle” (Penton 1987:260) saying that owners and trainers were not convinced that women had the physical capacity to control the position of horse in races or to push on lazy horses at the crucial end of the race. The second problem he identifies is that of opportunity. Jockeys need a volume of rides in order to have a good ratio of winners. It is this ratio on which their reputation, and thus chances of getting more horses to ride which have a chance of winning, rest. Though women were showing their mettle...
by winning when given the chance, women were simply not getting the volume of rides. This is confirmed in the data collected and presented in Chapter Five. Women are rarely put on horses that are expected to win or place (even though they consistently do better than the odds would suggest) thereby perpetuating the myth that women jockeys are not as good.

Penton also points to the difference between city and country racing outlining how women’s presence was seen as being more welcome and less of a novelty on country and provincial racetracks as opposed to city venues. The city venues are where the sport becomes more professional and where the stakes money is higher. He also makes a point of the violent nature of the sport giving the example from England in 1982 when apprentice Michael Hills smacked Susan Gilbert in the face with his whip after a race resulting in her spending three weeks in hospital.

The sexism of the racing industry in Australia in its attitudes to women jockeys, and the levels of harassment that women jockeys experience has been documented in first hand accounts of women still in the industry. Gai Waterhouse a prominent woman trainer comments in her biography,

\[ \text{It’s worse for jockeys than for trainers ....and at the moment their chances of making it as jockeys are zilch. It’s not that the girls aren’t tough enough – owners are reluctant to give them a go (Perkins, 1996:292).} \]

Beverly Buckingham, a highly successful jockey in Tasmania, also speaks in her autobiography of the levels of outright sexism that she encountered as a jockey, told by trainers that they would not put a girl on their horses. She comments on the continued exclusion of women jockeys.

\[ \text{The following month (1987) when New Zealander Maree Lyndon became the first women to ride in a Melbourne Cup, it looked as if racing was catching up with the outside world. Less than a decade after the first female apprentices signed up to be jockeys, women riders were mounting up in the two biggest events of the calendar. Yet since 1987 only one other female rider has been given the opportunity to ride in either of the big races.- New Zealander Linda Ballantyne in the 1989 Melbourne Cup. Plenty of talented Australian girls have staked a claim as apprentices, but have not been given the opportunities on good horses after losing their apprentices weight claim. The Payne sisters, Therese and Maree are good examples. They were probably just as talented as their brother Paddy as apprentices. Paddy is now rated in the top handful of jockeys and has ridden champions such as Tie The Knot and Northerly.....We’ll never know whether Therese or Maree could have done just as well. They didn’t get the chance to learn how to control races on superior horses, and benefit from the confidence and credibility that comes with making big wins look easy. It always seems to come back to the old bar room assumption that women aren’t strong enough to make it as a jockey. What a joke! If you went into the jockey’s room after a Melbourne cup you would find at least half a dozen collapsed bags of skin and bone, utterly spent from having starved themselves to get their weight down. A} \]
fifteen year old girl could beat them in an arm wrestle in that state let alone a fit natural lightweight women jockey (Mottram and Buckingham: 2003, 116-117).

Buckingham’s comments echo the themes of this thesis: that women’s skills and tenacity are not recognized, that the racing industry is resistant to including women, and that the skills demonstrated by women jockeys disrupt the binary of traditional notions of male and female physical and emotional strength. This challenge to male/female gendered roles that the women jockeys embody produces a backlash in the form of extreme discrimination against and harassment of women jockeys. Examples of this are provided in the interviews, in the results of the quantitative section of this study, as well as in the literature described in this chapter.

The documentary production “A girl, a horse, a dream”, made by filmmaker Rachel Lenders (Lenders 2004) and screened on SBS on March 26, 2004, tells the story of Bernadette Cooper, a top jockey in New South Wales. Bernadette, though proving herself over and over, and being generally acknowledged as a very competent rider, is still overlooked for rides in comparison with males with a similar level of skill. The documentary also graphically illustrates the astonishing levels of harassment endured by women jockeys at the hands of the men.

Cooper, in the documentary, claims that there have been great improvements

The dark side still exists in the industry, but I don’t think to the extent that it did 20 years ago. I still face a massive struggle and girls in 10 years time still will. It’s cleaned up along the sexual harassment lines, but as far as equal opportunity goes, oh absolutely as hard as ever.

However there is a scene in the program which belies Bernadette’s claims of sexual harassment having been ‘cleaned up’ in racing. At a country racetrack a young woman jockey has to go the men’s change rooms to watch her race replayed as the women’s rooms don’t have a television. As she watches, two men join her, one sitting either side of her, and invite her to star in a porn film with them. They ask her what her porn name would be, invade her personal space generally make pests of themselves.

As Nicole Brady (2004) comments in her review of this program.

That the pair do so while knowing that they are being filmed for a national television documentary suggests how entrenched sexual harassment must be still in some pockets of racing.
Penton sums up (1982:259)

_Bearing in mind that changes to all systems must be accompanied by passages of time, just how far could women jockeys continue the forward march in such a male dominated sport? Could they reach the pinnacle by riding in (and winning) the Melbourne Cup? The answers to these questions seem a long way off._

By 2005 there had still been only three women who had ridden in the Melbourne Cup, Maree Lyndon in 1987, New Zealander Linda Ballantyne in 1989 and Clare Lindop in 2003.

**Conclusion – the work of a jockey, equal opportunity legislation and women in Australian racing**

This chapter reviewed ABS and other data about the work of the jockey, the place of the Australian racing industry in broader Australian economy, issues of women’s participation in the workforce and pay equity. It also addressed notions of equality and inequality, and tracked how over the course of the twentieth century equality for women has increasingly been framed in the context of the world of work as measured against the ‘Benchmark man’, creating a binary with the women as ‘other’ or opposite to the male benchmark. The equal opportunity legislation has not delivered the changes that were hoped for when it was introduced due to contested discourses of equal opportunity, the reliance on a legislative solution, the implementation of an equality agenda through a system dependent on precedent and staffed with ‘benchmark men’, and the mobilization of a backlash agenda in the late twentieth century which re-emphasized women’s domestic role. In addition the reliance on this legislative solution has defected attention from examining the cultural and social aspects of particular workplaces and industries. However positive change for women made possible by the legislation was a product of changing discourses about women, the mobilization of women through social structures and organizations, and the emergence of change champions who had, or were able to gain coalitions with those with the social capital. The chapter has detailed which pieces of legislation are considered in this work and re-iterated the approach to be taken in the analysis to come. Later Bourdieu’s schema within a broad theory of justice, will be applied to the situation of women jockeys. The field of contestation for capital that is the Australian racing industry, the particular habitus of women jockeys, and how these factors interact form a strong and enduring net of paradoxical social spaces for women jockeys. The next chapter advances the discussion by locating a range of discourses pertaining to the racing industry and its participants within Bourdieu’s structuring categories of capital, field and habitus.
CHAPTER TWO

CONSTRUCTING CAPITAL, FIELD AND HABITUS IN HORSERACING

A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse

(Richard 111, William Shakespeare, Octopus books 1981)

This chapter advances the argument that the low numbers of women jockeys, and the lack of recognition for their demonstrable skill, needs to be analysed by locating the question within a broader social and historical space, one that is powerful, longstanding and provides the basis of the modern industry in which these women choose to work. The chapter uses Bourdieu’s schema of capital, field and habitus along with the cosmopolitan theory of justice to critically evaluate the cultural factors that underlie the world of work for women jockeys. It also provides further background to the introduction of equal opportunity legislation in Australia as it relates to the horse-racing industry.

Discourses of the horse and rider and the place of the horse in human society are integral to the discussion of women jockeys. The racing industry in Australia is a social field that is strongly influenced by both instrumental/economic and mythical/ritualistic discourses. These competing discourses are utilised in different ways and at different times by industry participants to gain and use forms of capital. The forms of capital described by Bourdieu (Swartz, 1997: 74) - economic, cultural, social and symbolic - are gained and displayed in the social space that is the thoroughbred horseracing industry. Jockeys compete for capital through association with the horse. However, in the interviews women jockeys indicate that, compared to male jockeys, their desire to interact with the horse, is a much stronger motivating factor than any rational pragmatic factor such as economic success and social status.

This thesis argues that for women jockeys the cultural depth of the nature of the horse/human relationship is a crucial factor. The horse/human relationship, with its intensity over time, also illustrates the importance of giving serious consideration to factors that are not directly observable and not necessarily able to be well articulated in language. These factors are experienced viscerally through the semiotic focus of kinesics and proxemics, (communication through interpersonal movement and touch activity). This was indicated in the interviews when the women, while giving short answers to some of the questions, gave a different meaning to the issues around their relationships with horses through a change in tone and intensity of their responses and an enlivened attitude to discussing this aspect of their life and work. The issue of the passionate desire that many women express with regard to their interaction with horses is examined in this chapter which develops the theory of hyperphysicality. This factor – hyperphysicality - underpins the argument about why women’s inclusion and competence is so resisted and why they are so resilient in the face of such resistance. The presence of the horse and the sense of the horse-rider having greater or heightened physicality is a key theme. I argue
that this is crucial in understanding why women find it so difficult to gain recognition as professional race riders and why female jockeys are so persistent in the pursuit of their chosen career. The horse is associated with a social superiority that is still reluctantly conferred upon women. In Fraser’s (1997) terms many women jockeys suffer from lack of respect and recognition. Their needs and skills remain largely unrecognised yet recognition and respect are key elements in the jockey’s success. For women to succeed in their work they need to be well regarded so as to be offered rides on horses that are likely to win. Yet as the data (Chapter Five) shows, women jockeys are systematically denied recognition of their demonstrable skill.

The theorising of hyperphysicality encompasses the oneness that is experienced by riders on a visceral level as well as a sense of connectedness at a cultural level leading to an experience of enhanced physicality and elevated status. It is equally formed by physical experience and the deep cultural basis to interaction with horses outlined in this chapter. Aspects of the horse/human relationship used as examples in this chapter include an inter-related history that stretches back over millennia, the place in human society of the horse as a key actor in economic development, warfare and also as a signifier of status, culture and high art in western culture right up to the present day. While in Western cultures the horse is now mainly used as a companion or recreational animal its role as a central economic actor continues within the racing industry. Within the racing industry the horse/rider relation is the primary element in success or failure. The chapter outlines selected examples of aspects of this cultural factor, the relationship between horses and people. The chapter aims to illustrate the depth of this human/horse relationship through western culture and the tenacity of its influence on culture in the modern/post-modern age in late twentieth century/early twenty-first century Australia. It begins by reviewing sociological analyses that pertain to this topic.

ANIMAL AND HUMAN INTERACTION IN SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

A number of writers (Cudworth 2003, Game 2001, Adams 1995, Serpell 1986, Haraway 1980) have addressed issues of animal/human relationships from a sociological perspective. This is a fertile and emerging field of research. There have been valuable analyses of the racing industry which have included a focus on women jockeys (Cassidy 2002, Hedenborg 2007, Adelman and Moraes 2007), and work addressing the mutual corporeality of the horse/human relationship (Birke and Brandt 2009). However no current work combines the cultural background of horsemanship with the experience of riding in quite the same way as in my theory of hyperphysicality. Nor does any current work address the application of the legislative framework of equal opportunity to the situation of women jockeys. The subject has an interesting complexity in that it addresses a situation that is paradoxical in many respects. It is a highly competitive work environment where the merit principle is supposedly uppermost but where demonstrably superior skills are not recognised. It is an industry where the horse is both instrumental to economic success and an object of love, where economical considerations are supposedly paramount but no end of expense is spared to care for an animal that may have the status of a national hero through the winning of prestige races.
Several of the approaches that have been taken to discuss human/animal relationships are inadequate when looking at the example studied in this thesis. These address the human/animal relationship from the point of view of looking at ‘companion animals’ in which the examples used are small animal pets such as cats, dogs, fish etc (Serpell 1986). Other approaches concentrate on animal rights and the subordination and exploitation of animals as food. Cudworth (2003:160) provides a summary of these approaches pointing out that changes in attitudes towards human relationships with animals in the nineteenth and twentieth century have illustrated that, historically, nature and society have not been separate entities and that animals have long existed as an intrinsic part of human cultures. This is a key factor in my discussion of women jockeys. Cudworth outlines how eco-feminists such as Merchant (1980) have examined links between formations of gender and human relations with animals to suggest that scientific culture established a notion of a hierarchy of species to legitimate human domination of animals. She also notes that Haraway (1980) has observed the interrelatedness of discourses of racism, gender relations and class in historical scientific writings about animals. Likewise in the racing industry, hierarchical relationships abound. However there are times when the interests of the animal (in the racing industry, the horse) are as important in the social setting as the human rider particularly if the rider is female.

Cudworth’s summary of Benton’s (1993) theorising provides a framework that is useful for this discussion. This theorising takes a critical realism approach and accepts that animals exist as independent biological beings with their own physiological and psychological needs within and also beyond human understandings of them. Of significance to the discussion here is that Benton proposes the notion of animals having species-significant relations with humanity that are embedded in social relations. This is a key to the argument of this thesis. The horse is an integral social player in the world of the racing industry in a way that is quite different to the role of a dog or a cat in human social settings. In the racing industry the horse is not always seen as an object to be dominated or controlled but rather a partner in the enterprise. Indeed some human players, including trainers, accord the horse with equal or superior status to other humans in the enterprise. Horses are treated as a special category of species enjoying sensitive relationships with their riders, handlers and trainers. However, both the horses’ and their riders’ bodies are shaped, sculpted and maintained in the service of ‘the race’ and thus the needs of both the animals and their riders are subjugated. In other words, the hierarchical relationship that is expected according to theorists such as Merchant – human over animal – is not always realised.

The nature of this co-dependency of animal and human in the equine/human relationship of the racing industry is addressed in the schema of categories that Cudworth (2003:165) proposes from Benton’s model. These are; animals as a labour force, as food, as entertainment, for edification (as in documentaries of the natural world), as pets, as symbols for religious purposes, for commercial exploitation (as in factory farming) or they are framed as wild animals, existing outside human social practices. Horses in the racing industry fit into all of these categories with the exception of animals as food for humans although horse meat is used for the production of dog food and made into...
fertilizer for gardens. What Cudworth and Benton fail to theorise is the phenomenon of human/horse connectedness such as my notion of hyperphysicality. Hyperphysicality introduces the notion that horses become a vehicle for human bodily transformation and thus distinguishes the horse riding experience from other close human/animal relationships because the horse and the human need to work as one body. In successful riding this is what the experience feels like – one body. Birke (2009) described this mutual corporeality. However Game (2001) provides the most complete description of not just the mutuality of the experience but its transformative and transcendent aspect when she refers to Barclay’s (1980:xi) description of the centaur effect along with Durkheim’s (1976:417) joyful religious experience, a feeling that energies have been set free in us that are superior to those that are ordinarily at our command (further descriptions in the literature are provided later in this chapter). A degree of physical harmony, oneness and transcendence is experienced by the rider as well as a merging of identities at an interactional level.

Some of the aspects of this longstanding cultural connection over time are outlined below, illustrating the presence of the horse and horse/rider synergy across economic, symbolic and cultural levels.

**THE HORSE AS A VEHICLE FOR THE CREATION OF CAPITAL**

**History pre and ancient**

It is widely recognised that the relationship between humans and horses is one that has its beginnings in prehistory. (Dossenbach and Dossenbach 1985: 98, Dent 1974:6, Raber and Tucker 2005: 1) This history is evident in art works and literature from ancient cultures and continues to resonate in artefacts of contemporary times.

The very earliest cave paintings in Europe at Altamira and Lascaux and in the near east feature horses. For ancient civilisations such as the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Scythians and the Greeks, mastery of horses and the use of horses in warfare was a feature of the success of the entire civilisation. The nomadic Scythians spent most of their lives on horseback. The Assyrians are believed to have been the first civilisation to have used mounted warriors. This ancient dependence on horses for transport and warfare took place at a sophisticated level. Clay tablets containing detailed instructions on the maintenance, care and feeding on cavalry horses dating from the time of the Assyrians have been found. In Greece around 355 BC books were written on horsemanship by Xenophon that are still quoted and used today. Any modern tourist in Egypt, Greece or Italy will see images of horses, chariots and mounted warriors in any ancient site, museum or art gallery. From the paintings in Egyptian tombs, the sculptures on the Parthenon, decorations on ancient Greek pottery to the lifelike four bronze horses from St Mark’s Church in Venice images of the horse abound. In any examination of European culture or history the horse is integral to the story. The horse thus forms part of the historical backdrop to the modern educated cultural milieu.
Horse and development in Europe

Throughout European history the horse continued to be integral to the development of civilisations. The horse took the role of both beast of burden and warrior. The Romans, famous initially for well disciplined infantry, recruited Germanic and Celtic mounted warriors (Dossenbach and Dossenbach, 1985: 131). During the centuries of the Roman Empire the army changed from consisting mainly of infantry to a mostly cavalry force. This was due to the expansion of the empire and the need to engage with horse-borne enemies such as the Parthians and the Persians. (Dent 1974:22)

Horses played a central role in warfare in Europe. Horses were instrumental in numerous wars and battles from the Moor’s conquest of Spain to the invasion of Britain by the Normans documented by the Bayeux tapestry (Dossenbach and Dossenbach 1985:136). Horsemanship and horse-breeding continued to develop into the middle ages (the age of chivalry) which was characterised by images of the noble ‘knight’, and the development of military games known as tournaments (Dossenbach and Dossenbach, 1985:139). In the middle ages the horse itself became a weapon as heavier and heavier horses were bred for battle and trained to trample the enemy.

Alongside the horses used for warfare, there were other types of horses used for general transportation of various types. Horses were bred specifically for these different purposes. These ranged from the ‘sumpter’ which carried baggage to the ‘palfrey’ which was ridden and ‘courser’, bred for speed in delivering messages (Dent 1974: 27). The horse continued through history to be both a necessity for everyday life and a vehicle for glory and conquest. In short, the horse has been integral to economic and political developments throughout European history and was also central to cultural, social and symbolic capital.

The horse and religion

God forbid that I should go to any heaven in which there are no horses. (Robert B. Cunningham, 1917)

Horses have a place in human society as spiritual vehicles and spiritual companions, integral to the development and display of symbolic as well as cultural capital. Examples of this are to be found from the earliest of the prehistoric cave paintings where there is speculation that the paintings themselves were a spiritual practice (Dossenbach and Dossenbach, 1985:99). Egyptians mummified horses along with other domestic animals for the journey to the afterlife. In Greek mythology horses held a privileged position as sun gods as well as carriers and companions of the gods (Dossenbach and Dossenbach, 1985:110). The ancient Scythians preserved the bodies of their chieftains and ritually slaughtered horses to adorn their graves. The Spartans and Persians sacrificed horses to
the sun god and in Homeric Greece horse races were a part of the ritual of the funeral games.

In the religious text of a major world religion of today, Islam, the horse is present. The Koran sets out rules for breeding and training horses as well as giving spiritual advice pertaining to relationships with horses. For every barleycorn that is given to a horse Allah will pardon one sin. (Mohammed in the Koran - Dossenbach and Dossenbach 1985 : 132). A legend of the prophet Mohammed outlines the foundation of the breeding stock of the Arab horse. Mohammed ordered a herd of horses to be left without water for some time. They were then released and ran towards the oasis. As they ran to water he called them to war. The five mares who came to him rather than run to the water were the ones kept for breeding.

A number of spiritual and religious practices from around the world were recorded in the early twentieth century by the anthropologist of magic and religion, J.G. Frazer (1922). These include a prohibition for the king of a tribe of the African slave coast to look at any European, any horse or the sea (Frazer 1922; 172). The high priest of Rome (who was said to embody Jupiter) was prohibited from riding or even touching a horse (Frazer 1922:174). Fertility rituals of Scotland included the ritual honouring of the last sheaf of wheat or corn of the harvest and its presentation to a mare in foal (Frazer 1922:408). In Shropshire England the corn spirit takes horse form (Frazer 1922:460). This echoes an ancient Roman ritual whereby a chariot race was held on the field of Mars in October each year. A horse from the victorious team was sacrificed and its blood and body parts ritualistically distributed across Rome to ensure good crops (Frazer 1922:478).

The horse thus forms part of world mythology. Joseph Campbell, the Jungian scholar of mythology, argued for the importance of mythology in the human psyche.

She held the familiar modern opinion that “all these Greek Gods and stuff” are irrelevant to the human condition today. What she did not know - what most do not know- is that the remnants of all that “stuff” line the walls of our interior system of belief, like shards of broken pottery in an archaeological site. But as we are organic beings, there is energy in all that “stuff”. Rituals evoke it (Campbell and Moyers 1988:xiv).

Mantle also refers to the importance of the power of myth in human culture and the circular nature of the workings of mythology. Myths create reality rather than describe it. These myths are encoded into history, literature, film, critical commentary and everyday life (Mantle 2004: 247). There is also an argument that due to the dearth of spirituality and religion in contemporary Australian society, mass rituals such as the Melbourne Cup with its traditions of dressing up and partaking of particular food and drink have become modern secular pilgrimage events (Cusack and Digance in Toohey and Taylor, 2011:45).
The horse in art and culture in the west

In Western Europe the horse has had a role as a subject of, and participant in, high art and culture for centuries. The ownership and riding of particular horses in certain ways developed as an art form which is still practiced widely today in the form of the sports of dressage, eventing and in the training for almost all equine disciplines. The horse has also been a subject of art for millennia. During the middle ages, renaissance and until the time of the motor car the horse has also been a status object as well as a utilitarian partner in transport and daily work. Further, the horse also served as a cultural marker. Being mounted, and being mounted on a horse of quality, has been long recognised as giving the rider a status that is not possible to a pedestrian. This hyperphysical status is evident in the art of equitation developed by the aristocracy in the renaissance. This is well documented (Trench 1970, Longrigg 1972, Dent1974, Dossenbach and Dossenbach 1984). During this time aristocratic sponsors were keen participants in the academies of riding run by revered ‘masters’. The work of these masters is known and quoted up to the present day. Terminology such as ménage, airs, changing hands aids, collection, and the documentation and practice of ‘schooling’ movements such as piaffe, volte, passage and school gallop were developed and recorded in this era of the flowering of equitation as high art. The classical riding sponsored initially by royalty is preserved in modern times in institutions such as the Spanish Riding School in Vienna and the Cadre Noir of Saumur in France. There is still a cultural connection between royalty and horsemanship with the Head of State of our own country, the Queen of England, taking part in ceremonial occasions on horseback into her old age.

The horse has also been the subject of art works from prehistory onwards. Apart from Christian religious art, up until modern times the predominant art forms of portraiture and sculpture feature the horse in human company as a primary theme. This was particularly so in the art of ancient Egypt, Persia and classical Greek and Roman art. Leidtke (1989:13) proposes that the human figure apart, the horse was the canonical subject of Renaissance artists. Leidtke’s work (1989) makes a clear link between the arts of painting sculpture and horsemanship. He points out that in art from a range of sources, from celtic, classical roman to renaissance and baroque, in portraits of heroes, warriors and royalty, the horse is the subject as often as are people. He also proposes that the horse was used as a kind of mobile throne with the monarch, hero or warrior being mounted on a superior type of horse known as the ‘high horse’. In the baroque period, in royal portraits in which the monarch was mounted, a particular breed of horse was consistently used. This horse was the Spanish or Andalusian. The Andalusian while being not very tall, is solidly built and very beautiful. It has an imposing front or ‘presence’ giving the impression of the rider having greater physical stature.

One of the few references that directly addresses the deep cultural relationship between horses and humans is the collection edited by Raber and Tucker (2005). The editors argue for a deeper understanding of how the horse has shaped and participated in early modern culture as a tool for a deeper understanding of culture in the late twentieth century. They point out that the sudden removal of the horse from everyday participation in modern
culture in the mid-twentieth century by the advent of the motor car has blinded scholars to the importance of horses as participants in, and shapers of early modern culture.

_to write anything intelligent on the subject of the horse it is often necessary to combine training in the academic professions with training in or at least substantial exposure to, the arts and nuances of horsemanship; yet few people now ride, given the expense and cultural marginalisation of riding and even fewer of those are also academically trained (Raber and Tucker 2005:2).

Essays in this volume relate to the role of the horse as an agent and indicator of power, status, identity and self definition and its relationship historically to notions of power and control. Illustrations of these concepts include Kleimola’s essay (Raber and Tucker, 2005:45) on how the spread of the European elite ‘horse culture’ in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contributed to the shaping of the Russian culture making it more European during that time. Le Guin suggests that horses have represented human embodiment in western culture. Her essay explores this claim through examining the association of horsemanship with the embodied practice of making music and argues that both practices are linked to the idea of physical discipline as internalised social control (Raber and Tucker, 2005:175). Nash contributes to the discussion by proposing the thoroughbred horse as a cultural metaphor. This breed of horse, he argues is a ‘Nature-Culture’ hybrid contributing to the formation of a particular modern English cultural identity (Raber and Tucker, 2005:246).

In summary, the horse has been an integral player in human history in the west for millennia. Equine imagery has been integral to ancient and modern religions including one of the most influential modern religions, Islam. Horses have been instrumental in the development of empires and have been viewed through time as partners of conquerors and rulers. They have been revered in representational art and as a partner in the creation of a unique art form that is essentially a human/equine dance – dressage. They have been present at all levels of human existence – in cultural, economic, social and religious spheres as an indicator and agent of status and control. It is not argued here that the role of the horse remains unmediated by history, culture and local contexts. Obviously, the value of horses is reinterpreted according to such local contingencies. However, the point remains that horses have featured significantly in major human activities throughout history, including the thoroughbred racing industry and that along with strong cultural, political and economic roots, there has arisen a concomitant phenomenon pertinent to the horse/human symbiosis that can only be described in non-rational terms. It is this dimension that remains under theorised within the social sciences until quite recently, but which I argue in this thesis, accounts for the fierce determination among women riders and women jockeys to persist in a field that denies them equal opportunity to succeed compare to male riders. The cultural aspect of the horse/human connection forms part of the background to the shaping of the field of the workplace of thoroughbred horseracing at the top professional level in Victoria in the late twentieth century. This is an important factor in the shaping of the hyperphysicality of horse riding which underpins the work of the men and women who are professional jockeys. It is also a factor in explaining why women’s inclusion is so resisted but also why the women are so resilient in continuing to
work in a workplace that denies them equality of respect and recognition and thus the opportunity to succeed in their work. The next part of the chapter continues this cultural analysis focussing on the place of the horse and rider in Australian culture and reviewing the literature on the relationships between women and horses, further building the notion of hyperphysicality as it applies to women.

THE FIELD - RACING INDUSTRY AND SPORT IN AUSTRALIA - STRUCTURING WOMEN’S CHOICES

This section addresses the role of sport in Australian culture, reviews the history of regulation of the racing industry and looks at the historical role of the jockey. All of these aspects of the culture and the background to the racing industry form the field. Women jockeys come to this space with their experience of hyperphysicality built from a habitus of strength and competence combined with often romantic or non-rational discourses of the horse and rider that are redolent in western culture. With this romantic symbolism attached to horse and rider, young women enter the racing world that doubles as both sport and industry. Several points need to be made about the class and gendered nature of sport in Australia. In Australian society a number of high profile sports such as cricket, football and soccer institutionalize sexual difference and male gendered identity. This is particularly true for the racing industry with its cultural roots deeply embedded in a class and status saturated history with its methods of work organization unexamined and relatively unmodified over time. I argue that classist and gendered structures still hold sway in the industry today.

The role of sport as a creator and indicator of social order

Historically, exclusionary practices in sport, including horse racing, are emblematic of women’s subordinate status. Sport in Australia is a potent creator, marker and indicator of social order, status and gender identity. Sport sociologists (Hargreaves 1994, 2007, Volkwein-Caplan and Sankaran 2002, Messner 2007, Carless and Douglas 2010) have emphasised the importance of theorising to understand the role of sport in society and the role that sport plays in gender construction and maintenance. Hargreaves points out the inadequacy of the variety of sociological perspectives to deal with popular accounts of gender divisions in sports in that the issue of gender is frequently marginalised in some way. The important impact of feminist intervention into sports sociology has been to uncover ways in which men’s power over women in sports has been institutionalised (Hargreaves, 1994: 26). The history of the racing industry and the involvement of women in it, including their efforts to be allowed to ride on a professional level against men, illustrates how the structures and the culture of the industry institutionalise gender differentials which disempower women by misrecognising women’s competence and achievements. Some feminist theorists have argued that male dominated sports have so strongly resisted women’s inclusion due to their role in the creation and maintenance of male gender identity. As Lenskyj (1986:11) argued:
Sporting ability was hardly compatible with women’s traditional subordinate role in patriarchal society: in fact sport had the potential to equalize relations between the sexes. By minimizing socially constructed sex differences that had only tenuous biological bases, sport posed a serious threat to the myth of female frailty.

According to such theorists, the historical positioning of women as physically inferior has been achieved by using sport and participation in it as a point of definition and maintenance of ideas of femininity and masculinity. Sport has been a method of social control. Some sports sociologists (Hargreaves 1994, Mangan and Park 1987) have provided examples of this in horse riding and racing. Hargreaves (1994) points out some historical reference points to this when she discusses attitudes towards women riding to hounds in the first decades of the twentieth century in Britain (1994: 89). Women were obliged to ride side saddle because riding astride would have been seen as provocative and would risk breaking the hymen thus rendering a young woman less marriageable. At the same time riding was believed to enhance physical and mental well-being and improve the spirit, temper and appetite. Park (Mangan and Park, 1987: 83) also refers to the class and gender basis of equestrian sport with only upper class girls and women riding to hounds. Struna (1987) describes early horse races in the U.S. where women were allowed to ride to the horse races but not to compete in them. Although women have always been serious competitors in major equestrian events like the Olympic Games, they have fared far less well in the racing industry with its high level of economic and social rewards.

**Sport in Australian culture**

Social commentators and academics (Summers 1994, Toohey and Taylor 2011, Cusack and Digance 2011) have made reference to the importance of sport in the Australian cultural context. The centrality of sport to the Australian psyche has been a subject that has fascinated both sport studies scholars and a small number of academics from other disciplines (Toohey and Taylor, 2011: 1). Indeed, Cusack and Digance have likened the Melbourne cup to a secular pilgrimage event, participation in which, even vicariously, is central to Australian identity (in Toohey and Taylor, 2011: 40) with Mandle claiming that Australia’s national heroes are largely cricketers, tennis players, swimmers and boxers, even race horses ….Phar Lap would rate more highly than any politician, Don Bradman more than any artist (in Toohey and Taylor, 2011: 45). It is also claimed that sport makes a significant contribution to building local and national social capital. Sport shapes and cements national, gendered and cultural identities. The cultural centrality of sport in Australia means is carries a heavy political and cultural significance (Zakus, Skinner and Edwards in Toohey and Taylor, 2011: 159). The place of sport in Australian cultural life makes the insistence by women on inclusion and equal status with men extremely contested. High profile professional sport, whether it be football, surfing or horseracing represents a social terrain that was historically claimed by men in Australia. In the case of surfing women have made recent inroads but football and horseracing remain almost exclusively male domains especially at the elite levels.
Whether extolled or criticised, sport—particularly horse racing, football, and surfing—is recognised as being of particular significance to Australian men, and ranks with (beer) drinking, gambling and an obsession with cars as national pastimes. All these activities thus earn a mandatory mention by the carvers of cultural myths and stereotypes (Summers, 1994: 116).

An historical basis for this is explained by Crawford as a mechanism by which the Anglo-Saxon colonists of Australia claimed a sense of historical continuity with England (Crawford in Mangan and Park eds, 1987: 183). According to Crawford (1987) Australia was the most sporting country in the world and according to Summers (1994) both historically and as overwhelmingly a male preserve. Summers directly addresses the place of women in racing describing the relegation of women jockeys to low status picnic race meetings and the predominance of women in lower status menial roles in racing such as track riders and stable hands. She states that the racing industry does not give women the opportunities to share in the mystique and glamour surrounding those such as jockeys, who perform before the public and whose careers are kept before the populace by the Press (Summers, 1994: 118). Summers believes that in Australia, in racing and in most sports, there is active and overt discrimination against women. Tiddy (2001), former Sex Discrimination Commissioner in South Australia, confirms this, noting the abysmal record of gender relations within the racing industry.

Most working women are in subordinate, poorly paid jobs… There is considerable resistance in business organizations to the appointment of women to important positions, not least because of the well-known aversion to Australian men to having a woman as a boss. One of these days Australian men will find themselves confronted with a woman jockey. Then they will know the battle has finally been won (or lost) Tiddy, 2001:14).

Tiddy noted the increased participation of women jockeys in Tasmania in 1998 but rues the diminished numbers of female jockeys in the more prestigious and numerous races Victoria and New South Wales. Indeed Tiddy regarded the equality of women jockeys as a litmus test of women’s progress towards equality in Australia more generally. Although Tiddy sees Tasmanian racing and its inclusion of women as encouraging the evidence of this thesis indicates that women are poorly represented in large prestigious race meetings. In other words, women are visible only in country and amateur racing which is lower in social and economic status.

**Sport and equal opportunity in Australia**

There have been assessments of the application and the success of the equal opportunity legislation specifically addressing the realm of sport. Summers remarks on the progress for Australian women in sport:

*Sport remains a national obsession in Australia and although men are twice as likely as women to play sport, women’s sport is no longer the poor relation it was*
two decades ago... Nevertheless discrimination against women in sports is still rampant and was a major subject of investigation by the Lavarch committee which found cause for complaint in virtually every area of sports participation and administration…… The report also noted that very few women have used the Sex Discrimination Act to complain about unequal treatment in sport (Summers, 1994:116).

Hall (1996) similarly assessed the situation from an international perspective, believing that sport in general is stubbornly resistant to feminism and remains highly conservative. She believed that attempts towards gender equality in sport in general have not been successful and that the most beneficial aspect of legal action in relation to sport has been the media attention and consequent changes in public discourse in terms of increased awareness of equity law. In her 2005 review of progress in the ensuing years she remarks,

Our critical academic work is being ignored by the new policy makers and ‘femocrats’ of women’s sport, who are reluctant to engage with those who criticise the status quo. National and international women sports movements have become increasingly overly governmental, while grassroots organisers and critics are increasingly ignored, sidelined or displaced by glossy new committees (Hall 2005: 59 in Markula - ed).

Given the lack of information as to whether women jockeys have utilised the complaints provision of the Sex Discrimination Act (the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission does not collect data on the employment status of complainants) and considering that the EOWWA does not cover women jockeys at all, it is not difficult to see how professional race riding has been able to resist the thrust of the legislation towards equal outcomes for women. The following section contextualises the historical sources of current structures and regulatory procedures that work to maintain employment processes which are exclusionary for women.

The sport of horse racing - A bastion of classist and gendered subcultures from the beginning

Histories of the racing industry show how the current structures have developed and why they are so deeply embedded in the culture of the racing industry. The history of the industry highlights the hierarchical nature of its organisation with reference to class structure and high levels of regulation. This and the prevailing mythologies of the realm of racing form the culture of the industry. The mythological ethos is that the racing industry is a social space where ‘luck’ can turn around the fortunes of participants and wealth and status can be attained and displayed. Many aspects of the discourses around racing have their roots in the historical development of the sport.

The current form of horse racing in the western world developed in England where, from the beginning, gender and status hierarchies were crucial in determining who
participated. One of the first forms of racing was steeple-chasing which was limited to men of substance and was not considered suitable for ladies (Mountier, 1993: 4).

Ironically, the sport which is now referred to as the ‘Sport of Kings’ is one that was founded by a Queen. Queen Anne, who reigned 1702-14 not only originated racing for money in 1714 at Doncaster, but in the same year she became the first owner to win any (Blue, 1987: 190). In the reign of Charles II horseracing became institutionalized. The king himself was an enthusiastic participant in racing and personally helped to formulate the rules of racing and act as an arbiter in disputes. Horseracing became a major feature of his court (Mountier, 1993:4).

Interestingly, the King founded a race in 1665 where women rode against men. It is still contested today and, until 1974 when amateur rider races were open to females in Britain, remained the only race in England in which women could ride (Mountier 1993:5). This was an early example of individuals in positions of power making a difference and challenging the prevailing norms. In Britain women continued to participate in whatever capacity was available to them. For instance in 1804 Alicia Meynell rode side saddle in a race at York against Captain William Flint. In 1925 Eileen Joel won the four mile Newmarket Town Plate. In 1972 the jockey club agreed to allow 12 women’s events on the racing calendar (Penton 1987: 239).

From the beginning as an organized sport racing in Britain developed as an activity and interest for the upper class male. The only people who could afford the leisure of owning horses specifically for racing were the upper class. Jockeys were drawn from the ranks of the lower social strata and were essentially servants beginning as indentured apprentices in a system that still has its echoes in Australia today. In Australia owning or having shares in a race horse is a status symbol and jockeys still begin as apprentices, earning a set wage, with any winnings from races being kept for them in trust and paid over on completion of the apprenticeship. The status of the jockey has changed but, apart from the well-known ‘stars’, the work of the jockey remains low status, reflecting the historical background of the industry.

The extent to which the sport of thoroughbred racing was an agent for social control and resisted any social mobility through racing is seen in Vamplew’s description of a situation that developed in the early 20th century in Britain when top jockeys began to be paid substantial retainers. At this time top class jockeys were in demand and as such attracted high levels of remuneration (in 1910 Danny Maher obtained 8,000 pounds in fees). This caused much comment as it was a situation that was:

A situation apparently incompatible with their vision of the social order. One critic voiced the outrage felt by others about this ‘school of skinny dwarfs whose leaders are paid better that the greatest statesman in Europe’, and their disgust that ‘the commonest jockey boy in this company of manikins can usually earn more than the average scholar or professional man’. These ‘uneducated and promoted stable lads’ had in common the cardinal sin of earning more than their ‘betters’ thought was right for the working class (Vamplew 1976: 147,148).

Other comments made about this situation at the time included calls that jockeys be kept in their ‘proper position’ and that jockeys should not undermine the authority of the
owners (Vamplew 1976:148). To this end, young apprentices were considered an advantage in the early and mid-nineteenth century as it was thought easier to discipline them (Vamplew 1976: 152,153). The point is that historically the role of the jockey was that of a lowly servant and deliberate attempts were made to ensure the maintenance of social hierarchies by the racing industry. This was the background on which the Australian racing industry was based from its earliest years.

**Racing In Australia – Continuing class and gender hierarchies**

The first official colonial race meeting for thoroughbred race horses was held at Hyde Park in Sydney in October 1810 with the official sanction of Governor Lachlan Macquarie. Soon annual races became a feature of Sydney life (Vamplew and Stoddart 1994; 97). The rules of racing were important and were transferred directly from England. Racing was a highly regulated recreational activity. As settlement spread horse racing developed from an ad hoc special event into a regular social gathering. The description by Morrison of the development of the Sale Race Club (1992: 12, 14) is probably typical of the way horse racing developed in many country areas. From 1846 race meetings were held annually. These meetings were run by members of the race club with this club forming a focus for social activity. Land was granted for the racecourse in 1857.

*As horses were an integral part of the early life of Gippsland it was not surprising that horse racing and hunting became two of the most important means of recreation and entertainment in the social calendar...racing was an outlet in which most settlers could participate and, although all the horses may not have been thoroughbreds, they were certainly stayers. Many a horse racing at local picnic meetings had been round the stock in the morning, been ridden to the race meeting in the afternoon and then finished the day by carrying his owners safely home (Morrison, 1992: 12, 14).*

The beginnings of racing in the country were more egalitarian but state-wide regulation soon developed which concentrated power over racing in the hands of the upper classes. In 1864, the Victoria Racing Club was founded and took over responsibility from other smaller clubs. This body then controlled racing in Victoria. Melbourne and Sydney became pre-eminent horse racing centers and the Melbourne Cup, first run in 1861, became one of the world’s great handicap races (Australian Encyclopedia 1996: 1563). However, racing in the other colonies was less successful due to the general lack of prosperity there compared to Melbourne with the boom of the gold rush and Sydney with its busy harbour. In Queensland, Tasmania and South Australia, the status of racing remained comparable to country racing. This distinction remains today with the racing industries in Victoria and New South Wales being pre-eminent, highly professional and attracting a great deal of money. This distinction is significant for the place of women jockeys because the bifurcated system mimics the gender distinction between male and female jockeys; the latter rarely being chosen to ride in the top races in the premium Melbourne and Sydney racing carnivals.
Although the standard of racing varied around the Australian colonies its parameters were set by the late nineteenth century. In the larger colonies racing had become an industry which employed significant numbers of trainers, jockeys and stable hands but its chief function remained that of a social occasion. In country districts racing provided a rare opportunity for people of all classes to get together but, as each district grew and took on a greater sense of its own importance, the mingling of the classes was lessened and the barriers between them were raised. An example of the rigidly maintained hierarchical gender and class distinctions on the racecourse was provided by the Australian Jockey Club (AJC) at Randwick, as described:

*In the 1890’s Randwick patrons paid one shilling for admission to the flat – the areas inside the course enclosed by the running rail. Those who paid an additional two shillings were admitted to the St Leger section on the opposite side of the finishing straight but well before the winning post. For a further ten shillings patrons were admitted to the paddock section, an area closer to the winning post which enabled patrons to see the horses before they raced and to watch them being saddled. The paddock included a grandstand which gave patrons a panoramic view of the course: however prime positions in this stand was reserved for AJC members by a wooden railing which protected them from too close a contact with the general public. Members also had the official stand which gave the best view of the course. The official stand was available for a further one guinea fee, to those members of the public who had paid for admission to the paddock, but within that stand there were further areas restricted to ‘members only’ and ‘men only’. In order to sit in the official stand a labourer would have to spend the equivalent of about three days pay. If money was the basis of class distinction in the Australian colonies it was most apparent on the more developed racecourses (Vamplew and Stoddart, 1994:103-105).*

The argument drawn from the earliest history of racing in Australia and its British cultural precedents is that from its formative developments thoroughbred racing has developed a culture that persists today certainly in a more socially complex milieu but where class and gender stratifications continue to mark the field. At the racecourses themselves there are particular areas where different participants are, and are not, permitted. For example jockeys are segregated within their own area and male and female jockeys have different change/rest rooms. Race-goers are segregated depending on whether they are race club members who have superior viewing areas or racing club officials who have separate eating and viewing areas. As the racing personnel interviewed (Chapter Five) attest, entry to the racing industry is still filtered by connections with, and support from, those already in the industry. Patronage from a trainer is essential at the entry level to the work and for continued participation as a rider. All of these historically entrenched social stratifications are pertinent to an understanding of the racing industry in Australia as it pertains to the admission of women as elite jockeys.
HORSES AND HABITUS

Constructing the radical habitus of the equestrian woman

She’s quite incredible, she really is such a force of nature. She has so much joy and nothing gets her down. I would see her go through days of agony, then get up the next day win a big race- just incredible tenaciousness. (Rachel Lenders :The Age Green guide March 25 2004:16)

The next section reviews the place of the horse in Australian culture arguing that the cultural significance of horses is even more central in Australia than in other countries due to the wide spaces that are not easily traversed on foot. It then advances the argument of the radical habitus for equestrian women through hyperphysicality by addressing the recent phenomena of the ‘natural horsemanship’ movement and reviewing some of the literature about women and horses that claims a special relationship/connection between horses and women. I have argued that the work of the jockey is influenced by cultural phenomena that saturate the equestrian world. Within Australia this includes the centrality of the place of the horse in where interaction with horses was both necessary and historically more affordable than in European countries. The necessity of the horse in developing Australia has informed a key mythology of the racing industry, that is, that people from all walks of life can succeed. It is of interest that, in a country where it was not unusual for women to play a significant role as pioneers in the agricultural and grazing industries, women were deliberately and systematically denied access to professional race-horse riding until the advent of the equal opportunity legislation and concomitant discourses in the 1970s. To some extent though women jockeys have been able to draw upon this tradition of Australian women as strong, independent and resilient workers alongside men. The development of their radical equestrian habitus is thus built upon a peculiarly Australian tradition of horse and rider.

The horse in Australian culture

The horse has been a partner in the conquest of Australia by Europeans and instrumental in the agricultural development of the country. This is epitomised in the legendary drover/pastoralist figure. The horse in Australia has also been a partner in two of the wars that Australians have fought overseas (the Boer, the First World War) adding again to their role in Australian cultural mythology. The place of horses in white Australian history has been documented by Ballantine (1976) and Carruthers (2008) among others. Ballantine (1976:8) points out the ubiquitousness of the horse in the social fabric of Australia. Before World War 1 there was one horse for every two people in Australia. She quotes the example of a particular Melbourne confectioner who had 108 delivery horses and a coach service that had 6000 horses in harness every day. The horse is no longer such an integral part of daily economic life but now primarily a source of pleasure. Ballantine also claims that Australia’s national culture has an equestrian theme. This is due to the integration of the horse into the white human history of the nation. Seven
horses arrived with the first fleet, and at least two women were transported to the colony for horse stealing (Margaret Catchpole and Mary Reiby). In the early days of white settlement military officers and free landowners had horses and horse ownership was thus a class or status marker. Ballantine (1976:8) claims that this quickly established a cult of horse ownership. Thus the horses which were imported into the colony were of high quality and many of the leading citizens took the importing and breeding of quality horses very seriously. Before long Australian bred horses were being exported for use by the British Army in India. The State Library of NSW claims that

Ownership of a thoroughbred horse in the 19th Century can be equated to prestige car ownership today. Colonial businessmen, gentlemen of fashion, landowners and sportsmen, all sought to document the pedigrees of their prized horseflesh for breeding purposes, and often commissioned portraits from leading animal painters such as Edward Win Stanley and Joseph Fowles. (Galloping to immortality www.usyd.edu.au/alumni/images/content/activities/magazine/2008-summer/sam_sport_sum08.pdf -)

Horses also accompanied Australians to war. The famous Australian Light Horse regiments were mounted infantry formed as a citizens’ militia in a time when Australia could not afford a large scale army. It was said that the Australian Light Horse owed their success to the Reserve or Citizen Force nature of their training. As shooting and riding were skills most young men of the time, especially those in rural areas, learned in their childhood and early teens, the horse regiments were well equipped to carry out the tasks of war. Famous heroic battles were fought by Australians in the First World War including the taking of Damascus and Beersheba by light horse regiments. It is claimed that the Turkish opposition were better armed but intimidated by the fierceness and speed of the Australians. (Australian Reserve Forces Day Council :2008,http:www.rfd.org.au/site/light_horse.asp). These stories have formed the background to the cultural ideology of an equine nation.

Mantle (2004) relates how the nature of the vast country that European settlers found themselves in led the development of equestrian skills for settlers. In Britain, travel on foot was feasible between villages and towns and the ownership of a horse for transportation was largely restricted to the upper classes. In Australia, the distances to be covered meant that even the poorer settlers needed horses for transport. Australia thus developed into a nation where horses were intrinsic to society and culture in a more pervasive way than in the old country.

An identification with equestrianism that has persevered, although in changing contexts into the twenty-first century......The iconography, and mytho-history on which this notion of uniqueness rests was created by the activities and skills of Australian stock riders and by their image makers –poets, writers and artists – who sometimes demeaned but more typically heroised them ( Mantle 2004: 2 )

Mantle maintains that this equine mytho-history primarily created through the ideal of the stockman was continually balanced with the equestrian culture that the upper classes in
Australia copied and brought from Britain. The culture of equestrian nobility (Mantle 2004:90), from the middle ages depicted in the romantic figure the mounted knight, combined in Australia with a more pervasive and egalitarian equine culture necessitated by needs of the everyday work of the colony requiring vast distances to be traversed by settlers. Mantle (2004:212) also refers to the large number of colonial art works that featured the horse and rider as the central figures. In the late 1800’s paintings featuring stockmen and bushrangers abounded as did ‘bush poetry’ by authors such as Adam Lindsay Gordon and A.B. Paterson. These works have become the classics of Australian literature. It is notable that this equine culture did not exclude women except in some instances; riding horses in races against men was one of them, where women’s participation had to be legislated against but this, of course, becomes reversed via enabling legislation in the late twentieth century (Chapter One). It was more often the case in Australian rural history that women, both indigenous and white, were notable stock riders and drovers. These included the Durack women and Daisy Bates who drove their own mobs of cattle and Kate Kelly and ‘Red Jack’, female stock workers (Mantle 2004:249).

The immersion of the equine in Australian culture thus crossed the boundaries of class, race and gender, practicality and high culture, tradition and innovation. This is the background which has led to the racing industry in Australia taking such prominence as a national icon. This is the country with the ‘race that stops a nation’; the Melbourne Cup. But it is also a history that has granted women a degree of respect as equal contenders to men as tough and experienced riders. In short a cultural background of heroic equestrian iconography along with an agricultural industry in which horse ownership was necessary has fed a modern phenomenon of horse culture. The horse/human interaction popularly known as ‘natural horsemanship’ has since emerged as a discourse in Australian equestrian culture.

**Current- horse whisperer human and natural world**

Over the past sixty years the place of the horse in human society has changed from instrumental use in economic activity to largely recreational use. During this time there has been the development worldwide of a new discourse of the horse and rider. This discourse of ‘natural horsemanship’ known in popular culture as ‘horse whispering’ is one where the horse is a creature of dignity to be persuaded to act as a partner to its human owner/Handler/rider. (The popularisation of this discourse is evident in cinematic representations, such as *The Horse Whisperer* (1998) and *Buck* (2012). No longer is the horse to be dominated and controlled but rather the horse and rider form a collaborative partnership. While this could appear to favour the approach that women take to riding, it provides yet another space within the racing industry where women’s capacities are undervalued. Women are positioned paradoxically through this new discourse as, on the one hand having the emotional intelligence to understand and calm fractious racehorses but, on the other, this assumption about a ‘natural’ nurturing attribute is then used to position women as inept at winning in a gruelling horse race at full gallop where physical and emotional toughness and strength are needed. Thus while the horse has managed to
maintain an integral place in human culture, women’s capacities under this new social paradigm have continued to be turned against them as they struggle for recognition as jockeys.

The shift in the way that animals are viewed is covered by Franklin (1999) who discusses how in post modernity there has been an increased concern about wild animals aligned with anxiety about pollution of soil, water-ways and seas. He claims that there has also been an increased humanisation of companion animals and that this area of animal/human relations is a demonstration of the substitution of animals for close human ties. In this argument pets are fulfilling a human need for affiliation in a time of weakening familial, friendship and community ties (Franklin 1999:5). Once again this sociological work provides a background to the development of the popularity of natural horsemanship.

The utility of the horse has been always accompanied by a reverence for its beauty, size and willingness to co-operate with humans as well as a sense of connection that has been expressed at times in overtly spiritual/religious terms. In the racing industry the horse/human relationships have on the surface changed little over several hundred years even though training techniques and ways of relating to the animal such as the natural horsemanship framework have evolved. In the natural horsemanship way of operating with horses, there is an abhorrence of the use of force or violence. Instead methods are used which work with the horse’s natural instincts inviting or gently urging the horse to desire to be a ‘partner’ to the human. Several proponents of this method have become world famous in the late twentieth century through the clever marketing of their training packages. These include Monty Roberts, (1997) Pat Parelli (1993) and John Lyons (http://www.johnlyons.com/faq.php)

The overall theme of this newly marketed method of horse training is a model of relationship building using the ‘language’ or communication methods that horses use with each other in their natural herd situation. This involves training people to read a horse language that comprises physical non-verbal signs. Explanations of these philosophies also emphasise the interrelatedness of the horse/human relationship and the way that working with horses can enhance human personal development. This horse/human connection forms part of the background to the hyperphysicality of horse riding. This is the oneness of horse and rider where there is a connection that is not easily explained through language. Some writers have likened it to a quasi-spiritual, visceral embodied euphoria.

Founded in 1981 by lifelong horseman and teacher Pat Parelli, the Parelli Program combines common sense psychology and communication. Unlike many training programs, the Parelli method teaches the human, not the horse. Early on, Pat realized that horses already had all the skills they needed to thrive and relate with their kind. It was adding the human element that complicated things. Horse owners who follow the Parelli program have found the greatest gift is discovering that Parelli enhances not only their relationship and communication with the horse, but touches every other relationship in their lives.  

([http://www.parelli.com/content.faces?groupType=PARELLIINFO](http://www.parelli.com/content.faces?groupType=PARELLIINFO))
Roberts (1997: 370) describes the taming of a mustang in the wild without the use of force or constraint.

_In the same way as in the round pen, Dually and I were communicating with this wild horse in the language it understands, its mother tongue, Equus. On a horse as highly schooled as Dually, I could use these delicate interpretive movements – and so I could reach out to this mustang, and let him know we could be trusted. Dually was part of my body, the speed and delicacy of his responses made it possible. I can get a quarter of an inch out of Dually: he’s that accurate when he answers to my commands (my emphasis)_

True unity with horses is what compels the most dedicated of Horsemen. To have that mental, emotional and physical unity is something so special. It’s not so much the result as who you have to become to achieve it. This is why the Masters are so exemplified and their teachings followed. Ultimately there is no-one to judge you but the horse himself. The ultimate in Natural Horse.Man.Ship is to become one with nature and the horse is nature in its finest form (Parelli 1993: 1).

The endurance of the horse human relationship and its continuity through epochs of human cultural change is illustrated by this new discourse. Even though the horse is not now necessary for functional requirements in everyday life, there has emerged a new discourse relating to human self-development. The new discourse of a ‘natural horseman’ exemplifies self-control and application to learning and development. However even though this discourse explicitly abhors the use of violence and strength to coerce, and is ostensibly equally accessible to men and women, the leading proponents are all men though frequently accompanied by their female partners. Similarly to other equestrian pursuits that involve the creation of status, this realm is one where the men occupy the high status positions. This is a further example of success in the equestrian world as a marker of elevated social status.

**Women and horses**

_What do horses mean to women? It’s a question that has been asked for millennia: from Amazons to Olympic horse women, from Queens to jockeys, from girls who dream of riding a horse to grown women riding days on end in tests of endurance (Fook, Hawthorne, Klein:2004)._ 

Within the theories of sociology and socio-biology, and historical and cultural examples of human/animal relationships, there is little academic work currently available explicating the relationship between horses and women. However, Donovan and Adams (1995) Cudworth (2003, 2005) and Birke (2002, 2007, 2009) contribute to feminist theorising on woman and animal. Donovan and Adams (1995:2) point out that historically, since the time of the classical Greek philosophers and their promotion of the primacy of rationality over other forms of knowing, the oppression of woman has been
justified by equating them to animals unable to transcend base bodily instincts and drives. There are several responses to this contention. Firstly, the liberal feminist argument is that women, like men, (but not animals) can freely exercise their rationality. Second there is an alternative view that the woman-nature connection should not be severed. Marilyn French (1992) saw both the oppression of women and the exploitation of nature as a result of the assumptions underlying western patriarchy. These assumptions relied upon a binary separation of man/animal to enable superiority and domination by man by positioning woman/animal as inferior. A third feminist position (French 1992) holds that the historical connection between women and animals must be examined as this leads to a rejection of a narrow liberal feminism pursuing rights and opportunities only for women and offers a vision for a transformative philosophy eliminating all oppressions including those between a variety of life forms. Yet another approach discussed in Donovan and Adam’s 1995 summary maintains that feminist theory has nothing to do with animals at all. Finally, Game (2001) argues for a ‘oneness ‘or ‘interbeing” experienced when riding.

These discussions do not provide a complete framework applicable to the study of women jockeys. The liberal feminist discourse that women possess the ability to be ‘as men’ is clearly inadequate. The equal opportunity legislation which had as its aim the creation of the level playing field, enabling women to compete against men, had the effect of enabling women to work alongside men but not enabling their equal participation. As I demonstrate in Chapter Five, women’s skills in race riding are demonstrably equal to men’s. However the logical rational result that of a reasonably equal spread of chances to participate has not followed. The enduring cultural connection of woman/nature has not served the women jockeys in the racing industry either. Donovan and Adams (1995) have referred to Elizabeth Spelman’s term somatophobia which is used to denote the bundling together of women, children, animals and ‘the natural’ with the despised body.

_Somatophobia refers to the hostility to the body that is characteristic of Western philosophy and its emphasis on reason (Spelman 1982:120, 127) Spelman explains that somatophobia , a legacy of the soul/body distinction is often enacted in unequal relationships, such as men to women, masters to slaves, fathers to children, humans to animals. Feminists need to recognize somatophobia, Spelman argues, to see the context for women’s oppression and the relationship it has with other forms of oppression (Donovan and Adams 1995: 2)._

This connection of woman/animal/inferior is still invoked in the racing industry, catching women in a double bind. If they claim recognition for skill in the form of empathy or intuitive connection with their horses this ancient ‘putdown’ of animal/woman/inferior is invoked. Ideas of the freeing of all creatures from subordination are not useful either for women in the racing industry. As discussed earlier the racing industry is saturated with structures requiring discipline and control. The act of horse riding itself would not be possible without control of the horse by the rider. Discipline is necessary at a range of levels in riding: from the discipline of the jockeys in controlling their weight, getting up very early in the morning, foregoing a normal social life, obeying the instructions of the trainer, to the discipline applied to the horse which needs to be the right blend of gentle
coercion and firm insistence. While it is true that there is subordination of both women and horses in the racing industry, the issue that this thesis addresses is why the situation is so different for women and men. I argue that the answer to the question lies not in linking the subordination of women and horses, but rather in addressing why this subordination amongst the human players is so gendered. Rather than positioning the horse in this social setting as a fellow victim of patriarchy, I wish to theorise this situation in a different way. As discussed above much of the academic work on the human animal relationship addresses itself to small companion animals, animals as food, or animals as spectacle or the “zoological gaze”. The horse, horsemanship, and horse riding continue to be powerful markers of status and power and are instrumental in the development of a self-identity or habitus that is strong and independent. It is for this reason that women are so drawn to the equine in an Australian society that is still one of the most exclusionary in the world. Whilst women are drawn to the experience of hyperphysicality, they are excluded from racing on the grounds of a popular perception that they lack the physical and mental attributes to ride the horse to win in races. Thus, a market logic denies women full participation by recalling a much longer historical discourse of feminine frailty. Obviously all trainers/owners do not genuinely believe this. What is evident is that owners and trainers believe that others embrace this anachronistic discourse. This is the logic that largely determines women’s systematic exclusion from the elite level. It is also why their participation in the equine, and in the high status, high profile world of the racing industry is so resisted. Thus, rather than endorse a simple theory of male patriarchy as an explanation of women’s ongoing exclusion at the elite echelons of racing, it is my argument that market pragmatism informs trainers’ decisions to choose male rather than female riders regardless of the demonstrable talents and capacities of the latter.

**The cultural basis of hyperphysicality for women**

What needs to be explained, however, is why women continue to desire to participate in an industry that systematically denies them recognition and respect. There are some indications in examples from popular culture. Popular culture has many examples of the young age at which girls start to become interested in horses and the passion with which many women continue to devote to their equine pursuits. The horse and pony novel continues to be a popular genre in children’s fiction with over 78 titles listed in my local municipal library of the ‘Saddle Club’ series which was also a television series (Bryant: 2003). There are a number Australian classic novels called ‘The Billabong Books’ written by Mary Grant Bruce between 1910 and 1942, about Norah the little bush maid, an accomplished rider and stock worker. Holbrook Pierson includes a selection of quotes from this genre of children’s literature in her book on her own personal obsession with horses. These quotes express the feeling of power that horses give to girls as well as the sensual pleasure that is expressed by women when discussing their horses.

*As she put her arms around his neck, Snake Dancer rumbled to a halt. His sides were heaving, his nostrils flared, and his sensitive ears were flat back, but he*
stood still for her. Not for the men in uniforms, not for the man who had come from behind them – a big man in a cowboy hat. For her

Carole sat deeply into the saddle, moving forward and back with the horse’s motions. She loved almost everything about riding, but it was hard to think of anything more fun than cantering gently across an open field on a graceful horse like Diablo, with the warm bright sunshine beaming down from above. The tangy smell of hay in the meadow blended perfectly with the rich smell of horse and leather. Carole was content (Holbrook Pierson 2000: 47-54).

The way that the women jockeys speak about their relationships with horses when asked about this indicated that the horse provides for them an elevated embodiment. It may be that the reason for young girls’ focus on horses is that horses represent freedom and independence in a society where girls and women are constrained into a gender role that does not include a large, strong, free, unconstrained body. The horse gives the rider all of these things denied to them in the broader culture. The dog and the cat do not.

Other collections such as those by Fook, Hawthorne and Klein (2004) and GaWaNi Pony Boy (2000) are devoted to personal stories and reflections of women about horses in which themes of physical transcendence, power and control, independence, acceptance and sensual pleasure are apparent. The emotive and poetic tone to these examples is an example of the difficulty in explaining the feeling of hyperphysicality in rational terms. It is a fundamentally bodily-experienced phenomena.

No, it was not horseflesh
but power I craved
and speed. I longed to gallop
out of our tight mortgaged house
(Piercy in  Fook, Hawthorne and Klein 2004: 3).

It makes me reflect on why young girls are so attracted to owning and riding horses when they are teenagers. Perhaps it is not so much about horses, but much more about yearning for companionship, independence and of course, about having control

There is truth in ‘being one’ with a horse while riding school figures and movements in an arena for the appreciation of a judge – but there is another truth in ‘being one’ with a horse in the countryside, intuitively negotiating terrain and the movements of the galloping herd that follows for the appreciation of no one but the self (Thompson in  Fook, Hawthorne and Klein 2004:49).

My horse and I are inseparable. When I ride him we ride together and as I wrap myself around his body, my legs become four and his head and neck are as sensuous in look and smell as any lover’s could be. Together we go forward with
a power that is as exciting as it is undefinable (Brooks in Fook, Hawthorne and Klein 2004:237).

Schulte in GaWaNi Pony Boy (2000) argues that the special bond that exists between women and horses has four realms. She believes that women and horses are kindred spirits with similar psyches. Horses, like women, are nurturing and wise about relationships. Horses give women a specific channel in which to express themselves and to live out their dreams in an uninhibited way. Horses are also friends for whom women can apply the same skills that they use in their friendships with other women, a world where emotion is legitimate and where affiliation is paramount. Lastly, horses allow women to be their most natural selves. Free from the culturally prescribed roles for women, the horse world for most women is one where they can define themselves in a range of empowering identities; western riding cowgirls, top-hat wearing dressage riders, fearless eventers, tough endurance riders, good-looking ‘showies’ or free-wheeling bush riders. In most equestrian activities women are able to compete and be involved through obtaining a suitable horse and entering the competition. It has been a space where gendered norms have been challenged and overcome. The racing industry with the huge amounts of money invested and its own particular structure and organisation forms a complete contrast to this. Women are not recognised at the top levels of race riding (Chapter Five). After witnessing women’s success in other equestrian realms and often being successful participants themselves it is then mystifying for the women who wish to define themselves as race winning jockeys to find that particular avenue for their equestrian self expression so fraught with difficulty.

Watch a woman with her horse and you will see that woman’s real nature. For some reason women seem to need permission to be and express who they are. The horse gives women the permission to be these things (Schulte in GaWaNi Pony Boy 2000:131).

Ann Game in Fook, Hawthorne and Klein (2004:204) gives an example of the spiritual level at which some women experience this horse human connection. This example comes the closest of to explaining the profound level at which the experience of the hyperphysicality of horse riding is felt.

The Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh speaks of inter-being, a principle of universal interconnectedness. He says “to be” is to inter-be. You cannot just be by yourself alone. You have to inter-be with every other thing. Horse people then are people who experience the human form’s capacity for horeness, an enlivening spirit connecting humans and horses. They know that the horse and human are not separate entities, but rather, live with and through each other, inhabit each other. In this sense the human is comprised of the non-human, we are mixed beings, creatures.

In conclusion, a consideration of the depth, longevity and persistence of the horse/human relationship through time, in culture, art, spirituality, human development and in Australian culture is a necessary background to understanding the conflicting discourses
facing women jockeys at a range of different levels. As explained throughout this thesis, the situation for women whose desired identity is jockey is paradoxical. The jockeys gain love, acceptance, cultural validation and the sensual pleasure of the hyperphysicality or enhanced ‘being’ and embodiment that riding brings at the same time as they experience rejection through the lack of recognition of their obvious skill by the owners and trainers who invoke an anachronistic sexist logic deny them an equal chance to compete. This is compounded by a culture in which a human connectedness with horses on a range of levels has been a constant over time and a subculture of the racing industry which is saturated with cultural practices that have changed little over several hundred years. I argue that this thesis illustrates that analyses of the effectiveness of equal opportunity legislation need to be industry/workplace specific and encompass a broad range of cultural factors and background relevant to that particular industry or workplace.
CHAPTER THREE

THEORY

A scholar and a horse are very troublesome to one another…
(Duke of Newcastle 1743)

To explain the situation of women jockeys the choice of theoretical framework was guided by the need to find a schema to encompass consideration of the broad range of factors operating in the particular cultural sphere that is the racing industry in Australia. The framework needs to provide tools for an analysis of why the equal opportunity legislation has failed to effect change in a workplace that prior to this legislation had excluded women and that over time has proven to be resistant to the full participation of women at the elite level. The framework must enable theorising of the multiple positioning of women in the racing industry, from the domestic familial sphere to women’s participation as jockeys, and to female workers in a broader society within a discourse of equal opportunity for women. Theory also needs to enable analysis of contradictory and competing discourses, in this case, the discourses that women negotiate and which influence them in different ways at different levels of their life and work. Theory also needs to encompass theories of social justice in order to begin to frame proposals for the remedies to injustice.

The four major sites of this multiple positioning of women in the racing industry are first, the micro or interpersonal/interspecies level where the women interact with the horse and with others who are immersed in equestrian pursuits and where girls and women develop an identity of competence. Second, there is the family or domestic realm where frequently the equestrian habitus is enabled and supported. Third, there is the subculture of the world of the racing industry with its ideologies and work practices which, in some instances, have changed little for several hundred years. Finally, there is the broader cultural perspective of Australian cultural concepts of equality for women. Theory also needs to provide tools to consider the issues of gender, power and social change. This thesis provides data on the actual participation of women at the elite level of horse-racing in Victoria to examine why the legislation, purportedly a vehicle for social change, has failed to exert a greater impact for women in racing. Factors that have inhibited change and factors that may encourage further change need to be considered.

In the following chapters empirical data collected on the participation of women jockeys at the top professional level of racing in Victoria is presented establishing that their actual participation falls far short of substantive equality at the elite level. This constitutes economic and political injustice. It is clear that injustice in the form of lack of recognition for the skills and capacities of women riders is the basis of political and economic injustice. In previous chapters discourses surrounding the horse racing industry and women’s participation in equestrian activity, work and the racing industry in Australia in
the late twentieth century were outlined. These the cultural factors impact upon the racing industry. The background explains both why women persist in working as jockeys in the face of the many barriers to this involvement and why these barriers remain in place. In this chapter theoretical approaches are canvassed in light of their utility in providing key insights into the question of ‘why is it so?’ Few theoretical perspectives are able to satisfy the range of enquiry as described above. One exception is Pierre Bourdieu’s relational sociology. Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, field and habitus provide a matrix that is useful for explaining both the current situation and indicating where efforts for further change may be best directed. The appropriation and extension of Bourdieu’s ideas by feminist researchers (Skeggs 2004, McNay 2005, Witz 2004) has led to broad application of his ideas in discussions of gender, power and change. Bourdieu’s framework, along with discussions by Fraser, Honneth and van Hooft, enable explanations of injustice suffered by women jockeys in the form of a lack of recognition and respect at the interpersonal level, within the sphere of law and at the level of individual achievement.

Bourdieu’s concept of habitus provides a space for theorising the lived experience of power, competence and control that comes from the act of horse-riding. This occurs not only on a personal visceral level but also on a deep cultural level. This factor which I identify as ‘hyperphysicality’, leads to what in Bourdieu’s terms could be called a radical habitus, so coined because this factor has nurtured a determination in women to endure the indignities and inequities of a male dominated workplace as well as fuel a fierce resistance to ongoing systemic exclusionary practices in the racing industry. The argument follows that the site for most productive efforts for further change is the cultural rather than the legislative. In this chapter other theoretical approaches that contribute to the analysis within an overall Bourdieusian framework are reviewed.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS – BEYOND LANGUAGE TO SEMIOSIS

Critical discourse analysis is useful in the discussion of women jockeys because it is both a theory and a methodology. As a theory it enables an analysis of the competing discourses of the realm of work and the subculture which is the racing industry. Some of these discourses are enunciated well through language while others are not able to be easily articulated but are enacted through semiosis. That is, there are important discourses not able to be easily articulated through spoken language but which are constituted through body language, visual images and other forms of signification. This point is seminal to the analysis of the world of women jockeys.

Fairclough (in Wetherell et al 2001) brings together a number of analytical traditions including close textual and linguistic analysis of macro-social analysis and an interpretive, micro-social analysis of shared understandings and processes. The notion of discourse was expanded upon by Fairclough (1992) going beyond language as the primary organising principle to emphasise a range tools for discursive formation including kinesics, and proxemics. Kinesics and proxemics are the study and analysis of communication through interpersonal movement and touch activity. In the case of women jockeys, the body and the sensations of the body are important factors. Much of the meaning-making in the important relationships for the jockey (primarily the relationship
with the work partner, the horse) occurs through non-verbal methods. These sensations often seek to find discourse in the form of words or language, to express that which is not easily expressed in this form. This was noted in the interviews with jockeys. Often an indicator of an attitude or point of importance for the interviewee was evident not through the verbal explanation given but through a change in intonation, animation or enthusiasm for a particular line of questioning which was often coupled with a very spare verbal response.

Fairclough acknowledges (in Wetherell et al 2001) the work of Foucault in forming the basis of the theories of discourse analysis in the way that discourse constitutes the social including social structures and objects. However, Fairclough (1992:56) critiques Foucault’s notion of disciplinary power on the grounds that it fails to extend due credence to the issue of contestation between different discourses. A theory which encompasses this contestation is crucial to examining the social changes which have taken place for women jockeys and the development and utilization of different discourses about women riders and jockeys over time. Given that meanings of objects and subjects are shaped by contesting discursive practices within a constituted material reality discursive processes must therefore be seen as dynamic. This also leads to the view that social subjects are not passive but are capable of acting as agents, negotiating their relationships reciprocally and shaping the discourses in which they participate. Although theorists have critiqued the structuralist bias in Bourdieu’s work, I argue that the possibility of agency can be found in Bourdieu’s conception of the radical habitus. Indeed my argument is that both male and female jockeys are motivated by an intense, productive and exhilarating embodied collaboration with the horse. Although experienced by both genders, this has differing cultural effects. For men the experience of hyperphysicality and the habitus of strength that it supports is aligned with other culturally approved discourses of male bodies, strong and empowered through activity. For women, the habitus of physical strength and toughness that the hyperphysicality of horse-riding engenders is not supported in the culture where a discourse of relative physical weakness for women is the norm.

Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (1991) use critical discourse analysis (CDA) where semiosis and language are considered to be equally seminal forms of meaning-making. Semiosis is meaning-making through body language, visual images and other forms of signification. This broadening of discourse analysis to include signifiers other than language is crucial to the issue of women jockeys in a realm where bodies in action as well as bodies in discussion are equally vital sites of contestation for power and control. Fairclough posits this method of critical discourse analysis as inherently interdisciplinary since it is concerned with the range of theories and research into social change and social processes. Connections are sought between language and other elements in social life in the negotiation of personal and social identities in both linguistic and semiotic aspects. CDA is committed to progressive social change in that it includes a focus on how both language and semiotics figure in forms of resistance and transformation of existing discursive practices. This approach supports the theorizing of hyperphysicality. Hyperphysicality is not easily described using language alone as it is an experience of the
body, situated in a space where language is not adequate, a space where the body in action is the crucial thing.

Van Dijk (in Wetherell et al 2001) describes CDA as a method of exploring the relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality, and social relationships. The analysis of strategies of resistance and challenge is crucial for the understanding of actual power and dominance. This refers to concepts of hegemony. The function of the dominant discourse is the manufacture of consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance. Aligned with this is the investigation into how dominated groups are persuaded that inequality is legitimate. The semiotic focus of CDA which broadens the study of discourse into both linguistic and visual modes, including facial expressions and body gestures (kinesics), and the bodily mode (inter-personal movement and touch (proxemics)), is useful in the analysis of the formation of identity and dominant and marginal discourses about women jockeys. The movement and touch activity through which a discourse of the self is created in horse riding is not only interpersonal but also inter-species. The horse and its body and the relationships between the human and horse bodies in terms of power, control and status plays a pivotal part in defining the status and power of the individual in the racing industry. For jockeys, those that are able to demonstrate superior skill in riding a horse so that it wins a race are those who gain higher status and accumulate capital. However, as the data presented later shows, this is not always the case for women jockeys whose demonstrable skills are not recognized.

Critical discourse analysis provides some useful concepts to advance the investigation of the social processes confronting women jockeys notably dominant discourses governing internal practices. That is, they have become institutionalized over time and thus appear to be ‘natural’ or ‘inevitable’. For example, in the racing industry a dominant discourse comprises the claim that men are naturally more competent than women because of their superior muscular strength as well as their supposed superior mental toughness and resilience under crisis. This dominant discourse thus positions women in binary fashion as comparatively weaker physically and more fragile emotionally and thus less competent in the industry as economic actors. The importance of discourse analysis and particularly Foucault’s theory of the micro-processes of power is that power is productive – meaning that women jockeys may confront almost unassailable exclusionary discourses of corporeality that favor male jockeys but are also able to produce counter-discourses that challenge male dominance. This is what I mean by the argument that hyperphysicality is utilized in a culturally specific way by female jockeys to assert their corporeal equivalence and emotional toughness in the field of horse-racing. (Quantitative evidence in Chapter Five details women’s greater than expected success when allocated lesser quality horses).

Critical Discourse Analysis alone however does not provide tools to foreground the importance of the formalized structure of the workplace for jockeys. The structure of the Victorian and Australian racing industry has proved to be almost a closed shop in terms of restricting access specifically to female participants. In this industry women operate simultaneously within different realms which call on them to adopt, utilize and promote discourses which may stand at odds with each other in differing social spaces. This forms
a reflexive inhibiting factor. Critical Discourse Analysis thus provides a useful starting place but does not give a complete framework to encompass the range of issues under consideration.

**THE BODY – CONSTRUCTION, AGENCY AND ‘BECOMINGS’ - THE HYPERPHYSICALITY OF HORSERIDING**

The body for jockeys is the site for contested identities and power. The body for women jockeys is also the primary site for the enactment of agency in the form of a performativity that challenges both male/female and animal/human binaries. It is through their bodies and the resolute refusal of women jockeys to compete on anything but equal terms with men, (Chapter Two) that these women provide such a potent example of enacted agency in challenging anachronistic perceptions of gender that continue to disadvantage women. By their insistence on competing against men and their refusal to admit to any gendered differences in ability, women jockeys challenge one of the most stubborn and potent signifiers of maleness in Australian society - success in high profile sport.

Turner has done much work in developing the work in the sociology of the body and has summed up six of the main threads that modern work in this field has covered (Featherstone and Turner 1995). These are: analyses of the symbolic significance of the body as in the use of body as a representation in metaphorical discourse, work on the active role of the body in social life, analyses of the difference between gender and sex, the body and technology, the study of the body in health and illness and study of the body in the sociology of sport. A discussion of the body in the analysis of the equal opportunity legislation which purports to be a tool for gender equality and the work of women jockeys touches on several threads which overlap in this context. Primarily the role of the female jockey is that of a professional sportsperson therefore sport sociology is relevant. However the approach of this thesis is to examine the work of the jockey thus removing the discussion from a purely sporting context. Also, as I argue, one of the reasons that women’s inclusion as jockeys touches on several threads which overlap in this context. Primarily the role of the female jockey is that of a professional sportsperson therefore sport sociology is relevant. However the approach of this thesis is to examine the work of the jockey thus removing the discussion from a purely sporting context. Also, as I argue, one of the reasons that women’s inclusion as jockeys is so fiercely resisted is that female jockeys challenge the gender binary of male/female in that they claim space in a realm in which maleness in Australia has been traditionally defined, thus discussions of gender/sex are pertinent. The symbolic significance of the body is also an important element in the discussion of the work of jockeys

**The body and social life**

Turner (1984) and Shilling (1993) defined the body as constituted by both discursive practices and material forms. Foucault (Turner 1995) has been a major influence on the development of theories of the body as a site for the contestation of power through competing discourses. Foucault posited that the body was not only given meaning by social discourse but was wholly constituted by discourse. Turner’s work has drawn heavily on this social constructionist approach to the body but like Shilling and Grosz
(1994) has critiqued Foucault for omitting an analysis of the empirical, material and biological bases of the body. For Turner, Shilling and Grosz the body not only comprises a material and sensuous dimension, it is more like a cultural resource – it possesses an elasticity in relation to the changing social, economic, political and cultural environment. For this reason the body can also be read like a text because it will harbor the indelible traces of one's idiosyncratic social milieu.

Other writers on the sociology of the body (Waskul and Vannini 2006, Morgan and Scott 1993) posit schema such as those proposed by Turner in which the body is a process rather than a static or completed object and within which a number of social processes are enacted. For instance, Sanders (in Waskul and Vannini 2006: 278) argues for an integrationist sociology of the body in which the body is a vehicle for social interaction. He points out that an important issue is a focus on the ‘unusual’ or socially disvalued body. This is of interest in the discussion of women jockeys as the body of the jockey is always a paradox. For both men and women the body must conform to the requirements of racing a horse. It must be light in weight as well as being strong and tough. Gendered differences in appearance are not important in the actual work of racing. It is almost impossible to distinguish the men from the women in the mounting yard preparing for a race as the helmets and clothing disguise obvious gender markers. As jockeys were historically men, for women this androgynous physical presentation manifests as a part of the challenge to gendered norms of ‘male and female’. In this interactionist schema aspects of the body that are relevant are: the body as a necessary occupational resource, the body as a source of pleasure and the body as an instrument of communication. Once again the relevance of these aspects of theorizing the body to women jockeys can be seen. The body is the main occupational resource of the jockey. A physically incapacitated body cannot perform the work. At the same time the body for a horse-rider is a source of pleasure in the interaction with the horse and the body is used to communicate, through its size and demeanor, the willingness of the rider to become part of the social setting that is the racing industry. This integrationist approach derives from the work of Goffman (1963, 1971) who proposed that *The character that one performs and one’s self are somewhat equated* (1959:252). Goffman’s work on the body in social interaction is also useful in analyzing the lived experience of women jockeys. According to Goffman the body is a resource which can be managed in various ways to construct the self. It is integral to human agency. The body is thus a cultural resource which both requires and enables people to manage their movements and appearances. The body, for Goffman, has a dual location. The body is the property of the individual but is defined by larger social forces as to its significance and meaning. The body mediates the relationship between self-identity and social identity.

This is pertinent in the case of the women jockeys whose lived experience and self-identity revolves around competence, power, and high levels of skill in horse riding. This self-identity is developed often at an early age and in relative privacy. Horse riding is an activity that can be conducted with minimal human social interaction apart from the effort needed to obtain a horse to ride. Riding is often conducted alone, in the company of other young girls or with a supportive family member. The main activity involves intimate interaction with another body - that of the horse where the requisite skills, including physical strength do not differ if the rider is male or female. Additionally,
successful riding requires a ‘one-ness’ with the horse. The rider needs to have nuanced, acute and intimately responsive attunement of their physical movements and actions to the physical responses of the horse. Through this relationship a robust self-identity is developed, one that is characterized by strength, moral competence and physical skill. It also provides a feeling of intense empowerment as the rider controls a creature much larger and stronger than themselves and where a collaborative partnership between horse and rider may achieve considerable success. It is thus a shock for women jockeys when they come to realize that their social identity as a woman within the racing industry is viewed as one that is lacking in the physical and mental toughness that form the essential prerequisites for work as a jockey. This is at complete odds to their self-identity of enhanced physicality created through previous riding and equestrian pursuits including the rigorous training as a jockey which is not segregated according to gender.

The body and gender – into feminist theorising

The ways in which gender is ascribed to and inscribed upon the body is a relevant theme in this theoretical review. Connell (1995) provides an analysis of masculinity that foregrounds the conflation of maleness with power. It is of interest that he is an Australian theorist drawing as Harre says (in Welton 1998:20) from the last bastion of male supremacy, Australia. As noted previously, this is a society that valorizes sport as a forum for the creation and maintenance of male gender identity. Connell’s approach is one in which men define their own masculinity— a process of social construction. He focuses on sport or physical laboring activities as the loci for the definition of masculinity. Connell’s approach has been critiqued (Harre: 1998, Francis: 2008) for adding to the difficulties in theorizing gender as he foregrounds masculinities, leaving femininities to be defined as a ‘lack’ of the masculine. The female can only be defined as an ‘other’ to the male. The sexed (male) body is the signifier thus reinforcing the centrality of maleness. Though this is a relevant criticism I would argue that the approach to maleness and masculinity that is revealed in the discourses of the jockey as detailed in the results of the interviews (Chapter Five) supports Connell’s description of the construction of masculinity in Australian society.

Francis (2008) reviews alternative approaches to theorizing gender. She describes Butler’s premise that both categories male and female are purely socially constructed via binary gender discourses that inscribe bodies according to a (false) duality (Francis 2008:213). She also details Haberstram’s approach of severing the link between gender and sex but points out the difficulties in attempting to uncouple the discursively sexed body from the notion of gender. This addresses the binary positioning of power relations. Francis details what she calls a monoglossic account of gender. This is;

\begin{quote}
 a system of categories that have gained hegemony in our socio-historic moment and which are commonly understood and agreed as a ‘true’, uncontested account....this would then include dominant binary understandings of masculinity as rational, strong, active; and femininity as emotional, weak, passive (2008:219).
\end{quote}
Although the very entry of women jockeys into the racing industry indicates a strong challenge to the binary constructions of gender the empirical work of this thesis testifies to the continuing adherence in the racing industry by many influential gatekeepers to stereotypical constructions where ‘maleness’ is used as a signifier of competence and power in contrast to femininity, a signifier of emotional and physical frailty, to deny access to women. This also aligns with Grosz’s (1994) review of the background to sociology of the body where she details a series of binary oppositional terms such as mind/body. She attributes this Cartesian dualism as the background to much theory that has developed around female bodies (1994:9). Hird (2003) has similarly examined the assumptions within the sociology of the body. She points out that there seem to be two assumptions. The first being that the constitution of matter is largely figured as inert concrete unchangeable and resistant to socio-historical change (Hird, 2003:448-449). The second assumption is that the primary means through which the study of matter has been accessed, science, is principally a tool of the patriarchy. Anne Witz (2000) further unpacks this critique of the difficulties that feminist sociologists have encountered when theorizing the body.

Feminist sociologists have for the most part written against the grain of corporeality, in the sense of a fleshy materiality in order to fill out the absent more-than-fleshy sociality of women traditionally repressed within sociological discourse. And for good reasons, precisely because they were sociologists they did laterally for women what masculinist sociology had previously done for men, and men alone: they retrieved them from the realm of the ‘biological’ ‘corporeal’ and ‘natural’ and instated them within the realm of ‘the social’ (Witz, 2000:4)

Witz proposes that much of the early work in the sociology of the body has been a male project and that feminist sociologists sought to pull women into the frame of the social and out of the frame of biological/corporeal determinism where much of western philosophy had placed them. In classical sociology this positioned the male as ‘social’ and the female as ‘embodied/natural’. She argues that this led to ideologies of the body being deeply contested in feminism and that in the past study of the body was almost absent from feminist sociology. Price and Shildrick (1999) similarly summarise the directions of the sociology of the body in feminist theorising. Academic feminist work on the body has had to operate in a male dominated milieu and had to take its starting point from western masculine philosophic traditions that positioned the male as the universal and the woman as ‘the other’. This view led to a variety of gendered links and norms where men were associated with reason the mind and rationality and women were associated with bodies, irrationality, nature and unpredictability. Feminist responses to this are summarised by Price and Shildrick as: (1) transcend, or completely deny the female bodily reality; (2) reverse, or celebrate and valorise women’s bodies and gendered traits as being superior to men’s or; (3) displace the spilt or degender discussions of the body and address issues of the body from the viewpoint of the various discourses that they operate within.
I take up the challenge set out by Witz (2000) and attempt to navigate what she sees as a dilemma in feminist philosophy. The body has either been valorised (as a surface given meaning through discourse) or addressed as a ground of subjectivity at the same time as de-valourising gender. I attempt to avoid the notion of the socially constructed body as being ‘over-discursivised’ and thus stripped of all but its discursive meaning. The body in that case becomes an effect of a power that has no agency of its own. My description of the body in the context of women jockeys attempts to give equal weight to the effects of various discourses of the body for the women as they enter and utilize these discourses in the various fields in which they are positioned and choose to enter at the same time as emphasising the power of the agency that the women utilize through their bodily work, their performativity. I refer to this following Bourdieu, as the radical habitus developed through hyperphysicality.

**The body in sport – into hyperphysicality- disrupting male/female and human/animal binaries**

The realm of the sociology of sport is obviously relevant to this thesis which is concerned with the professional sport of horse-racing where the human and equine form a partnership of bodies. This makes it distinct from other professional sports such as surfing, tennis and football, where the human body alone or with inanimate tools is the forum for the enactment of the ‘game’. Bryson (1987) and Drummond (2002) have summarized the factors in Australian society that contribute to sport being used as a social space for the maintenance of masculine hegemony. Bryson points to the way that sport, in popular culture and the media, links maleness with success in high profile sport with the positively sanctioned use of aggression and violence and the marginalization of women’s sports. She likens the challenges to hegemonic maleness that women in sport pose to the challenges for women in business and employment. I argue that for women in the late twentieth century progress for women in business and employment was easier than for women as jockeys due to the almost complete lack of traction of the equal opportunity legislation in the racing industry. Drummond discusses the role of sport in creating and maintaining men’s relationships with each other. Lenskyi (1998) provides detail of this in her research on how sports media uses images of male and female bodies to construct and perpetuate hegemonic masculinity and its binary corollary, femininity. Dworkin (in Malacrida and Low 2008) and Chase (2006) also argue that the realm of sport is an important social space for the construction and maintenance of this hierarchical gender order.

Empirical work has illuminated the way that women have claimed space in sport to transform the female/male binary of gendered characteristics through participation in sport. Malcolm (2006) studied socialization to pain and injury in girl’s softball investigating how a clash of norms between traditional femininity and the sports ethic was transformed by the girls who, although entering the activity with traditionally feminine attitudes towards pain, conformed to a tougher ethic by learning to shake off minor injuries. Similarly Chase (2006) interviewed female rugby players revealing how the women resisted the disciplinary processes of femininity but willingly participated in
the disciplinary processes of competitive sport. She affirmed *The women were drawn to rugby because of the physical nature of the game, became fully invested in competitive athletics and resisted notions of ideal female bodies* (Chase 2006:229). The question then arises as to why women would wish to participate in activities that cause pain and discomfort at a physical as well as a social level. The answer to this is in the liberating power that is felt in the transcendence of ascribed passive femininity.

My term of hyperphysicality which pertains only to horse riding is a factor which is a combination of the empowered body aligned with elevated status from the overlay of the horse/human cultural connection. Hyperphysicality at the bodily level is the feeling of physical transcendence that horse riders experience. For many riders the appeal of riding is the feeling of having a ‘super body’ or a larger more powerful physical presence in the world. This has been eloquently described in sources quoted in Chapter Two. The horse becomes effectively an extension or part of the human physical body. There is a feeling of some kind of fusion of the two bodies into one or the formation of a new body that is greater than the sum of its individual parts. This body is able to perform physical feats that neither rider nor horse would attempt, or accomplish alone. This is partly described in sports sociology as the feeling of ‘flow’ (Hockey and Collison 2007:119). ‘Flow’ is the feeling that is triggered when movement induces happiness to the point of euphoria. It is a feeling of optimal fulfillment and engagement in an activity, of being ‘in the zone’ where time ceases to be experienced in its normal dimensions. In the case of horse riding and race-horse riding in particular, this is at once a sensory, psychological and psychosocial experience. The enhanced physicality in terms of size and strength of the horse/rider body is overlaid with the cultural importance of horses and horse racing. Game (2001) has provided a lyrical description of an aspect of hyperphysicality, the intensity of the sense of one-ness that occurs between rider and horse when there is an ongoing relationship of love and understanding. She describes this aspect of hyperphysicality *The human body is not simply human* (2001:1). She goes on to argue that the animal/human binary needs to be revoked in favor of claiming some middle ground between animal and human on the grounds of her experience of human/animal bonding. We can only interact with the horse because we understand horse-ness. They can only interact with us because they understand human-ness. The binary is thus redundant.

I contend that the body of the horse needs to be considered as part of the social context of the racing industry and as a major economic factor in the competitive dynamic. The body of the race horse like the human body in horse-riding is located on the cusp of the cultural/biological/material realms. The race-horse has been specifically bred for specific characteristics needed to race and to be able to be trained to race, not just technical ability but also for a characteristic called ‘trainability’, that is, the predisposition to accept the training necessary for successful racing. It is this human/horse relationship that is the epicenter of the racing industry.
Hyperphysicality - Agency and ‘Becomings’

there are two distinct and possibly separate traditions in the anthropology and sociological study of the body. There is either the cultural analysis of the body as a system of meaning that has a definite structure existing separately from the consciousness and intentions of individuals or there is the phenomenological study of embodiment that attempts to understand human practices or the performativity of the body. These two perspectives are distinct but not necessarily incompatible (Turner, 2006:223)

The fusion of bodies proposed by hyperphysicality addresses the challenge posed by Turner of integrating the ‘body’ in a corporeal sense with the ‘social’ in a discursive sense. Hird (2003) summarizes the work of Witz and others who are attempting to extend the theoretical range of the sociological discussion to include ideas of a continuum of life and thinking of bodies as ‘becomings’. This line of thinking draws on biological science particularly work on trans-species fusions/genics. Hird quotes Haraway (2003:456) who explains that biological diversity challenges the notion of identity as in the example of parasites living in symbiosis with other creatures. Where does one’s ‘self’ end and the other begin? Is there any autonomy to identity in this case? This viewpoint argues for moving beyond confining feminist critiques to cultural practices and towards incorporating material domains. In figuring matter as molecular, mobile and dynamic, theory moves beyond figuring bodies as inert objects and questions distinctions between human and non-human as well as living and non-living. In the discussion of women jockeys this is pertinent. This is the theoretical realm where hyperphysicality resides

Other theorists (Connell, 1987, Hird 2003) highlight the body’s status as an unfinished project. Although a residual material basis to the body is recognized, they stress that the shape, size and meaning is not given at birth. The body can only be completed through human labor. There is a cognizance that inequalities and oppressions are embodied. In the case of the racing industry construction of the body of the jockey is complex with importance placed upon smallness of size and weight, but paradoxically, with a premium placed on strength. The body of the jockey is thus a thus prime example of the body as both a biological and cultural product but where biology is just as much a product of the social as material factors. A small compact body is needed which is in contrast to many other sports where the body needs to be muscular and big. In horse racing, the body needs to be small and lean but very tough. In traditional discourse around gender masculinity is associated with toughness. This explains largely why the male body is stereotyped as the ideal race rider while conversely female bodies have been literally kept out of the race. However, as with much of the discourse around women jockey’s bodies and capabilities, this is contradictory as women’s bodies are also traditionally placed as being smaller which is an advantage for jockeys. Ultimately physical toughness has eclipsed the advantages accruing to the ‘natural’ female body, diminutive size and lightness of weight, two factors that many male jockeys struggle daily to achieve. This idea that the body is a social construction can be supported by looking at the history of the racing industry. The industry is in many ways a closed shop or a subculture sometimes not easily accessible to outsiders. For many jockeys, entry into their work has been through family connection.
Generations of families have often been involved with racing with sons and daughters of jockeys and trainers choosing to carry on the family business and tradition. The size, shape and capacity of bodies in the racing industry can be said to have been shaped over time in an evolutionary sense through selection and inclusion of particular types of body into the subculture or ‘field’ of the horseracing world.

In looking at the social forces impacting upon the work of women jockeys, I argue that the point where the body as a system of meaning intersects with the daily physical experiences of women riding horses is one of the keys to explaining the some of the apparent paradoxes revealed by the data. Women’s equivalent skill, strength and power are not only unrecognized within the industry but women become systematically excluded from the elite stratum of racing because they are regarded as unreliable in winning races. A further corollary is that, using Goffman’s term (1963:8,132) ‘spoiled identity’, some women come to inhabit the negative label imposed upon them. Yet herein lies a potentially productive space for female resistance. Women jockeys typically construct a tough, capable, skilled and resilient persona through their interactions with horses. The paradoxical juxtaposition of industrial exclusion on the basis of corporeal inferiority of those with a personal identity of corporeal competence and resilience creates a fertile ground for what I have termed a radical habitus. Although women do not challenge the systems and practices of exclusion directly through the legislative mechanisms of the SDA or VEOA they do continue to work in the field and tacitly refuse to accept the dominant discourse of ‘spoiled identity’ based on women’s lesser corporeal competence.

Theories of the body which emphasize the social construction of the body, the body as a site for contested identities, contested power relationships using gender as a marker, that foreground the body as a site of mediation between self-identity and social identity and that question the human/animal binary provide useful frameworks for analyzing and advancing the discussion of women jockeys. They foreground the importance of addressing issues around the social construction of the body and the use of the gendered body in maintaining power relationships and in challenging power relationships. This is a crucial contribution to the development of a critique of the equal employment opportunity legislation as it highlights the unexamined view of gender on which the legislation is based. However these frameworks still do not provide enough space to give the balanced view that I seek. Theories of the body with their emphasis on social construction on a broad scale do not include a schema to address other aspects of the industry that I see as important such as the matrix of the cultural products in the form of systems, processes and discourses which drive the way that this social construction of bodies in racing takes place. A form of organizational analysis which contextualizes the realms of political and economic power that permeate the racing industry is needed to address the different sites or fields where women jockeys are positioned differently both by themselves in active agency, by broader social themes and ideas and by the resilient organizational systems of the racing industry.
RECOGNITION, IDENTITY AND THE STRUGGLE OVER NEEDS

The work of Fraser (1989, 1997, 2003) Honneth (2003) and others (van Hooft and Vandekerckhove 2010) who have engaged in theorising around discourses of respect and recognition in social equality and inequality provide useful insights in conceptualising the work of women jockeys in relation to the equal opportunity legislation. This line of theorising begins with a macro focus (Fraser 1989) with discussion around the ‘needs’ of groups. In this context the ‘needs’ of women for equality and recognition could be said to be partly addressed by the equal opportunity legislation. The legislation, in these terms, would be an affirmative remedy for economic injustice. In this context the discussion of this thesis examines why an affirmative remedy intended to change the social setting and lead to economic justice for women such as the equal opportunity legislation has not resulted in greater changes for women jockeys at the cultural and economic levels (Chapter Five). Following the philosophical engagements of Fraser and Honneth (2003) via Hegel and Mead, van Hooft (2010) has explained a cosmopolitan ideal linking injustice to disrespect and lack of social recognition.

Macro-Needs talk – a site of struggle

Fraser (1989) outlined a model of social discourse which foregrounds the contested nature of ‘needs talk’, or political claims, and the plurality of ways of talking about needs. Discursive resources are available to members of particular social groups in pressing claims against one another. These resources are in the context of a range of forms of association, roles, groups, institutions and discourses. They are a heterogeneous field of diverse possibilities and alternatives in a pluralist society. Social groups are stratified and characterized by unequal power, status and access to resources, intersected with axes of inequality along the lines of class, gender, race ethnicity and age. The socio-cultural means of communication and interpretation are also stratified and organized in ways that support societal patterns of dominance and subordination. She points out that some ways of talking about needs take place in the central discursive arenas of state, parliaments, courts, academies and mass media. Other types of ‘needs talk’ take place in subcultures normally excluded from central discursive arenas. She sums up;

needs talk appears as a site of struggle where groups with unequal discursive (and non-discursive) resources compete to establish as hegemonic their respective interpretations of legitimate social needs. Dominant groups articulate need interpretations intended to exclude, defuse, and co-opt counter interpretations. Subordinate or oppositional groups on the other hand, articulate need interpretations intended to challenge, displace and or modify dominant ones. In neither case are the interpretations simply representations. In both cases, rather, they are acts and interventions (Fraser 1989: 166).

Fraser (1989) states that a matter is political if it is contested across a range of different discursive publics. Publics may be distinguished along a number of different axes such as ideology, stratification principles like gender and class, by profession, or a central
mobilizing issue or interest. Publics can also be analyzed in terms of relative power. Some publics can be large authoritative organizations whereas others are small and self-enclosed. Leading publics define what is political in the discourse sense and can politicize an issue by allowing contestation about it. Social change can occur when needs become politicized. The politicization of needs is a process whereby some matters escape zones of discursive privacy and specialized or enclosed publics and become foci of generalized contestation. Needs that are experienced by individuals or in private become part of a social movement. Feminism is a good example of this. Previously taken-for-granted interpretations are called into question and previously unchallenged relations and assumptions become subject to dispute.

This is useful for a consideration of the position of women jockeys vis-à-vis equal opportunity legislation. For female jockeys the forums for the articulation of their needs for equal access to professional race riding were the legal apparatus in the form of the legislation and the media. As outlined earlier, women jockeys in Australia were politically active in the 1970’s in efforts to gain status as professional riders and be able to compete against men by joining the wider women’s movement. It was this fertile time of activism which led to the introduction of the first equal opportunity legislation in Australia. A discursive space was created and discourses were articulated and promoted in a way that facilitated change. However, this macro framework does not provide a space to elaborate on what I see as one of the crucial factors for the motivation of women jockeys - the hyperphysicality of horse riding. This is usually experienced initially in early socialization and frequently in a domestic setting but is not always wholeheartedly supported by the family domestic setting. Hyperphysicality can be initially experienced almost anywhere.

Fraser (1989) also identifies realms where change has occurred over time such as ‘domestic’, ‘private’ and ‘economic’. She describes two sets of institutions that depoliticize social discourses. These are firstly, domestic forms principally the modern male-headed nuclear family and then, official economic capitalist institutions such as paid workplaces, markets and private enterprises and corporations. Both domestic and economic capitalist zones enclave certain matters into specialized discursive arenas and shield them from general contestation thus supporting relations of dominance and subordination. This often leads to members of subordinate groups internalizing need interpretations that work to their disadvantage. In looking at the situation for women jockeys where the family and the workplace are frequently one and the same it can be seen that this is an area of paradoxical discourses for women jockeys. Some women are supported as jockeys within their family but not supported by the workplace outside the family. Others are discouraged by the family but supported in the workplace in the form of supportive trainers. Others are supported both in the family and in the workplace (especially when the family are trainers) but not supported in the broader cultural space to the racing ‘public’, or in Fraser’s terms ‘the social’. Within this framework the family and formal economy are the main depoliticizing enclaves that needs must exceed in order to become political in the discursive sense in male-dominated capitalist societies.
There are several ways in which ‘needs talk’ can become political and lead to change depending on its type. The first is the oppositional form of needs talks when needs are politicized from below. This contributes to the creation of new social identities for subordinated social groups. The second are the re-privatization discourses which emerge in response to the first. These discourses attempt to support entrenched need interpretations or the status quo. Thirdly, needs discourses link popular movements to the state. It is the interaction of these three kinds of needs talk that structure the politics of needs. Fraser summarizes this point;

*when social movements succeed in politicizing previously de-politicized needs, they enter the terrain of the social, where two other kinds of struggles await them. First they have to contest powerful organized interests bent on shaping expert needs discourses in and around the social state. These encounters define two additional axes of needs struggle in late capitalist societies. They are highly complex struggles, since social movements typically seek state provision of the runaway needs even while they tend to oppose administrative and therapeutic need interpretations. Thus, these axes too, involve conflicts among rival interpretations of social needs and among rival constructions of social identity (1989:175).*

Once again the case studies presented earlier (Chapters One and Two) illustrate this point which I have elaborated into a program for change for women jockeys. There must be a discourse for social change in this case recognition of the skills of women that begin, as van Hooft (see discussion below) says, in the realm of the family. This discourse needs to be free from a limiting gendered binary discourse of female embodiment. This provides a basic emotional infrastructure of self-confidence. This must to be accompanied by action in the state (in the case of the racing industry this means the administration of the industry both legislative and bureaucratic) to challenge methods of work allocation which lend themselves to discriminatory practices. This provides self-respect. Finally, there must be a willingness to attribute recognition to the real achievements of female jockeys according to criteria set by the industry for all jockeys. This provides self-esteem. I argue that these changes require a cohort of individuals willing to act as change agents.

**Redistribution and recognition**

In her discussion of redistribution and recognition Fraser (1997:11) tracks the lack of progress towards equality in relation to changes in the types of political conflict in the ‘post socialist’ age. A struggle for recognition has become the main form of political conflict with groups mobilizing under identities such as nationality, ethnicity, race, gender or sexuality. Demands for cultural recognition have replaced those for socioeconomic redistribution as the remedy for injustice. This has led to the redistribution-recognition dilemma. The basic proposition is that justice requires both redistribution and recognition but that there are problems when injustices of distribution and recognition are tackled simultaneously.
This is because there are two interpretations of injustice. The first, socio-economic injustice, encompasses exploitation, economic marginalization, and deprivation. The second injustice refers to cultural or symbolic injustice which includes cultural domination, non-recognition, and disrespect. These two forms of injustice require different remedies. The remedy for economic injustice is economic restructuring, for example, re-organizing the division of labor or redistributing income. The remedy for cultural injustice is some sort of cultural or symbolic change such as revaluing disrespected identities, for example mothers, or recognizing and positively valorizing cultural diversity. These remedies are described variously as redistribution and recognition. A dilemma occurs when people who are subject to both cultural and economic injustice need both recognition and redistribution. They need both to claim and to deny their specificity. How if at all is this possible? (Fraser 1997:16). This is precisely the dilemma for women jockeys.

**The case of gender equality**

Gender is a marker in political and economic differentiation and in cultural valuational differentiation. Gender injustice is primarily the construction of norms that privilege traits associated with masculinity. Overcoming this requires de-centering male norms and revaluing the female. Positive recognition must be given to a devalued group. Gender as a basic structuring principle of political economy requires abolishing the gender division of labor. Thus a fight against injustice for women involves changing both political and cultural structures, both redistribution and recognition by abolishing gender differentials and celebrating gender specificity. These remedies are apparently contradictory but Fraser (1997:30) proposed two approaches to remedy injustice that address aspects of recognition and redistribution simultaneously.

The first of her remedies for injustice, those of affirmation, are aimed at correcting the outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework. These tend to promote existing group differentiation. The equal opportunity legislation requiring special measures for women, in its first incarnation called Affirmative Action legislation and now called the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act, clearly falls into this category. The legislation requires organizations to report annually on their program to improve the situation for women. Notably, it addresses itself only to individual organizations employing over 100 women thus having no effect on the vast majority of employers of jockeys. It does not require or encourage any industry-wide analysis or action. The other remedy is called transformation. It corrects inequitable outcomes by restructuring the underlying generative framework. By destabilizing cultural valuational structures these remedies would change stereotypical assumptions of women’s bodies, particularly their perceived lack of strength and mental determination. This is a prime example of the competing discourses under which women jockeys operate. Their own self image, developed through the experience of the hyperphysicality of horse riding, is one of physical and mental strength and determination. This is contrasted with a persistent social stereotype of women’s inferior physical strength and emotional instability. The other major piece of equal opportunity legislation, the Sex Discrimination Act, would also come under this category albeit in a negative way in that
it prohibits certain behaviors called sexual discrimination. Changing valuational structures would also permit the valorization of the positive qualities of the stereotypical female body, physical lightness combined with muscular strength (when trained) and high levels of emotional intelligence. This later quality has been the focus of recent popular texts on ‘horse whispering’ or natural horsemanship (Roberts: 1997). This approach to horse handling emphasizes the importance of being tuned in to the horse’s body language and using this form of communication with the animal to form a co-operative, calm relationship. This is in contrast to other methods of horse control which involve violence, domination and fear.

Fraser (1997) claims that affirmative redistributive politics of the welfare state are not compatible with transformative recognition politics of deconstruction. One promotes group differentiation, the other destabilizes it. She argues that transformative redistribution politics of socialism work against affirmative recognition politics of multiculturalism as one undermines group differentiation and the other promotes it. She views as promising the affirmative redistribution politics of the liberal welfare state and the affirmative recognition politics of mainstream multiculturalism. The transformative redistribution politics of socialism which are essentially the transformative recognition politics of deconstruction are viewed favorably as they undermine group differentiations. Her analysis of the possibilities leads to the view that the best scenario is a goal of transformative socialist feminist redistribution. This would lead to a culture in which hierarchical gender dichotomy is replaced with networks of multiple intersecting differences that are demassified and shifting (Fraser 1997:30). In other words she advocates a form of socialism in the economy and deconstruction in the culture. The problem in practice for the application of this solution is that this would require radical change to current cultural constructions of identity and to economic interests under the structure of capitalism.

**A critique of the redistribution/recognition framework**

Fraser’s theories provide an appealing approach to working with the issues for women jockeys. She addresses her theorizing directly to the issues of social equality and inequality. She provides a cogent explanation as to why remedies on multiple levels are required and why the current approaches are less than completely adequate. However Fraser does not provide an approach that I find completely satisfying in that there is no space for addressing the issues faced by the isolated individual. Her theory presupposes groups who are faced with similar dilemmas and who can be mobilized or can organize themselves as a group. However women jockeys experience widely varying circumstances and thus have difficulty in seeing themselves as a group. Nor do they appear to have the capacity to utilize possibilities for change by using the equal opportunity legislation. Fraser’s theory also fails to provide space to discuss the resilience of the structures of the racing industry. Its regulations, traditions and structures have remained virtually unchanged for several hundred years. These systems in some cases are barely affected by modernity. For example the method of obtaining work has not changed. Jockeys must ‘tout’ for work on a day-by-day race-by-race basis. Also the
range of desires and motivations that are experienced on an individual physical and visceral level by those who work with horses are not able to be encompassed adequately by Fraser’s notion of ‘needs’ with its implication of the primacy of group needs for social recognition and equality.

Neither is Fraser’s work adequate in providing a space to examine in sufficient detail the persistence of the women jockeys in pursuing their line of work in the face of the systemic discrimination and economic uncertainty that is routine for them. It does not give sufficient attention to the way that agency works in relation to structure, provide any tools for the examination of micro interpersonal spaces or give sufficient consideration of the unconscious or non-rational motivations of actors.

**Cosmopolitanism – the importance of identity and recognition**

Further development in the line of theorising developed by Fraser and Honneth (2003) has been extended by van Hooft (2010) in his support for Honneth’s thesis that all experiences of injustice are rooted in the withdrawal of social recognition. This accords with my argument that the equal opportunity legislation does not have traction for women jockeys as it is a remedy located in the legislative realm and that action towards justice for these women needs to be developed also in the cultural and social realms. The basis of this theory of recognition is also an extended view of the nature of justice. Here injustice is not just a violation of individual rights but rather denigration of people in the social realm. It is from this denigration in the social, or a lack of recognition, that injustices in the economic and political realms stem. In effect the equal opportunity legislation enacted in Australia in the late twentieth century is based on an incomplete theory of justice.

The social recognition that is needed in order for justice and equality to prevail according to these theorists (Honneth 2003, van Hooft 2010) is enacted in three spheres. The first and fundamental sphere is love. In order for identity to be formed and sustained a child must experience emotional support that allows the development of self-confidence. This is the basis for the self respect needed to function in society as an adult. This self-confidence comes from a person being in possession of their own physical being. Lack of this love in childhood or the harm done by the denial of this physical autonomy later in life through such injustices as torture or rape are seen as not only material and physical harms but also an attack on the important psychological basis of self-confidence. In the analysis that follows of women jockeys this is addressed as I discuss the social world for these women in the domestic sphere. It is also addressed in my argument of hyperphysicality as the horse itself and the culture of the horse is a social space where love is enacted between two beings, the human and the horse. This love is reciprocal, enduring and is the basis of an enhanced identity experienced by the women. This love is also experienced through the body leading to the effect of the resilience of women jockeys. It is a sustaining factor.
The second sphere of social interaction where recognition is crucial is the law. While the sphere of love described above is an affect. The form of recognition in this sphere arises from logic or reason. It is the linking of moral and civil law into a requirement that the law be based on an attitude of respect for the ability of all persons to make decisions for themselves. When people are not recognised at this level their sense of self-respect is undermined by a feeling that they have been taken advantage of. Recognition under the law gives the possibility of individuals being respected for their autonomy. For women jockeys it could be argued that they have been recognised under the law with the enactment of the equal opportunity legislation designed to enable substantive equality. However, I argue that while their inclusion into the workforce was enabled by the legislation they have not actually received recognition under the laws that were designed to assist them. The remedies available to them under these laws do not recognise the particular structural and cultural barriers that they face in their unique work stemming from traditional stereotypical constructions of masculinity and femininity and thus are not useful to progress their cause.

The third sphere of recognition of importance to Honneth is that of achievement. This is the respect and admiration of others through merit. Validation by others of talents and achievements leads to further efforts to contribute. Sometimes this recognition is marked by material rewards but it is the recognition itself which is crucial. The dilemma in this sphere is the lack of consensus as to what is an achievement. Often the work or achievements of women are not recognised. This is demonstrated in Chapter Five. The achievements of women jockeys when riding poorly-rated horses into places in races that were better than expected has not been recognised as a phenomena nor does it appear to have led to career progression for the individual women. The harm suffered at this level by those denied recognition is a loss of their sense of self worth leading to a feeling of insignificance. For the women jockeys, once again, hyperphysicality is a prop to their self-esteem or a barrier against the full force of the harm that could be suffered through the lack of recognition given to their demonstrated achievements. They can gain a sense of achievement through a successful session training a horse to race or in riding a horse to a better than expected place in a race.

Within these three spheres recognition is needed in order for an individual to be accorded justice. If one is loved and cared for, given equal treatment before the law and given social status commensurate with one’s achievements, one can feel that justice has been dispensed; autonomy as an individual and admission into a community can be achieved. This theory of recognition combines both procedural rights with substantive conceptions of moral equality. Principles of equality and of differential esteem are encompassed and the values of individual freedoms are combined with goals of psychological and social development. Group rights as well as individual rights are addressed. This theory of recognition is useful in the analysis of women jockeys. This thesis examines four social realms within which the jockeys are variously recognised or not recognised, develop and utilise habitus and can accrue and utilize various forms of capital depending on whether or not they are given these forms of recognition. The lack of recognition for their achievements in the workplace – when riding horses well in races – is the chief problem encountered by the women. The reasons for the lack of this recognition are varied as
discussed elsewhere. The fact that the equal opportunity legislation is based on a partial theory of justice before the law which does not include recognition of achievement and is not culturally accessible for women jockeys due to the structure of allocation of their work makes the legislation ineffective for women jockeys.

**BOURDIEU- HABITUS, FIELD, CAPITAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

Bourdieu’s concepts of field, capital and habitus and how these interact with each other to explain social change have been used in various contexts. They have been applied in discussions of organizational change (Vaughn 2008, Swartz 2008, Emirbayer and Johnston 2008), analyses of class, gender and sexuality (Skeggs 2004, McNay 2005, Witz 2004) and in theorizing social change (Lash 1993, Crossley 2003). The application of these concepts across the range of areas that this study encompasses, those of change, agency, relational gender and the effect of organization and structure makes the utilization of these concepts most useful in explaining the situation for women jockeys.

Pierre Bourdieu has been an important and prolific social theorist in the late twentieth century and one whose concepts have been utilized in feminist discussion due to one of the central emphases in his work, namely, the complexity of the relationship between culture and power (Adkins and Skeggs 2004, Swartz 1997). As such, his theoretical outline is most valuable in providing a framework for analysis for the thesis of this work.

*At the heart of Bourdieu’s sociological inquiry is the question of why forms of social inequality persist without powerful resistance. The answer, Bourdieu argues lies in how cultural resources, practices and institutions function to maintain unequal social relations. The relationship of culture to power stands at the center of Bourdieu’s intellectual project (Swartz 1997:285).*

As this thesis argues, the very existence of women jockeys is an example of powerful resistance to social inequality. For these women their resistance has been unable to be formed into any collective action due to the structuring of the work of the jockey.

**Field**

While Bourdieu argues strongly against the idea that society can be analyzed simply in terms of classes and class-determined ideology one of his key ideas is that of the concept of the ‘field’. This is defined as

*a network or configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to specific profits that are at stake in the field.*
as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology etc)” (Bourdieu and Waquant 1992:97)

More simply, the field comprises A system of social positions, structured internally in terms of power relationships (Wallace and Wolf, 2005:113).

It is a social arena in which people develop strategies to maneuver and struggle over desirable resources. This is similar to Fraser’s ‘struggle over needs’. Fields can be occupied by either individuals or institutions engaged in the same activity. Within Bourdieu’s discussions these ‘fields’, where the struggle over needs takes place, can be identified as the academic field, the economic field, the religious field and so on. He states that;

in order for a field to function there have to be stakes and people prepared to play the game, endowed with the habitus that implies knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of the field, the stakes and so on (Bourdieu, 1992:72)

Bourdieu himself did not consider gender in his concept of field in a way that satisfies a feminist approach. He did not identify gender as a primary issue in the accumulation of capital or lack of it but addressed gender issues more from a perspective of the realization of femininity within social classes. He also maintained that gender created social divisions within classes rather than across them (Swartz 1997:155). However, a number of theorists have claimed that the application of Bourdieu’s concepts has the potential to illuminate some of the complexity and multiple positioning of the issue of gender and gendered relations in modernity (Mottier 2002, Atkins 2004, Krais 2006). Gender is an aspect of identity that is both shaped and chosen, constantly contested and malleable. Social norms around gender identity make the inclusion of women jockeys so contested. The physical presentation for work of a women jockey is indistinguishable from the men. One is hard pressed to pick out which are the male and which are the female jockeys at the races. All are dressed alike and have a similar physique. The helmet obscures hair and faces which are often gender identifiers. This presents a conundrum, not just within the racing industry but for the broader society. The female jockey’s participation in her work is a particular challenge to male gender identification. This challenge is especially potent when successful female riders disrupt the modernist binary opposition between male and female by demonstrating equal physical prowess, mental toughness and physical agility despite a discourse of male physical superiority that has traditionally governed and organized the field.

Bourdieu’s concept of field goes beyond the Marxist idea that the economic sphere is the most important. Bourdieu posits that modern complex societies will have large numbers of separate but interlocking fields. Bourdieu’s concept of field emphasizes the relational mode of reasoning, encouraging explanations which include underlying or invisible relations that shape action rather than emphasizing structure as understood in other

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sociological analyses. The idea of field as used by Bourdieu highlights the conflictual nature of social life and focuses on *the social conditions of struggle that shape cultural production* (Swartz 1997:119). This emphasis on a range of interlocking discursive fields is useful in the discussion of jockeys, particularly in the consideration of why equal opportunity legislation in place for nearly twenty years has not ensured the equal participation of women. This is because this remedy for the unequal distribution of work is a legal remedy concerning itself with the economic field of work. The impact of the remedy of legislation has not been able to make a great difference because other ‘fields’, the social and cultural, have an equal or greater impact in the racing industry and on women jockeys.

**Capital**

Bourdieu’s idea of capital is a crucial aspect of this theory. While he follows a generally Marxist view in affirming that capital is ‘accumulated labor’, he takes a broader view of labor in aligning it with power which is embodied in a variety of forms. He categorizes the main types of capital as *economic capital* (money and property) *cultural capital* (cultural goods and services including educational credentials) *social capital* (*acquaintances and networks*) (Swartz 1997: 74). Rather than aligning capital to types of work, Bourdieu understands capital as sets of power relations and social attributes. He further extends this notion of capital to include the cultural capital of non-economic goods and services. This encompasses resources such as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information and credentials. These forms of capital are an ensemble of cultivated dispositions that are internalized by socialization, objectified in the form of works of art, scientific instruments etc that require specialized cultural abilities to use and are institutionalized in the form of credentials.

Capital can be variously defined as the resources, networks and capacities which are utilized for social capacity and empowerment but also capital in the financial sense. A number of these forms of capital are important in the Victorian racing industry and as such impact on the work and inclusion of women jockeys. Financial capital is an important factor in the discussion of jockeys. As the empirical data shows, the way the work of jockeys is structured within the racing industry, the ‘field’ in which the work takes place, lacks job security leading to a financial precariousness for jockeys. This works against the identification of inequality of the group that may lead to an individual being prepared to take on a change champion role. Swartz claims that Bourdieu;

> makes a convincing case that the opposition between cultural capital and economic capital operates as a fundamental differentiating principle of power in modern societies. It distinguishes among elites who base their claim to power on cultural resources and those who rely more on economic resources (1997: 288).

This is another key point in this discussion of the situation of women jockeys vis a vis the equal opportunity legislation which is elaborated on in other chapters. The legislative remedy for inequality in the economic sense of equality of access to work is ineffective.
because it is an instrumental remedy based in the legal economic field. It does not address any of the rich cultural factors that form other vectors of ‘capital’ in the racing industry, and which propagate the habitus with people in the industry. In addition, the nature of the rich economic and financial rewards available in horseracing make the economic field one where change is strongly resisted. Women in racing are not able to utilize the various forms of capital available to them. The monopolistic utilization of economic, cultural and social capital by males in the field of the realm of work in the racing industry operates in a powerful way to exclude women. A remedy (the EO legislation) that does not address itself to all of these forms of capital operating on women is not effective.

Habitus

The idea of habitus is a key contribution to contemporary social theory in that it addresses the relationship between agency and structure (Swartz 1997: 290). For Bourdieu the habitus is,

a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express master of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu 1990: 53).

or the durably installed generative principles which produce and reproduce the practices of a class or class faction (Jary and Jary 2000). This concept has been adapted over time to include, as Swartz points out, the bodily as well as the cognitive and to emphasize consciously inventive as well as habituated forms of action. The basic idea remains of a set of deeply internalized master dispositions that generate action. This theory of action is

practical rather than discursive, pre-reflective rather than conscious, embodied as well as cognitive, durable though adaptive, reproductive rather than generative and inventive and the product of particular social conditions though transportable to others (Swartz 1997:101).

This idea of habitus enables action to be viewed as engendered and regulated by fundamental dispositions that are internalized mainly through early socialization. The notion of habitus is both a structured product and a structuring producer of social situations. It captures the embodied performative aspect of social structures and the mechanism whereby they are transmitted across generations and through historical time Crossley (2003:43). As outlined in other chapters, it is crucial to consider the history of the racing industry in the examination of why modern social movements and structures in the form of the women’s movement and the equal opportunity legislation of the later twentieth century have taken considerable time to penetrate this social setting.

Female jockeys face dilemmas in negotiating the various contradictory discourses and social spaces that constitute the complexity of their lives and work. For women jockeys
habitus is a socialized subjectivity that is a part of a continually evolving formation of identity. This habitus, located in the body, and enacted through kinesics and proxemics, also consists of conscious aspects of identity such as dispositions, attitudes and tastes. Of particular interest in my explanation of the situation for women jockeys is the assertion reinforced by Lawler in Adkins and Skeggs (2004) that habitus is a concept that cuts across conventional distinctions between mind/body, conscious/unconscious and indeed derives much of its force from non-conscious elements. In the chapter on the horse/rider discourse and elsewhere, I elaborate why I argue that this non-conscious aspect of the habitus formation for people who connect with horses is so important in the discussion for women jockeys

Crossley (2003) further utilizes Bourdieu’s idea of habitus to explore the idea of a ‘radical habitus’, that is, the formation of an identity that is inclined towards radical social/political activism in a way that penetrates the life of the individual developing this habitus. He refers to his own and others research into case studies of ‘radicals’ of the 1960’s to explain this idea. This idea of the radical habitus is an interesting one to explore in my argument about women jockeys. A ‘radical habitus’ of a type which would help to change the situation for women jockeys is, with the exception of some very notable individuals, a difficult one for women jockeys to develop or sustain. However I argue strongly that a ‘radical habitus’ of the type that leads to an empowered individual physical presence with horses and in the world on an individual basis is paradoxically a key to explaining women’s participation as jockeys at all. They develop a radical habitus through work with horses but the type of radical habitus developed does not translate to a desire to consciously and directly challenge the culture of horseracing. Thorough-going change would require fulfillment of the three pillars of social justice referred to by van Hooft (following Honneth, Mead and Hegel)

*Empirical studies point to the importance of both the family and the higher education system as agencies of political socialization in respect to social movements. Being born in a more political or religious household increases the likelihood that one will become an activist as does a university education (Crossley 2003:51."

As the empirical data shows, women jockeys are sometimes a product or become part of a family who are enmeshed in the racing industry or horse world in some way. They are also typically blue collar workers who do not complete secondary education. Also, as later discussion outlines in more detail, the structures of the racing industry on the four levels within which this argument is contextualized mitigate strongly against the development or maintenance of the “radical habitus” in a conscious form. Women jockeys do not consciously set out to be radical or to present a challenge to an industry in which they aspire to succeed on the same terms as men. They do not ask that any special consideration be given to gender differences or that any gender based accommodations be made. However, the very act of their inclusion, their appearance and their success in itself poses a fundamental challenge to one of the signifiers of maleness in Australian society, that of physical prowess and success in high profile sports. They continue to aspire to work in the realm of horse racing due to their very early socialization in equine oriented
activities where hyperphysicality is first experienced. This experience leads to the development of a habitus connected on many levels, cultural, physical and social, to the horse. The experience of the hyperphysicality of the horse riding experience is a powerful motivator in their desire to continue to ride.

**Theorizing resistance to change**

One of the most appealing aspects of the application of the Bourdieusian framework to the issue of women jockeys and equal opportunity is its applicability to the analysis of social change. The triumvirate principles of capital, field and habitus can be used to theorize why social change has occurred for jockeys (women are permitted to compete in the same events as men) and why this social change has not resulted in a more equal participation in this field of work. Swartz (1997) points out that a number of critics of Bourdieu see a very strong emphasis in his theory of social reproduction that does not adequately accommodate social crisis and change. However, as Bourdieu himself has pointed out (Bourdieu 1989:9, 1977:95, 1990:61), his theory addresses itself more often to the tendency for structures to perpetuate themselves, the reflexive attributes of the relational concepts of field, habitus and capital and the equal value given to the power of these structuring concepts enabling an explanation of social change. This is particularly evident in the interactions between habitus and field.

*dialectical relations between habitus and field, three different kinds of situations can occur. In situations where opportunities and constraints are quite similar to the situation which the dispositions of habitus were first internalized, habitus will tend to produce practices that correspond to existing structures. This results in social reproduction. In situations where the opportunities and constrains of fields change gradually, habitus tends to adapt, though there will be some degree of ‘mismatch’. These are situations Bourdieu has in mind when he talks about the ‘hysteresis’ of habitus. Though habitus is an adaptive mechanism it always addresses present situations in terms of past experiences. Change comes about when traditional strategies are deposed in relation to novel phenomena (Swartz 1997:213).*

Thus, depending on the situation in the field, the adaptive processes of the habitus vary according to location in a field and the amount and type of capital available. Crossley (2003) has both critiqued and recommended Bourdieu’s framework in studying social movements particularly in relation to the radical habitus from the point of view of social movements and social practice.

*His notion of habitus as both structured and structuring, a product and a producer of social worlds, for example, captures both the embodied performative aspect of social structures, and the mechanism whereby they are transmitted across generations and through historical time. Practice, for Bourdieu, is an effect of actions and interactions which are shaped, simultaneously and in equal measure by the habitus and capital of agents as well*
as the context and dynamism constituted by their shared participation on a common ‘game’ or ‘market’ (field) (Crossley, 2003:43-44).

The fluidity and multidimensionality of Bourdieu’s concepts along with the lack of emphasis on either structure or agency, but rather an examination of how the reflexive interrelationship of these concepts can explain a social setting, serves well the analysis of women jockeys in their workplace. The tendency for structures to be enduring is well illustrated by the example of the Victorian racing industry and gender identification by the demonstration of masculinity by sporting prowess. The persistence of the women in their drive to continue to work in his field is explained by the development of hyperphysicality in the habitus. The ability to identify social spaces within fields (the domestic, economic, cultural, workplace, discourse of equal opportunity) and the tools of habitus and capital that work within these fields are ideal for the explanation of the situation for women jockeys as well as for developing recommendations for efforts towards greater equality for women jockeys in their workplace participation.

CONCLUSION

In reviewing the possible theoretical approaches to the analysis of the situation of women jockeys in Victoria in the late twentieth century there are many approaches that provide useful tools and concepts. Critical Discourse Analysis gives the ideas of the importance of kinesics and proxemics, the sensations and significations of the body, the ideas that social subjects are not passive and that semiosis and language are equally seminal forms of meaning making. CDA provides a method of exploring relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequalities. It does not give adequate space to the importance of structure or the importance of history in shaping structures and discourse. Theories of the body emphasize how the body can managed and used as a cultural resource and how the discourses of the body can be constitutive of the body itself. The new approaches to ideas of the body approach the body both as a cultural system of meaning and foreground the phenomenology of lived experience. Bodies can be viewed as ‘becomings’ within these contexts. Once again, though, theories of the body do not provide enough space to specifically address the social structures in which bodies operate. Nancy Fraser’s concept of redistribution, recognition and the struggle over needs by contrast provides an emphasis on the macro, the broad brush of movement for social change. She explains how ‘needs talk’ leads to political claims and thus to the potential for change in the culture. She provides the idea of ‘publics’ and how leading publics define and politicize issues. Fraser explains how needs then become social struggles as they seek state legitimization. She also explains how the remedies for socio-economic and cultural injustice work against each other. However Fraser’s framework does not include space for consideration of the micro, the aspects of bodily work that women jockeys experience nor does it provide space to consider social change at the level of identity rather than through social movements. The extension of this line of theorizing by Honneth and Hooft in their support of a theory of recognition in three spheres as a basis of equality is useful when addressing the social spaces in which this recognition is needed for women jockeys. In conjunction with this, Bourdieu’s relational ideas of capital, field,
habitus and social change provide a well developed and clear set of tools to explain social relations and resistance to social change. The concepts are able to be applied to the complexity of the social world through the emphasis that Bourdieu gives to reflexivity in the relationship of the concepts to each other. They enable an examination of agency and structure, the micro and the macro, individual action and the effect of structure. The relationship of Bourdieu’s theory to empirical research and the application of these ideas in a range of settings from feminist analysis to organizational analysis to specific studies such as that of female snowboarders (Thorpe: 2009) shows their broad applicability. Using Bourdieu’s framework also gives scope to include relevant aspects of other theoretical approaches such as the emphasis on semiosis in Critical Discourse Analysis and Honneth’s three pillar theory of recognition as justice. Discussions in other chapters utilizing these concepts will demonstrate the usefulness of the Bourdieusian framework in both explaining the situation of workplace participation for women jockeys in the late twentieth century, why a legislative solution to inequality has not been fully effective, and to indicate where future efforts towards equal workplace participation for women jockeys may be effective.
CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Carlyon once wrote that racing was more than an industry. It was an addiction, a culture, with a certain sense of humour, loaded with danger, physical and financial, and a hint of conspiracy. It was also, he said, a romantic quest.

(Tippett, G, ‘The Age’ newspaper page 5, 9 October 2011)

As a researcher with some experience in the world of horse-riding, I was situated as a ‘partial participant’. I am a horse owner and lifelong rider who experiences the physicality of horse-riding. In addition I am also acquainted with, and related to, participants in the industry. One of my riding coaches is a current racehorse trainer, track rider and former jockey. My farrier is also a part time trainer. A close female friend is a former jockey, and my husband’s family are involved in racing as owners, and race club officials. In addition, professionally, as an equal opportunity manager within a large organization, a significant part of my work had been to map, analyze and make recommendations about how to improve the participation of women in that workplace. I was thus both an initiated insider at the same time as a critical outsider. This was my social location as researcher. As Denzin remarks … the methods for making sense of experience are always personal…The researcher as a writer is a bricoleur. He or she fashions meaning and interpretation out of ongoing experience (1998:315). Silverman (2006) also indicates that one of the basic resources of all social research is some form of participant observation. Accordingly the choice of data collected for this thesis is informed by these two experiences. I argue that the horse riding experience is not able to be well articulated in verbal or written language and is thus a part of the discourse of the racing industry that is unrecognized by those who do not experience this phenomenon directly. This leads to an attempt to uncover and illuminate this unrecognized phenomenon through inviting riders and racing industry professionals to discuss their experiences. The questions in the interviews were framed to discover whether female jockeys experienced their situation as disadvantaged or not, whether this mattered to them and if so, what were they doing about it. It is difficult for members of the racing industry to be critical of processes in which they are enmeshed.

My professional work in a role responsible for reporting to the EOWWA involved working within a traditional hierarchical structure in a large organization, attempting to map, analyze and make recommendations to improve the participation of women in the workplace, collecting and analyzing quantitative data in the form of basic numbers and percentages of women in the workplace at various levels. Positivist, quantitative approaches were the only ones that were valued in this work context. This approach was modeled on the requirements of the federal Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWWA). EOWWA is a statutory authority located within the portfolio of the Australian Department of Employment and Workplace Relations. As
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described earlier the Agency requires all organizations in Australia that employ over one hundred people to provide an annual report on the numbers of women in the workplace together with a report of investigations and actions that the workplace is implementing to address any identified issues. The data collected by this agency yields a wealth of information about women’s participation in a range of industries. However, the numbers of women jockeys and information about their careers is not collected under the auspices of this legislative approach because jockeys are employed neither by any racing industry body nor by individual trainers but are contracted individually on a race by race basis. It is worthy of note that the government agency which is charged with ostensibly guiding the improvement of women’s workforce participation (EOWWA) employs a limited methodology requiring only quantitative analyses. The only government agency that provides information about numbers of jockeys is the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). The data from the ABS is not readily available on a state by state level nor on any detailed longitudinal basis but rather as a snapshot at census time. In looking at processes of change for women jockeys and assessment of whether changes for women are happening slowly or quickly additional detail is required. Hence the initial data collected for this thesis has been the numbers of women jockeys registered at the elite level (Jockeys A) in Victoria.

The slow progress of social change and the varying levels in which the struggle for this change takes place has led to theorizing multi-levels of analysis according to Bourdieu’s concepts of capital field and habitus. These are applied to the micro-interpersonal and interspecies interactions, the domestic, the world of work and the discourses of women in the broader society as they impact on women jockeys. The methodological approach aims to capture a variety of data relating to this schema. The qualitative component of the study utilized in depth interviews, grounded theory (to elicit major themes and discourses) and critical discourse analysis (to analyse text, context and interpretive frames) as described by Fairclough (1992). The steps included:

- gathering a range of secondary sources relating to contemporary and historical background
- constructing critical questions to put to participants framed from researcher experience, initial interviews and the literature.
- undertaking extended face to face and telephone interviews with a range of actors within the industry
- transcribing the data
- coding and recording the data to identify emergent themes and discourses
- analysis of the data with regard to four levels or social spaces inhabited by women jockeys namely the micro-interpersonal/interspecies level, the domestic, the world of work as a professional jockey and the broader society.

This approach is one which is congruent with Bourdieu’s methodology which combines statistical analysis with interviews and ethnographical analyses (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 227). Bourdieu also makes a claim for the researcher using personal experience. He frankly admits that personal feeling or ‘sympathy’ towards a subject was a factor in the choice of his researches (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 164). Bourdieu’s approach is
explained and defended in “An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The keys to his approach are the reflexive nature of the method and the theory behind it.

Indeed the most ‘empirical’ technical choices cannot be disengaged from the most ‘theoretical’ choices in the construction of the object. It is only as a function of a definite construction of the object that such a sampling method, such as a technique of data collection and analysis etc. becomes imperative. More precisely it is only as a function of a body of hypothesis derived from a set of theoretical presumptions that any empirical datum can function as a proof or, as Anglo American scholars put it as evidence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 225).

Bourdieu also directly addresses issues around sport in his essay “Programme for a Sociology of Sport” (1990: 156) He explains some of the difficulties in studying sport. He points out that the sport studied must be located both in its position in the space of sport but also in its position in the social space. The form that the sport takes in a physical sense and the type of body that is required for the sport also needs to be addressed in context of the broad social space. He points out that the ‘universe’ of the culture of the sport is nested within a broader social space. He also addresses the difficulty in discussing and analyzing the work of sporting bodies, pointing out the difficulty for sportspeople in putting into language descriptions of bodily sensations. Those who understand the sport well are not disposed to talk about it well, and those who don’t know the sport well talk about it badly.

I think that sport is, with dance, one of the terrains in which is posed with maximum acuteness the problem of the relations between theory and practice and also between language and the body (Bourdieu 1990: 166)

It is an integral part of my argument that the hyperphysicality, the horse-riding experience, both explains the resilience of the women working as jockeys and the resilience of the resistance to women working as jockeys and is an area where efforts towards further change for women may need to be addressed i.e., in the cultural space of discourse of empowered female bodies. In discussing changes to practices as this thesis does, I take up Bourdieu’s point .. the very changes in practices can be understood only on the basis of this logic, in so far as one of the factors which determine them is the desire to maintain in practice the gaps that exist between different positions (Bourdieu 1990: 158).

This description of the work and social settings for women jockeys, within the competing discourses that prevail, addresses four interlocking social spaces or fields as described earlier where habitus is formed and challenged and capital is gained and denied as the women jockeys attempt to gain substantive equality in the form of respect and recognition as professional race riders.

Within this outline the data collected illustrates the argument that the EEO legislation has failed to deliver substantive equality for female jockeys at the elite level and that the case study of the impact of EEO legislation in the racing industry indicates that further efforts
to achieve substantive equality for women must take place in the social/cultural realm rather than relying on action in the legislative realm. As detailed in the theory chapter, the approach of Bourdieu is the principle theory, augmented by integrating additional theoretical perspectives. Analysis in later chapters will address the findings as well as the discourses of equality for women that exist in the broader society. How this equality discourse has been utilized by the women to make changes for themselves and others involves critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2000) as described earlier.

The use of a range quantitative and qualitative methods and secondary sources provides triangulation, giving an understanding of different aspects of the phenomenon of riding in horse-races as a professional jockey. Discussion of whether the methods chosen have measured what they intend to measure is included here.

SECONDARY SOURCES AND LITERATURE

The range of data collected gives a picture of the racing industry, the participation of women jockeys and attitudes towards them during a particular time frame. In order to stay true to the methodological breadth recommended by Bourdieu the picture of the racing industry needs to be backed up by some interrogation of the culture in which these participants in the world of horse racing in Australia operate in the late twentieth and early twenty first century. Accordingly, a range of secondary sources, academic, historical and in the popular culture were canvassed to form a view about the culture of horse racing in Australia in the late twentieth century. These were outlined and explained in the introductory chapters.

QUANTITATIVE DATA

Prior to any discussions about the nature of women as jockeys there needs to be a definition of a jockey followed by a mapping of the participation of women in terms of numbers in the profession and the amount of work available to women on a day to day basis. A definition of the category of worker called ‘jockey’ is included in the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) system of Australian Standard of Occupations (ASCO). The ABS also provides data on the participation of a range of types of worker in sports and recreation occupations (Australian Bureau of Statistics: 2003) comparing data from 1996 and 2001. This is categorized by gender and includes ‘jockey’ as a discrete category. This is the definition in operation during the time frame of the sample studied as discussed below. ABS data also provides information about the relative income levels of men and women in sports and recreation occupations expressed as an average income level for the category every two years from 1994 to 2002.

Jockeys registration- Number of women riders and apprentices.

The first task was the collection of the numbers of women jockeys and apprentices in Victoria between 1982, the first year that women were authorized to ride at the elite level
against men and 2003. In gathering this data the assumption was, that if the legislation has been effective, the numbers of women participants should indicate steady increase in the number of women riding top horses at this elite level.

For jockeys to be able to ride in races in Victoria they must be registered by Racing Victoria Limited (RVL), a public company under the Corporations Act. In December 2001 RVL assumed the functions and responsibilities as the Principal Racing Authority governing thoroughbred racing in Victoria. This coincided with the commencement of the Racing (Racing Victoria Ltd) Act 2001. Prior to RVL's establishment, the Victoria Racing Club had responsibility as the Principal Club in Victoria. RVL was established with the support of racing clubs, racing industry bodies and the State Government to provide independent governance of thoroughbred racing in Victoria. RVL is charged with providing training and registration for jockeys in Victoria.

A list of licensed jockeys appears in the magazine “Inside Racing”, the RVL official publication, published monthly. “Inside Racing” is readily available from newsagents. The listing of jockeys includes their name, address, and usually several phone numbers, home, mobile and if appropriate, the phone number of their agent. The listing is organized into lists of jockeys at the various levels- ‘Jockey A’, ‘Jockey B’, ‘Jockey A Cross Country’ ‘Jockey B Cross Country’, ‘Approval to Ride in Flat races at Picnics’, ‘Amateur Riders Flat Races’. The publication also lists the Victorian apprentices who have permits to ride in races. Gender is easily discernable in these lists as full first names are given. Total numbers of Jockeys A have been collected from this source for the years 1982 to 2003.

Of registered jockeys those at the ‘Jockey A’ level are those for whom riding in horse races and the accompanying track work is their main source of income. The jockeys in this category are professionals. For some of those listed in the other categories, riding in races could be something that they do as a hobby or which they do on a part time basis and which would need to be supplemented by other sources of income. The numbers of jockeys and apprentices may vary over the course of a year from month to month as apprentices ‘come out of their time’ or finish their apprenticeships at different times of the year and other jockeys retire or return from injury or sabbatical. At any one point in time the numbers of women jockeys actually available to ride may be quite different to the numbers available the same time the following month. For this reason the numbers of women listed as ‘Jockeys A’, and apprentices in the May edition of the “Inside Racing” publication have been used to obtain a snapshot of the numbers of women riders each May over the years investigated. This snapshot methodology is consistent with that used in other statistical data collections such as those of the Australian Census and the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency. This data from 1982 to 2003 was collected from copies of “Inside Racing” magazine in the archives of Racing Victoria Limited located in Flemington, Victoria.

**Jockeys’ participation- Do women get the rides?**

The racing industry uses a unique method of work allocation to employ jockeys, that is, a system of casualised work at a level not experienced in many other industries. Jockeys
are literally employed on a race-by-race basis at the discretion of the trainer of the horse who is running in a race that day. A successful ride on a particular horse one day does not necessarily guarantee a ride on that horse the next time it runs in a race. No explanation is deemed necessary for hiring any particular jockey in any specific race on any horse on any day. For this reason it is not enough just to examine the numbers of women registered to ride at the professional level. Hypothetically, a situation could conceivably exist where although 50% of the jockeys registered could be women none may be invited to ride any races. Having ascertained the numbers of women registered and whether or not they are getting rides in races at the professional level, there remains the question as to whether they were being offered an equal chance of succeeding as the men.

In order to gauge this, it is necessary to understand that there are four hurdles which must be considered to decide if women jockeys have achieved equal opportunity with men. These hurdles straddle industrial, social and cultural realms. Firstly they need to be registered but the act of becoming registered does not guarantee any work at all. Secondly, they need to be offered rides. Thirdly, women jockeys need to be offered rides at a rate proportional to their registered numbers. The final hurdle is for women to be offered rides on horses with any possibility of winning. The process of getting rides from week to week involves checking which horses are running in the races and then phoning the trainers to request a ride on that horse. This is sometimes done by agents employed to do this phoning and obtaining of rides. A study of the form guide which lists the horses are running in the races the next day, the details of each trainer, jockey, the weight allocated and other information including the horses’ previous wins, breeding and odds, is necessary to see if the women are getting rides at all. This form guide reveals if the women are being offered rides on horses that appear to have a chance of winning. Most importantly, the odds indicate where that particular horse is expected to come in the field. It is this study of the field which indicates whether the women are actually getting race rides. An analysis of the odds also reveals whether the women who are getting rides are getting rides on horses that are expected to win or whether the women who are getting rides are only being offered rides on horses that are poor runners with no chance of success. The odds are set by the bookmakers. Bookmakers set the market before each race giving each horse ‘odds’ based on a judgment about where the horse will finish, that is first, second or third place. Whether the woman jockey is placed on a horse that is expected to win can be gauged by checking the odds. If a horse is quoted at 12/1 and six horses in the race are quoted at odds better than 12/1 then the horse is expected to finish seventh.

**The sampling frame**

The vast amount of raw data from which analyses could be drawn has necessitated a sampling frame. A great number of people in the industry who are involved in racing do so in some combination with other related work such as the owner/trainer who is also a farrier or the owner/trainer/rider who is also a part time nurse. As the emphasis was on women at the elite or top level of professional riders the Spring Racing Carnival in Victoria was chosen. This is the premium season for racing in Australia. In Australia horse-racing for most of the racing public means predominantly the city races or ‘group
races’. Country racing, while being an intrinsic part of the industry, is often looked upon as a training ground for horses in preparation for city or group races. It is undeniable that there exists a duel level hierarchy within horse-racing where the city or ‘group’ races are those with the most prestige and prize money. The racing season is divided into premier racing carnivals for each state with the top levels of the industry located in Victoria and New South Wales. Horses are typically trained and prepared to be at their peak for these carnivals. In Victoria the peak season runs through October and November. Top horses are prepared for this season in races through August and September at the city tracks which are Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield and Moonee Valley. The time frame of August 1 to November 30 has thus been chosen as the sample for each year to enable comparisons to be made of races of like status from year to year.

For this section of the study, races in Victoria for the years 1990 to 1994 and 2000 to 2004 were analyzed. This enabled comparison of two five year periods of the spring racing carnival. Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield and Moonee Valley were examined from August 1 to November 30 for these years. For each of the races held at these tracks from August to September each year the numbers of horses running were counted as well as the numbers of male and female jockeys riding in these races. For the rides allocated to female jockeys the odds were noted and the results from the following day’s newspaper checked to record the actual result. The form and the race results published in *The Age* newspaper were used to gather this data.

Charts were drawn up for each month as follows:

*Victoria November 2001*
*Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Total possible rides</th>
<th>Total female rides</th>
<th>Anticipated result</th>
<th>Actual result</th>
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<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Flemington</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4/14</td>
<td>5/11</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10/15</td>
<td>4/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>16/16</td>
<td>11/16</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Moonee Valley</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>10/10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4/12</td>
<td>5/12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
This chart shows that on the 22 November 2001 there was a race meeting held at Moonee Valley. In the set of races held that day there were a total of 73 horses listed to run. Of the riders of these 73 horses women were on four of the horses running. Of these four runners allocated to women jockeys one was expected to run last in the field of ten or 10/10. The newspaper the next day recorded the results and that horse did run last in its race or 10/10. At this race day on the 22 November the next of the horses being ridden by a woman was expected to come middle of the field or 5th out of ten runners and did better than expected coming 4th out of ten. The next was predicted to come 9th out of the twelve horses in the race and didn’t do as well as expected, coming 11th out the twelve horses running. One did better than expected coming 10th out of the twelve runners instead of 12th as predicted. The other horse being ridden by a woman jockey that day came 5th out of the twelve horses in the race while it was predicted to come 4th. These charts provide detail about not only how many women are getting rides in the races sampled but also tell us what proportion of horses in races at these tracks in these months were allocated to women. They also indicate whether the horses that women are given to ride are ones that are likely to win based on the horses’ past performance and the odds set by the bookmakers.

From this raw data for each month two types of summary were prepared. These were designed to more clearly show the proportion of the available rides that were allocated to women jockeys and to summarize the data on whether women are offered rides on horses that may have a chance of winning. For each month at the racecourses studied the total number of horses who raced was collated. The numbers of these horses ridden by men and the number ridden by women were compared. The summaries clearly indicate the proportion of the available rides which are given to women jockeys.

For example;

**Summary - Victoria 2001**
*Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockeys rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockeys rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4028</td>
<td>3978</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table tells us that in Victoria in 2001, at the racetracks of Flemington, Moonee Valley and Sandown, for the month of August, there were a total of 904 horses running in all of the races held at those tracks during this month. Of these 904 horses, men were riding 886 and women were riding 18. Thus the proportion of the available rides allocated to men was 98.0% and the proportion of available rides allocated to women was
2.0%. The other set of data summary tables prepared summarized the level of success that the women jockeys were able to achieve relative to the predictions as to where the horses they were riding were expected to come in the field.

For example;

2001- Summary of anticipated results and placings of horses ridden by women jockeys
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley August to November

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total possible rides</th>
<th>4028</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total women’s rides</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anticipated results

| 1st three including win | 4 |
| 1st 50% of field –including win | 9 |
| Last 50% of field | 37 |

Actual results

| 1st three including win | 5 |
| 1st 50% of field including win | 12 |
| Last 50% of field | 30 |
| Did not start (scratched) | 3 |
| Unplaced but not known where as placings listed in results | |

This summary tells us that in 2001 at the designated racecourses in the months studied there were a total of 4028 horses running in races. Of these 4028 horses, 50 were ridden by women. Of the 50 horses ridden by women, 4 were expected to do well, coming either first second or third. Nine of these 50 horses ridden by women were expected to come in the first half of the field and 37 of them in the last half of the field. However, the actual results show that the horses ridden by women did better than expected with five of the horses ridden by women coming 1st, 2nd or 3rd rather than the four that were predicted to do so. The horses ridden by women did better than expected overall with twelve of those ridden by women coming home in the first half of the field rather than the nine that were predicted to do so.

This part of the data collection has a high level of reliability. The information can be collected by anyone who chooses to access the newspaper form guides and results of races as described.

Using this sampling frame elucidates total numbers in the workforce and their participation at elite level. This approach parallels that taken by the EOWWA. The
success of the inclusion of women jockeys into the workforce is measured by their levels at the top of the profession,

QUALITATIVE

Interviews

The quantitative data collection described above revealed how many women were registered in the racing industry to ride as jockeys at the elite level, whether they were actually offered work, and whether they competed successfully when they are allocated rides. The quantitative data revealed whether women were allocated rides on winning horses and thus whether their chances of participating and competing with men at the elite level was facilitated or blocked. The data showed that women were not allocated rides in proportion to the number of women available to ride nor were they given horses that were expected to place or win. The quantitative data however does not reveal any more detailed patterns of participation or any processes of social change that have affected these women. Accordingly, qualitative methods were used. Over the course of the study a series of thirty five interviews took place with a range of industry actors.

After the initial two face to face interviews it was found that phone interviewing was the most efficient method because of workplace exigencies. Jockeys work extremely long hours in a range of geographic locations. A work day may consist of a 4:00 am start at track work, driving to a racetrack on the other side of the city or the state, followed by the same thing the next day but driving in the opposite direction. For instance, one well known, experienced jockey who still regularly rides in city races lives in Camperdown and commutes 200 km to Melbourne to ride in races. Also, due to the capricious nature of the allocation of work, it is sometimes difficult for jockeys to commit to being in a particular place at a particular time for an interview. The priority is naturally to accept offers of work that may come along. Jockeys are also well used to communicating by phone as part of their work. Work allocation is done by way of phone call and most jockeys and trainers carry mobile phones most of the time. I believe that it was this familiarity with the phone as a mode of necessary everyday communication that made this interviewing method successful for this group of people in a way that may not have been so for subjects in other settings. I found that participants were more likely to be available between midday to 2 pm. Discussions in the evenings were not an option for workers in the racing industry as many of them are in bed extremely early to prepare for the very early start the following day. The main disadvantage of the phone interviews was the lack of opportunity to build a greater level of rapport with participants which would have been enhanced by face to face interviews.

Distributing surveys and requesting written responses was discounted as a method as many of the participants would not have achieved a very high levels of education (many would not have finished secondary school). Written responses thus carried a high risk of eliciting few responses. Interviews were preceded by letters of introduction which were followed up by a phone call a day or so after the letter would have been received. In
most cases the interview took place at the first phone call. In the course of conducting the interviews there were only two potential participants who bluntly refused a request for an interview. In several cases convenient interview times could not be arranged. In these instances I approached another participant. The sample combined randomization with some structure - an attempt was made to find people who were of varying gender, ages and levels of success. Given the willingness of most of those approached to participate there is a good range of responses. Care was taken to gain permission to tape the conversation, to explain fully the purposes of the study and to assure them of confidentiality and their right to opt out at any time in which case their material would be destroyed. A stamped self addressed envelope was sent with the research outline and consent form. As a precaution verbal consent was obtained on the tape. This would not have been an unfamiliar process because the racing industry is highly regulated and the participants would have been familiar with filling out and returning official forms.

**Jockeys**

Within the category of ‘Jockeys A’ ten female and five male jockeys were interviewed. I chose initially to approach participants within this category with varying levels of success from jockeys who were household names and had won many major races and premierships to people who were not so well known. The informal sampling was largely successful. However, if someone proved difficult to contact over the course of several days I approached someone else from the list. The sample was thus largely a convenience sample within the chosen category. The fifteen interviews conducted were drawn from a pool of one hundred and eighty four possible participants.

**Apprentices**

Five female apprentices and one male apprentice were interviewed. Once again this sample was chosen from the names listed in the Inside Racing’ magazine for 2005 and 2006. The five chosen were from a list of forty five possible participants.

**Trainers**

Nine trainers, four women and five men, were interviewed. This sample included individuals living in the city and the country and ranged from one person widely recognized as one of the top trainers in Australia to several training on a very small scale. The nine interviewees were chosen from among 113 Victorian trainers registered with Racing Victoria.

**Rider’s Agents**

Interviews were conducted with two jockey’s agents, one male and one female. Rider’s agents are retained by jockeys to do the work of soliciting rides or in the case of the high
profile celebrity jockeys, agents are approached by trainers. Most agents have a small group of jockeys. The size of the group ranges from nine to two with most agents managing around four jockeys. There are thirty three agents listed in the 2006 ‘Inside Racing’. The decision to interview these people was serendipitous. One of the agents answered the phone of a jockey but offered so many insightful comments that I phoned him back for a formal interview.

Retired jockeys

Three retired jockeys were interviewed, two women who are both now training and one man who is about to start training. Although jockeys formed the primary focus of this study, trainers are the people who allocate (or not) the work so trainers became key informants in the study. Agents, apprentices and retired jockeys were included in small number to glean some additional insights.

The questions

The findings in the following chapter are presented under headings indicating the questions used. The questions were designed to elicit information about the culture of the racing industry with specific reference to whether work is allocated to women jockeys, how this was experienced by the participants, and whether gender differences were experienced as a serious inhibiting factor to women’s success. For the jockeys the first question was an open ended one relating to their career. They were prompted to provide a narrative account of their career from the beginning and to specifically include any notions about their relative success in order to gain a broad view of the patterns of careers within the industry and what was regarded as of significant influence on their careers. Most willingly responded to this question, providing much detail and self-reflection. Follow up questions were asked to elicit motives behind career choices, how they got started in the industry, and if there had been any individuals who influenced their decision to continue or not. This question echoed accounts from secondary sources that the racing industry was a subculture characterized by a high level of involvement running through families, one where patronage from the right person or people could substantially influence subsequent success.

The next line of questioning was designed to elicit information about factors which could impede success. In this context the understanding was that success as a jockey meant being able to earn a living from the work of riding horses in races. This understanding was a shared one amongst the participants. Success in terms of being one of the better known riders or one who was always invited to ride good horses was usually described as ‘really successful’. I asked the subjects if there was anything that would make them quit, what would encourage them to continue and if they had experienced any barriers to career success. This questioning was designed to compare gendered experiences and possible insights into processes of social change. Further questions were constructed to inquire into whether the participants believed the situation for women had changed over the time that they had been involved and if so, what they believed had caused the changes. They were also asked if they were aware of the equal opportunity
legislation and its provisions. All participants were invited to report whether they had experienced or witnessed any harassment or discrimination of women at work. The interview concluded with questions about the role of the horse in their working lives. They were asked how they engaged with horses and how they felt about their relationships with horses, how important it was to them to be with horses and if this had influenced their choice of career. Additional questions were posed to trainers regarding details about the size of their business, how many horses they had in work, how many people they employed and in what capacity, whether male or female, and whether they had put women jockeys on their horses. Trainers who indicated that they were semi-retired were asked to describe their business when it had been at its peak. Most of the interviewees provided rich narratives of how they experienced the racing industry. Openness and frank revelations characterized the interviews.

The combination of the quantitative and qualitative data, along with a detailed review of literature related to horses, women and the racing industry has enabled a richly textured picture of the complexity of the interweaving of workplace and social fields that the women jockeys negotiate in their involvement in racing to emerge. The findings of the quantitative and qualitative researches are detailed in the next chapter, followed by an analysis using the theoretical tools described earlier.
CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

Nowhere in the world have I encountered a festival of people that has such a magnificent appeal to the whole nation. The Cup astonishes me.”
(American writer Mark Twain said of a visit to the Melbourne Cup in 1895: http://www.cultureandrecreation.gov.au/articles/melbournecup/)

Previous chapters have reviewed information about jockeys from secondary sources, the place of the racing industry in Australia, case studies of women’s involvement in the industry and discussed the cultural discourses surrounding horses and women. This chapter presents the results of the quantitative and qualitative data collection on participation of women jockeys and describes the results from interviews with jockeys and other racing industry personnel. The data collected here illustrates the thesis that the equal opportunity legislation has failed to achieve substantive equality for women jockeys and that examination of the culture of workplaces, in this case the racing industry, is necessary to understand what social and cultural action needs to be taken to continue to work towards this equality. Such action includes what van Hooft (2010) and others, in discussing the tripartite bases for the attainment of social justice, call respect for the self via unconditional love and care (self-confidence), recognition for demonstrable merit or achievement (self-esteem) as well as full recognition before the law (which underpins self-respect). When articulated in this way it is clear that the legislation alone is inadequate in delivering social justice but that social and cultural criteria are required in the formative years of a person’s life which continue all the way along the life cycle and, significantly, within the workplace. This chapter establishes that the numbers of women registered as jockeys does not give an adequate picture of their actual participation or success rates as professional riders. The statistical data collected gives a very clear illustration of an industry where women’s skills are demonstrated yet remain unrecognised. The information from interviews reveals a complex multi-layered social field where competing discourses for women are evident. The responses indicate that the hyperphysicality factor that is so well described in the popular culture sources is present for the women who work as jockeys. The interview responses illustrate how women jockeys need to navigate these competing discourses through the four realms examined in the thesis, the micro, the domestic, the world of work and the broader society and how the three bases for the attainment of justice are not present in all of the realms of the life of the woman jockey. Responses to questions raised in the interviews illustrate how women are caught in a web of alternate views of their social reality and how these competing discourses are used by the women at the different realms of their social existence achieve the social, symbolic and cultural capital needed for recognition as a jockey.
PRIMARY SOURCES – DETAIL ABOUT VICTORIAN WOMEN JOCKEYS

Collating the numbers of all registered jockeys listed in the official Victorian racing publication ‘Inside Racing’ gives the following information about total numbers of jockeys in Victoria.

**Total number of jockeys in Victoria**

*All Jockeys*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Over the timeframe of 1982 to 2003 the total number of jockeys in Victoria has decreased from 582 in 1982 to 205 in 2003. Though the decrease has been steady over this time there have been years that have been exceptions to the overall trend such as in 1991 when there were 513 jockeys and in 2000 when there were 422 jockeys. The percentage of women has decreased over this time from 19% in 1982 to 14% in 2003. This has varied over time and from year to year, ranging from a top of 23% in 1995. The percentage of jockeys in Victoria who are men has increased slightly from 81% in 1982 to 86% in 2003. The percentage of jockeys who are men in Victoria remained remarkably steady over time staying around the 80% mark. The year with the lowest percentage of jockeys in Victoria who are men has been 1995 with 77%. The years with the highest proportion of jockeys who are men have been 1983, 2002, and 2003 with 86%. A very different picture emerges when we look at the numbers of jockeys registered in the ‘A’ category.

### Numbers of ‘Jockeys A’ in Victoria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>93%</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>91%</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>164</td>
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<td>91%</td>
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<td>2000</td>
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<td>204</td>
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<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The numbers of women in the ‘Jockey A’ category have increased from 1982 when there were no women jockeys at this level to 2005 when there are 18 women at the ‘Jockey A’ level. This has meant a percentage increase in this category from 0% in 1982 to 11% in 2003. As this table shows the increase in the numbers of women has varied from year to year with a steady increase from 1982 to 1994 of one or two per year to a jump from 6 in 1994 to 13 in 1995, followed by a steady increase again thereafter of about one or two per year. The percentage of women at this level shows a steady increase of one or two percent from 1982 to a jump from 5% in 1993 to 14% in 1994, declining back down to 8% in 1995 then a fairly steady increase in the percentage of women from 1996 (8%) to 2003 (11%).

There has been a slight but steady increase in the total numbers of jockeys at this level followed by a slight decrease in numbers in the early 2000’s. Some exceptions to this trend have included 1995 when there were only 96 jockeys in total registered at this level and 2000 when there were 217 jockeys registered at this level. From a total of 154 ‘Jockeys A’ in 1982 the total number of jockeys is 135 in 2003.

**Numbers of apprentices in Victoria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apprentices</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From 1982 to 2004, the numbers of apprentices registered each year has decreased from 143 in 1982 to 49 in 2003. This has not been a steady decrease but has shown variations ranging from a maximum number of 145 in 1988 to 32 in 2002. The overall pattern over time is that of decreasing numbers of jockey apprentices each year.

The proportion of these apprentices who are women has increased over time from 4% in 1982 and 1% in 1983 to a high point of 31% in 1999 and 2000 before a slight decline in proportions of apprentices who are women to 22% in 2002 and 24% in 2003.
The numbers of women jockeys in Victoria relative to men has not increased over the time frame studied at anywhere near the same rate as the numbers of women in the workforce overall.

**At the races – Are the women getting rides?**

As discussed in the previous chapter, this study focuses on jockeys registered at Level A as it is at this level that a jockey is most likely to be working at riding as a fulltime occupation rather than as a supplement to other kinds of work. The data indicates that, although women may be registered as jockeys as indicated above, this does not mean that they are actually working as jockeys given the way that this work is organized. Jockeys work on a race-to-race basis and must negotiate with the trainer as to whether they will ride in any particular race. The allocation of work is thus quite capricious and jockeys are very much dependent on their negotiation skills and their ability to cultivate good relationships with trainers as well as their talent as riders. In the absence of any regulation of this relationship or any requirement on trainers to justify their employment choices to anyone except the owners, the field of the workplace for women jockeys is open to the application of a range of discourses about women, their abilities and their work.

**Part A – 1990 to 1994**

The data collected from *The Age* newspaper on races run in Victoria from 1990 to 1994 for the months of August, September, October and November on the racetracks Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield and Moonee Valley shows that women were given an extremely low proportion of the possible rides.

**Summary Victoria 1990  
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1028</td>
<td>1011</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>3488</strong></td>
<td><strong>3439</strong></td>
<td><strong>98.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1990, women rode only 1.4% of the available horses despite comprising 2% of the jockeys at Level A.
Summary Victoria 1991
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3066</td>
<td>3044</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1991, of the horses running at the nominated tracks for these months women rode only 0.7%, even though women were 4% of the available riders at Level A.

Summary Victoria 1992
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3063</td>
<td>3017</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5% of the available rides were offered to women in 1992 in a year when women were 4% of the available Level A riders.

Summary Victoria 1993
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3271</td>
<td>3238</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though women comprised 5% of the riders at Level A, an average of 1.1% of the possible horses to be ridden in races in 1993 were ridden by women.
Summary Victoria 1994
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2972</td>
<td>2904</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the horses running in races in 1994, women rode only 2.3% of those available though they were 5% of the riders available at Level A.

Summary 1990 to 1994 of horses ridden by women in official races at the racetracks Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, and Moonee Valley for the months of August, September, October and November.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the years 1990 to 1994 women rode an average of only 1.4% of the available horses at the tracks specified. During this time they were between 2-5% of the riders available.

The proportion of rides given to women from 1990 to 1994 at the races at the specified tracks from August to November is nowhere near proportional to their numbers in the workforce of jockeys eligible to ride at this level. This is a very clear picture of differential treatment of men and women. This data in itself does not give an insight into the discourses operating but it does illustrate a lack of recognition of women as equal participants in this workforce. There are by far less women and they are not given rides in proportion to their numbers.

Part B- 2000 to 2004

A comparison with another five year timeframe gives a barely improved picture. For the years 2000 to 2004, the number of rides given to women increased by an extremely small increment.
Summary Victoria 2000
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1047</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>1013</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4767</td>
<td>4668</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2000 women were being given only 2% of the available rides whilst comprising 6% of available riders.

Summary Victoria 2001
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4028</td>
<td>3978</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 2001 women were 7% of riders at Level A but only 2.2% of the horses running in races in the time studied were ridden by women.

Summary Victoria 2002
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>95.1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3847</td>
<td>3727</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2002 saw one of the highest percentages of horses being ridden by women at 3.1% of the total, but this was not equivalent to the percentage of women registered at Level A 7%.
Summary Victoria 2003  
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1098</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3882</td>
<td>3817</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the horses running in races in 2003, women rode 1.7% whilst comprising 11% of available riders.

Summary Victoria 2004  
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total rides</th>
<th>Male jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Female jockey’s rides</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3502</td>
<td>3455</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2004, women were on 1.3% of the horses running in races on the specified tracks in the spring racing carnival.

Part C - Overall summary

Percentage of available rides in metropolitan Victorian racing offered to women jockeys in the spring racing carnival for the years 1990 to 1994 and 2000 to 2004  
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley August to November

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When comparing the two timeframes studied, that of the five year period from 1990 to 1994 and then from 2000 to 2004, it can be seen that overall the progress for women has been miniscule. Women rode an average of 1.4% of the horses running in the chosen periods from 1990 to 1994. Ten years later the percentage of women riding horses in the city races from August to November had increased by an average of only 0.6%. When this tiny increase takes the average to only 2% of the available rides it indicates that the progress for women in being recognized as professional jockeys is close to negligible. The discourse of equality for women that operates in the broader society does not hold true for women jockeys with their low numbers and the obvious lack of recognition accorded to them.

**On the horses – Can the women win?**

Though the female jockeys were not being offered rides at a level commensurate with the proportion of women registered as jockeys this may have been because there is some genuine differential in work performance between men and women riders. Perhaps men were demonstrably able to ride more winning horses than women? The next section of the data illustrates that this is not the case. On the contrary, this data shows that women were actually more successful than expected using as a measure the assessment of the horses’ chances given by the bookmaker’s odds. This further shows the lack of recognition of women’s demonstrable skills that seems to prevail in the racing industry.

**2000 to 2004**

*2000 Summary of anticipated results and placings of horses ridden by women jockeys. Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley, August to November*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1047</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total possible rides</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total women’s rides</strong></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anticipated results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st three including win</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 50% of field including win</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 50% of field</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Actual results**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st three including win</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 50% of field including win</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 50% of field</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not start (scratched)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unplaced but not known where as placings not listed in results</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 2000, women were given 9 horses which were expected to come 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> but of the horses ridden by women in this period 12 actually came 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>. This is a significantly better result than was expected.

In 2000, 27 of the horses ridden by women were expected to finish in the first half of the field. In fact only 25 of these horses did finish as expected. 67 of the horses ridden by women were expected to come in the last half of the field, but the results show that only 26 of these horses ridden by women finished in this position.

**2001 Summary of anticipated results and placings of horses ridden by women jockeys.**

*Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley, August to November*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total possible rides</th>
<th>4028</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total women’s rides</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anticipated results**
- 1<sup>st</sup> three including win: 4
- 1<sup>st</sup> 50% of field –including win: 9
- Last 50% of field: 37

**Actual results**
- 1<sup>st</sup> three including win: 5
- 1<sup>st</sup> 50% of field including win: 12
- Last 50% of field: 30
- Did not start (scratched): 3
- Unplaced but not known where as placings not listed in results

In 2001 women were allocated 3 horses that were expected to finish 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>. Of the horses ridden by women during this time, 7 actually finished 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>.

In 2001, 13 of the horses that were allocated to women to ride were expected to finish in the first half of the field. The results show that 19 of the horses ridden by women in 2001 finished in the first half of the field. Once again horses ridden by women did much better than expected.

**2002 Summary of anticipated results and placings of horses ridden by women jockeys**

*Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley, August to November*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total possible rides</th>
<th>3847</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total women’s rides</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anticipated results**
- 1<sup>st</sup> three including win: 16
- 1<sup>st</sup> 50% of field –including win: 44
In 2002, women were given 16 horses which were expected to finish 1st, 2nd or 3rd but of the horses ridden by women in this period 18 actually finished 1st, 2nd or 3rd. However in 2002 the opposite outcome occurred for the 44 horses that were ridden by women and were expected to finish in the first half of the field. Only 34 of these horses finished in the first half of the field.

**2003 Summary of anticipated results and placings of horses ridden by women jockeys**

*Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley, August to November*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total possible rides</th>
<th>3882</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total women’s rides</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipated results</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st three including win</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 50% of field – including win</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 50% of field</td>
<td>51</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual results</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st three including win</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 50% of field including win</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 50% of field</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not start (scratched)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unplaced but not known where as placings not listed in results</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2003 women were allocated 2 horses that were expected to finish 1st, 2nd or 3rd. Of the horses ridden by women during this time, 9 actually finished 1st, 2nd or 3rd. A much better result occurred for the horses ridden by women than was expected.

The horses ridden by women in 2003 that were expected to finish in the first half of the field did better than predicted. 14 of these horses were expected to finish in the first half of the field, but in fact 17 horses ridden by women in 2003 finished in the first half of the field.
2004 Summary of anticipated results and placings of horses ridden by women jockeys
Races held at Flemington, Sandown, Caulfield, Moonee Valley, August to November

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total possible rides</th>
<th>3682</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total women’s rides</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anticipated results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st three including win</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 50% of field</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Actual results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st three including win</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st 50% of field including win</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 50% of field</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not start (scratched)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unplaced but not known where as placings not listed in results</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2004 women were allocated 3 horses that were expected to finish 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>. Of the horses ridden by women during this time, 6 actually finished 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>. In 2004, of the horses ridden by women, 10 were expected to finish in the first half of the field but only 9 did so.

When looking the success rates of horses ridden by women over time, the anticipated and actual success rates are;

**Horses ridden by women expected to finish 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anticipated</th>
<th>Actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>9 out of 94 rides</td>
<td>12 out of 88 rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3 out of 50 rides</td>
<td>7 out of 47 rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>16 out of 120 rides</td>
<td>18 out of 108 rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2 out of 65 rides</td>
<td>9 out of 56 rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>3 out of 47 rides</td>
<td>6 out of 40 rides</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number of horses that actually ran after scratchings (horses withdrawn from races).

This table shows that in 2000, of the 94 horses ridden by women, 9 were expected to finish 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>. After scratchings were taken out, 88 of these horses actually ran. Of these 88 horses, 12 finished 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>. The horses ridden by women did better than expected.

Similarly in each of the years from 2001 to 2004, the horses ridden by women finished with a better result than expected.
(ii) Horses ridden by women expected to finish in the first half of the field (including first place)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anticipated</th>
<th>Actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>27 out of 94 rides</td>
<td>25 out 88 rides*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>13 out of 50 rides</td>
<td>19 out of 47 rides*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>44 out of 120 rides</td>
<td>34 out of 108 rides*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>14 out of 65 rides</td>
<td>17 out of 56 rides*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>10 out of 47 rides</td>
<td>9 out of 40 rides*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number of horses that actually ran after scratchings.
In 2000, 27 of the 94 horses ridden by women were expected to finish in the first half of the field. Given that only 88 of these horses started, a tally of 25 of these horses finishing in the first half of the field is better than expected.

In each of the following years from 2001 to 2004, after scratchings are taken into consideration, the horses ridden by women finished with a better result than expected.

(iii) Horses ridden by women expected to finish in the last half of the field

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anticipated</th>
<th>Actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>67 out of 94 rides</td>
<td>26 out of 94 rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>37 out of 50 rides</td>
<td>28 out of 47 rides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>76 out of 120 rides</td>
<td>59 out of 108 rides **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>51 out of 65 rides</td>
<td>34 out of 56 rides **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>37 out of 47 rides</td>
<td>27 out of 40 rides **</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The horses ridden by women during the timeframe of 2000 to 2004 horses ridden by women consistently ran better than expected.

Notes on tables

* Numbers are adjusted to remove scratchings from the field

** When adding the totals in tables (ii) and (iii) the actual column does not always add up to the total number of horses that ran. This is because unplaced horses, where it was not known where they finished, were deducted.

The high number of horses that are offered to women to ride that are subsequently scratched reflects the placement of women jockeys on horses that are emergencies in the fields. Emergency runners are usually lowly rated horse with little or no chance of success in a race.
Recording of results for September 2000 (14th to 30th) was not possible. The newspapers did not print detailed race results for this period due to the saturation coverage in the sports pages of the Olympic Games.

In summary

Each year from 1990 to 1994, women were offered an average of 1.4% of the available rides. Each year from 2000 to 2004 women were offered an average of 1.9% of the available rides. When comparing the data from these two five year timeframes, which are ten years apart, the indications are that there has been an improvement in the number of rides offered to women jockeys of only 0.5%. This means that women are being offered only about twenty more rides per year after ten years. Despite a steadily improving proportion of registered Jockeys that are women, their actual participation has not really improved. A greater number of women available to ride has not meant a greater number of women actually riding. The horses that are given to women to ride are in general very poorly rated or not expected to win or place. However, in each year for 2000 to 2004 the horses that were ridden by women achieved better than expected results.

This data clearly shows that women are not being given opportunities to ride horses that are expected to win or to do well but are allocated to lowly rated horses. This has perpetuated a vicious cycle of lack of recognition for women and, worse, fuelled an inaccurate stereotype of gendered incompetence or lesser ability based upon stereotypically conservative preconceptions about male and female bodies and associated mental and emotional toughness. It is easy to see how a view may prevail that women jockeys cannot ride well to win. This is not because they are physically or mentally less able but because they are rarely given horses with the capacity to win. However, it can be seen that the horses ridden by women jockeys consistently do better than expected. The data thus clearly contradicts any discourse of women’s inferior skill with race riding. This is notable in an industry where there is an economic imperative. The discourse of women’s lack of ability and skill, despite clear evidence to the contrary, still prevails over the economic imperative of making money. It would seem that the striving for cultural, social and symbolic capital is more important to the male majority who decide which jockey will ride that winner.

QUALITATIVE DATA

The interviews – what do participants in the industry tell us?

The quantitative data outlined above, along with the background to the equal opportunity legislation, the racing industry and the discourses of the horse as described in chapters one and two gives us a starting point in the exploration of the competing discourses that weave themselves through the racing industry. The thirty-five interviews from which the following findings are drawn are those from;
• 10 female jockeys registered in the ‘A’ category.
• 5 male jockeys registered in the ‘A’ category.
• 5 female apprentices
• 1 male apprentice
• 5 female trainers
• 4 male trainers
• 1 male jockeys agent
• 1 female jockeys agent
• 1 retired male jockey
• 2 retired female jockeys

The interviews provide a rich source of information of how women jockeys themselves perceive their careers, their lived experience in a male dominated sphere and the issues they believe shape their chances of being able to earn a living as a jockey. The insights of these women as well as male jockeys, male and female trainers and apprentices, jockeys agents and retired jockeys give a clear picture of an industry that is highly structured both formally and informally and which strongly resists efforts by women to be recognized as strong, tough and physically competent enough to be engaged as jockeys at the elite level.

The responses given by interviewees yield an insight into the range of dominant discourses that govern the machinations of the industry and which form a complex web of contradictory messages for the women. These contradictory discourses simultaneously support and form formidable barriers to female participants. The responses also uncover the empowering structures and motivations that enable jockeys to continue to work in a competitive and physically demanding industry. This includes my theory of hyperphysicality, which is fundamentally empowering, and the conversely disempowering discourse of women’s inferior physical, mental and emotional capacities which has traction with some respondents.

This section of the chapter relates the responses of the varied industry participants to the questions covered in the interviews along with comment on how the responses to these questions illustrates aspects of the argument of the thesis.

**The getting of love, care and self-confidence – the micro and domestic.**

The literature indicates that support of family has been an important factor in the ability of jockeys to choose and become involved in their work. Of the female jockeys interviewed, two had a history of family involvement with one whose father was a trainer and another whose father was a trainer and who also had siblings who are jockeys. The other women related an entrée into the industry driven by a passion for horses. Of the men, two indicated that their partners are jockeys and one was married to a trainer. Of the men, one was married to a female jockey. The women, while not always ‘born into racing’, chose domestic relationships with racing industry insiders. Of the male jockeys interviewed, all indicated that their involvement with the industry was largely
due to a background of family involvement in the industry. This involvement ranged from the jockey’s mother and father owning racehorses to an uncle who rode track work, an older brother who was a jockey and another whose father who had wanted to be a jockey. This difference between the male and the female jockeys was quite marked. The women generally came to the work through a love of horses. *I love riding and I love working with the horses* (Marie – jockey). By and large the men come to the work through a family tradition. The men would thus be seen as more rightly belonging in the industry and would have connections through a family tradition.

Of the six apprentices, four came into the industry from a family history in the industry. Two of these have fathers who are trainers, one whose father is a jockey and one whose brother is a jockey.

Of the trainers, from whom some of the richest information was gained, all but one had a background of family involvement. The one trainer who did not have a family background in the industry came to the work in the same way as the women jockeys interviewed. She had a longstanding love of horses and of equestrian sports, having worked for a dressage rider, training his horses. *...my boss saw that I had a lot of talent as a rider and said that if I lost weight I could become a jockey* (Carly – Jockey). She had always wanted to be a jockey, had finally achieved her goal and then married a trainer, subsequently becoming one herself. All of the women trainers, whether with family ties to the industry or not, spoke of their work with and love of horses from an early age. By contrast the men did not volunteer information about or emphasize this love of horses in the same way as the women.

The eight trainers who reported a family involvement in the industry had, without exception, a very longstanding history of family involvement in the industry. The most notable example of this was one woman who was almost racing royalty. Her great uncle had been a rider in India and her uncle was the famous Jim Pike, rider of Phar Lap. She had married a horseman and they had developed a training business together. Another trainer was a fourth generation trainer. Yet another had an uncle who was a trainer, another had a father who was a jockey. Others all had a jockey or a trainer amongst their immediate family.

Of the women trainers, three spoke about how the fact of being married to a trainer had either started them in the industry or had meant that their own credibility as trainers was established. *I used to ride his horse to the track and around the roads...and then we came here to ...and my husband was a trainer...and ah he died so I took over the license* (Janette – Trainer). The jockey’s agents similarly had a strong family connection to the industry.

The retired jockey had almost drifted into the industry through leaving school early and starting work in stables. He had come to the work basically because it was accessible unskilled work.

The responses to this question about early connections with horse racing indicate that a love of horses was a potent driver for women to become involved in the racing industry. ‘Love of horses’ is the terminology that is often used when people try to describe the
potent feeling of hyperphysicality in verbal language. For men, the majority became involved through some kind of family connection. Remaining in the industry and becoming a trainer is for both men and women closely related to having a family history within the industry. It seems that legitimation or symbolic capital within the racing industry is aligned with family involvement. The successful men in the industry have this form of capital at birth but most women need to gain it by forming domestic relationships with those that do. It also seems that for the women this ‘love’ relationship with the animal is one of the most potent factors for them in their desire to be involved in racing, a profession where interaction with the horse is the nature of the work.

**Equestrian background/love of horses from an early age**

A passion for horses came through strongly from the women jockeys as a source of their decision to pursue work as a jockey. Only one of the women did not state this love of horse or longstanding interest in being with horses as an important factor in their lives. An interest in working with horses typically led to beginning work as a track worker or stable hand and progressing often with the encouragement of a trainer to a jockey’s apprenticeship. *When I was young I would get up and help dad with the horses and getting up and doing track work and got a race ride at 14 (Rita – Jockey).* The equestrian backgrounds included one of a woman who came to horseracing after being a very successful equestrian in dressage and showing. Another had, to the surprise of her family, announced her intention to be a jockey at the age of four. The surprised family was later given some horses and the girl was given an unbroken thoroughbred yearling when she was eight years old. *I was eight I think and my sister was nine…and we got our first horses..mine was an unbroken thoroughbred (Kerry - Jockey).* This is an astonishing and potentially extremely dangerous feat as anyone with a vague knowledge of horses knows. It is an example of the strength of this passion that is often experienced by women (discussed in Chapter Two) that transcends logic. This is evidence for my theory of hyperphysicality – a combination of not only the physical ‘high’ of riding but the cultural overlay of economic, cultural social and symbolic capital that association with the horse brings.

As for the previous question there was a marked difference in the backgrounds and motivations of male and female jockeys. Not only did the men and the women have different explanations of their beginnings as jockeys, but the way that they discussed this and their tone of voice was quite different. The women not only spoke about their passion and used corresponding though sometimes terse terminology, they spoke with passion when they discussed their longstanding love of horses. *I love the horses. I love the thrill of being able to ride them (Carly – Jockey)* The men without exception spoke in a laconic or matter of fact tone about their beginnings as jockeys with many having an air of inevitability about how they got to be riders. For the women it was expressed as much more of a vocation or an inexplicable drive that came to them at a young age. This aligns with the literature reviewed in Chapter Two which clearly placed responses such as those given by the women here within the realm of emotion and desire rather than economics or pragmatism.
How long have they been in the industry?

The people interviewed had, for the most part, long careers in the racing industry. Amongst the women jockeys, two had been riding for five years, one for seven years (but with a break of two years in the middle of that), one for twelve years, one for thirteen years, one for fifteen and one for sixteen years. With jockeys typically retiring at around the age of forty due to declining physical fitness and the after effects of injuries these women represent the ‘stayers’ in the industry.

Similarly the male jockeys interviewed were those who had been in the job for a long time. Their careers ranged from one man who had been race riding at that time for an astonishing 43 years, one who had been in the profession for 26 years, two for 17 years, one for 16 and one for 12 years. The apprentices had been riding for less than three years.

The male and female trainers had also a long history in the industry. One woman was still training horses at the age of 70 having been a trainer for 35 years. The other women trainers interviewed had been training for 30, 25 and 20 years respectively. The men also had a substantial number of years as trainers with the oldest training for 48 years, and others for 35, 32, and 22 years.

The jockey’s agents had been working in that capacity for only two or three years but both had had previous careers in the industry, one as a trainer and one as a horse breeder. The interview participants thus drew on a wealth of experience.

The getting of self-esteem (recognition for their achievement) in the industry

When the women jockeys were asked about their career progression the responses varied. The answers aligned with the level of success that the subjects were currently experiencing. One woman wanted to get out of racing, having become extremely discouraged, another identified that her career has been very slow so far because she was female. You look back now and say…I should have done this or I should have done that. It would be much easier to be an apprentice now (Kerry –Jockey). Another of the women talked about how her career had been long and slow as she had started off as a jumps jockey, not realizing how to get into flat racing. Her career had only recently taken off when she married a trainer who put her on all his horses. The two most successful women jockeys interviewed expressed satisfaction with their careers with one having ridden in Singapore for a time as many successful Australian jockeys do. The other identified that her success involved working very hard at getting rides. Another woman identified lack of assistance and training when she started as a jockey as a factor that has impeded her career.

All the male jockeys interviewed had much more positive assessments of their career progress. They all expressed satisfaction with their careers and said that they were having successful careers, that they had been fortunate and that they had done as well as was possible. One went as far as to say that his career had been very fulfilling. These
comments were made without reservation and with a tone of satisfaction in the voices that was absent from even the two women jockeys who claimed satisfaction.

Apprentices were not asked about their perceptions of career progression as they were only in their first few years of work in the industry. Also, apprentices tend to get offered rides more frequently due to the fact that they are able to ‘Claim’. This is a system where a horse ridden by an apprentice jockey is allowed reduced weight carried of up to 3 kilograms. The amount of weight allowed reduces as the jockey becomes more successful until the claim is ‘ridden out’. This is where the apprentice is so successful that the claim no longer applies or the apprenticeship finishes. The question of perceptions of career success was particularly targeted at jockeys.

The trainers were not specifically asked about their assessments of career satisfaction. As indicated above the trainers had all been in the business for quite some time. This in itself indicated some level of success and satisfaction with the work. My interest in interviewing trainers was to gain their insights into the work of jockeys rather than to explore the issues around the work of trainers.

There were clear gender differences in the assessments of male and female jockeys of their career success. Men were in general more likely to assess their careers as successful. I’ve been fortunate enough. I never put weight on and I had a few injuries but I’ve been able to overcome them ok (Daryl – Jockey). They clearly felt more at home in the industry and none expressed the equivocal feelings expressed by the women. This lack of satisfaction by the women is supported by the results of the data outlined previously. The women were obviously not able to secure rides on horses that are likely to win. Satisfaction is not likely when the women suffer such lack of recognition. The self confidence needed to market themselves and communicate with trainers and owners, as well as the ability to defend themselves in steward’s inquiries, would be difficult to maintain in this situation. This is evidence of the competing discourses within which the women must operate. Descriptions of their individual interactions with horses indicate that they are able to build a habitus of strength and competence through hyperphysicality which is not recognized when they attempt to work as professional jockeys.

**Those who helped – the agents of social justice**

When asked about who may have been instrumental in encouraging and helping them to realize their potential all of the women jockeys interviewed identified trainers as key agents. Well obviously...., my husband and there have been a few other trainers, like (named) he rang me up while I was riding that makes a difference, it makes you feel good (Annette – Jockey) The trainers had provided apprenticeships, giving opportunities to ride horses in races, as well as providing support, encouragement and training. One of the women identified family support. Although articulated by the woman as support this took the form of the family not trying to stop her from becoming a jockey. It amounted to passive support rather than active encouragement. Another of the women identified a prominent female jockey as being particularly helpful in encouraging her to continue in her career when she was considering leaving. Yet another spoke about the support given by Racing Victoria to apprentices through the Education and Training Department and
named the director of that Department as having been of great assistance to her. This woman also felt that her husband had been instrumental in persuading her to continue to work as a jockey after having two children.

Among the male jockeys there was a marked difference in the types of people that were identified as being helpful and encouraging. The women had consistently identified trainers as being those who had helped them. None of the men mentioned trainers specifically except for one who also named his older brother as being a mentor. One identified having had a ‘dream run’ in his career in that everything had gone extremely well for him from the start. He declined to give any more detail except to say that he had had everything handed to him from the start. Another identified his family as among those who helped him the most. A jockey from New Zealand named a number of prominent jockeys as mentors. Two were unable to name individuals, one saying that about 100 people had helped him, another saying that everyone he had worked with had helped him. The men thus expressed far more ease within an industry that appeared to extend to male apprentices a global acceptance. By contrast the women were very clear about individuals who had helped them. This is because the modernist discourse of women’s lack of physical and mental resilience that prevails within the industry and among many punters makes those who had rejected this discourse particularly memorable to the women.

Apprentices spoke mainly about their family in response to this question though not always identifying family as actively helpful. For three of the female apprentices, family attitudes were spoken of as barriers to be overcome. One whose brother was a jockey and whose father was a trainer said that the family actively tried to discourage her from becoming a jockey. Another whose family are trainers spoke of family being very cautious about her desire to be a jockey adding that there had been several deaths of jockeys just before she wanted to start. Another whose siblings were all jockeys only had encouragement from her family. The male apprentice interviewed had a markedly different experience to the women. His brother was a jockey who actively encouraged him. He spoke of the brother sitting him down to watch race tapes so that they could discuss technique and of the support from Racing Victoria in the form of professional advice from nutritionists and others.

This question was not directed to trainers in interviews. Nevertheless three of the women trainers talked about those who had made a difference to their careers at the beginning. For one woman it was family. This was a person who was a member of a racing family with family members who were trainers. For her, this work together as a family was crucial to her success. Another woman revealed that the one thing that made a difference for her was the faith shown in her by a big owner. After the death of her husband the owner sent her a big group of horses to train in her own right. This, for her, was a turning point. Another woman spoke of a first marriage to a husband who did not approve of her desire to become a jockey and who actively discouraged her riding activities. This woman persisted in becoming a jockey and subsequently divorced the first husband, marrying a trainer and then going on to train horses with him. One of the male trainers interviewed spoke at length about the trainer to whom he was first apprenticed as a
jockey and who was a remarkable horseman, teaching his apprentice horsemanship that served him well throughout his career.

For women jockeys the role of the supportive, helpful trainer was clearly identified as being crucial to their work as professional jockeys. The trainer is the gatekeeper for the work as a jockey. It is the trainer in conjunction with the owner who decides who will ride the horse in which races. This is an empowering relationship for women as the trainer is seen in the industry as the one with the knowledge and experience to make judgments about the variety of factors that will contribute to the horse having the best chance of winning.

**Barriers to recognition and respect**

The women jockeys were unequivocal in their claim that they face significant barriers but three of the women identified the major problem as their own shortcomings. They felt that when starting out as a jockey they lacked knowledge about how the industry worked and how to market themselves to get rides. One of the women identified the fact that starting out in country racing was a limiting factor for her as she was then always seen as a country jockey and not given a chance in the city. She felt that she had been too immature to recognize and take up opportunities to work in big successful stables. Three of the women were clear that the issue of public perceptions of women’s abilities was a limiting factor for them. They felt that there was widespread prejudice from owners and the public against women jockeys. Another of the women said that people think that women are weak and do not give them a chance. Women are aware that they are not given a chance to ride good horses.

more often than not we are put on lesser quality horses and then it’s very hard to ride a horse that isn’t going well. It’s very hard to position it in the race and it’s very hard to ride it to the line because there simply isn’t an animal underneath you to do it. Generally females tend to get more of those types of animals and then they are labeled as bad riders and it’s sort of with us the females it’s a overall thing like with the males its more oh he can’t ride but with us it’s like bloody sheila you know.’ (Female jockey- Hilary)

The male jockeys’ answers to the question about barriers to success were all quite different to the responses given by the women. The answers given by the men focused on broader issues in the life of a jockey. None identified their own lack of knowledge or drive as a barrier to success. One man identified difficulties in maintaining weight as the main problem for jockeys, another that the main problem for jockeys was the risk of a fall that could lead to incapacity. Three others cited a range of issues including weight, the high risk of injury, the depression coming from constant wasting and not being able to lead a normal life, burnout from racing every day with the constant travel involved, and the extremely competitive nature of the industry.

*It’s a prick of an industry mate. You get disheartened a lot um you know- like jockeys get depression you know because of the lifestyle you know you can’t eat you know. You can’t live a normal life, you know in that respect. Um you know*
These are all issues which face the women as well but which were not identified by the women in the interviews. One of the male jockeys did offer the opinion that women jockeys did not have as much trouble with their weight.

Only one of the female apprentices mentioned gender issues as a possible barrier to success. For the apprentices, so early in their careers, their responses to this question were in the realms of the hypothetical. They spoke of the difficulties that they were aware of which might be problems for them. For the women these were possible future difficulties in maintaining a low weight, a fear of not getting enough rides once the apprenticeship was finished, and fear of an accident. For the male apprentice the only prospective barrier he named was the fear of an incapacitating fall. The trainers were not asked about any barriers to their success.

The male jockey’s agent had very strong views about the extent of the prejudice in the industry against women jockeys. This man had been involved in the industry for many years and was adamant that the female jockey that he managed faced unfair and unreasonable prejudice. He highlighted in some detail the systemic discrimination faced by his client as well as the indirect discrimination that the other participants had spoken about. This included his view that at times the stewards turn a blind eye to jockeys riding slightly over-weight. This amounts to a disadvantage to his client who is a naturally light woman and always makes the weight. According to the rules, men who ride overweight should be disqualified, so theoretically that should give his client an advantage. He was also scathing about the lack of thoughtful planning behind Racing Victoria’s development programs. He maintained that too much effort was being put into those at the beginnings of their careers to the detriment of those who are established, leading to burnout, despair and a high drop-out rate from the industry.

The female jockeys clearly indicated that negative perceptions about their ability due to their gender were a major barrier to their success. The women were aware that the discourses surrounding women’s alleged lack of ability to ride winners and the lack of opportunity to ride good horses were issues for them. Of note is the emphasis given by the women to gender discrimination in light of the difficulties that all jockeys face in terms of the dangerous nature of the job, the difficulty with weight control and depression. For the women, the endemic nature of gender discrimination was the biggest barrier they identified to their efforts to receive respect and recognition for their abilities and achievements.

**Awareness of the anti discrimination legislation**

When the interviewees were asked if they were aware of the anti discrimination legislation, responses were interesting as much for what was not said as for what was said. The women were diffident at best and in some cases dismissive. This is of interest given the clarity from the women that discrimination against them due to their gender
was a major problem for them. The legislation was seen as neither appropriate nor user-friendly by those who need it the most. Amongst the women jockeys interviewed two answered the question with a bald ‘no’ and did not offer any other comment. Another answered that yes she was aware of the legislation. Yet another said that she was aware of legislation and complaints processes but would not use it, that it was better to keep quiet. One of the women said that she was not interested in the legislation and that the industry was as bad for male jockeys as it was for women. One said that she was aware of the legislation and that there had been seminars for trainers but not for jockeys or stable hands. Yet another said that she was aware of it but had resigned herself to the prospect that there would never be any equal opportunity in the racing industry. One of the women had made a complaint to the stewards against two male jockeys who moved over to cut her off in a race. She claimed that this was not a gender-based issue, but she felt that her action in reporting the men showed that she was not going to be bullied. This was quite a brave and bold move on her part as women jockeys who depend on good relationships with trainers to gain work have much to lose by being seen as a ‘troublemaker’.

The male jockeys offered almost no comment at all when asked this question. Two of the men claimed no knowledge of equal opportunity legislation. Of the other four, one offered that there had been training on this through the Jockeys Association. The other male jockey who said that he was aware of the legislation added that, even though there was legislation, the racing industry was very competitive and that it was this competitiveness that determined how things work.

Four of the female apprentices had not heard of equal opportunity legislation. One had and had made a complaint against a male jockey for sexist harassment during a race. The male apprentice had been briefed on equal opportunity issues at apprentice school.

Responses from the women trainers to the question as to whether they had heard of the equal opportunity legislation were unequivocal and strong. They had all heard of the legislation and four of the five had used it or been closely involved in it in some way. One of the women gave an accurate description of the legislation and what it meant in practice. Two others had taken advice from the Equal Opportunity Commission, one when she was initially refused a trainer’s license in her own name, the other when the stewards did not want to register her as a jockey because they felt she was too old. The other of the two had been instrumental in lobbying the state government for equal opportunity legislation. Though none of these women had lodged a formal complaint under the legislation, they had championed change and utilized the symbolic power of the legislation. They had picked up on the mood for change in the broader community and used this to try to bring a discourse of change for women into the racing industry. These women had taken on the role of change agents in the culture of the racing industry although it must be noted that they came from a position of having nothing to lose. Trainers are in a much more powerful position than jockeys in terms of control over their work. If they are not given horses to train by owners, they can buy and train their own horses and enter them in races without impediment unlike jockeys whose work allocation lies at the whim of others and whose social status within in the industry historically has anachronistically one of servant (see Chapter Two).
By contrast to the women trainers, the male trainers offered monosyllabic answers agreeing universally that they had knowledge of the legislation but declined to elaborate and quickly moved on to talking about a range of other issues clearly not wishing to discuss equal opportunity legislation. They were not able to be drawn into discussion on this topic.

In summary, the responses to this question are extremely telling when reflecting on the argument advanced by this thesis. The equal opportunity legislation has little traction for women jockeys in the industry, though female trainers had acted as change agents and utilized its symbolic function. By contrast male trainers disavowed any knowledge of the legislation. Responses to other questions indicate the importance of the social and cultural discourses about women jockeys and the kinds of overt support that is provided by sympathetic trainers and family connection as well as the empowerment gained by their intimate interactions with horses.

**Experiences of discrimination or harassment?**

All of the women jockeys interviewed reported having experienced some form of sexist harassment or discrimination. However, the tone of these disclosures indicated that although they were certainly victims of this behavior they did not assume a victim identity. Five of the women reported not being given rides and being told outright it was because they were ‘a girl’. Three told of incidents that had occurred during races that involved sexist harassment from male jockeys. None of the women appeared to feel outrage at any of this rather tending to make excuses or shrug off sex discrimination and sexist harassment as an occupational hazard that just needed to be accommodated if they wished to continue working as a jockey. One woman said that she did experience harassment but that it was not overly strong and that her friend who worked in a law firm had similar experiences. One said that such things happen often but that the industry had ‘no room for shrinking violets’. One said that such treatment was useful in that it just drove her to be a better rider. Another woman added that the male jockeys were well aware of and sympathetic to the fact that the women had trouble getting work due to their gender.

...and I think that every female in the industry will say the same and the majority of the males will say it as well it is something that within the industry is rife is the fact that yes as female riders we just do not get the opportunities. How many females do you see in the Melbourne cup? I think there has only been one which is Clare Lindop. Would it have been last year I think it was last year or was it the year before? (Female jockey - Carly)

I kind of knew when I got into the industry. I’ve known my whole career that it is... I don’t like to use the word, but it is a little bit sexist. You know that you are out there competing against the men on equal terms. I don’t expect anything less. You know if I could cut off my hair and change my name to a guys name I would do it. I don’t like this term ladies/female jockeys. I’m not into that. We are out there competing against the men equally. We deserve to be treated the same in
every respect. A female if they want to complain, then they shouldn’t be doing it. (Female jockey - Cara)

The type of response given to this question from the male jockeys was quite different. Two of the men reported not having seen any harassment or discrimination. The others downplayed the issue saying that the women do ‘struggle’ that there are perhaps some who say that ‘lady jocks’ are not any good. Other responses included references to the competitive nature of the work, that it is ‘every person for themselves’ and that ‘we all have bad days’ and ‘blow up’. None of the apprentices reported witnessing or experiencing harassment or discrimination.

All five of the women trainers interviewed detailed examples of incidents when they had been harassed or discriminated against. Several of these women detailed incidents that had occurred when they were jockeys before they became trainers. One spoke of when she was the only woman riding horses in trials in a country area when the male riders ignored her if she won. Another spoke of when she first began training and her professional opinions were totally discounted because she was a woman. When one of the women was working as a jockey there was a horse that she ‘clicked’ with and which won four races in a row. The trainer then offered her several hundreds of dollars if she would not say anything about the fact that he needed to use a male jockey and not her so that the combination would be taken seriously. The horse failed to win a race when ridden by the male jockey. One of the women had been asked to leave the trainers stand at Flemington despite wearing her trainer’s badge – the security guard assumed that she could not be a trainer.

.....not that long ago I went to the races with a bloke. One of the guys on the gate grabbed me and wouldn’t let me in- he just went to grab me, and ended up grabbing me on the breast when he tried to stop me and I turned and said “I am a trainer” and it was on the badge on the front of me- he just assumed that I was with the other guy and anyway I rang the president and I said if he does it again I’m going to punch him in the head and he said I don’t blame you. Anyway, I never saw those guys on those gates again. Anyway, I complained about him and he was removed. (Female trainer - Freda)

This woman works in partnership with her husband training different horses within their stable. She reported that owners frequently insist on speaking with her husband even when she is the trainer of their horse.

 My husband Brett and I work together and a women came up to us the other day to talk to him as the trainer and he said she’s the trainer—so it’s a fairly pervasive attitude. (Female trainer- Freda)

Another told of being physically assaulted by a committee member of a prominent provincial race club in the mid 1980’s when she tried to engage him in a discussion about why women were not allowed in some areas of the race club buildings.
The male trainers exhibited sexist attitudes in the tone of their answers and in the kinds of examples that they gave about women jockeys.

*At least half if not more I’ve always worked that found that women are better around horses. They’re better at handling horses. They are kinder to them. They are more reliable. Prettier to look at too.* (Male trainer- Reg)

All of the male trainers exhibited differences in attitude to men and women based on gender. Two of the male trainers demonstrated through their comments the discrimination prevalent in the industry. One spoke in a dismissive way about the female apprentice and how she ‘goes to pieces’ on race day. Another said that a lot of trainers would still prefer a male jockey and then spoke at length about a range of women who were doing well. He opined that if the women worked hard that they would make it, implying that they were just not working hard enough at present. One of the male trainers said that the problem was that lots of girls just don’t cope with it, that it was just the same at the bank or at Safeway, and that if women wanted to be like boys they would have to wear the insults. One was at pains to assure me that he liked to have women working in his stables because they were kinder to horses, more reliable and prettier to look at.

The male agent was quite clear that his client was discriminated against because she was a woman and that her gender was the sole reason that she was offered few rides. He said that often trainers would make the excuse that she is not strong or experienced enough. He felt that her skills were equal to any of the men riding and that the trainers’ assessment of her skills was unfair.

The responses to this question gave a clear picture of an industry in which women routinely experience unlawful harassment and discrimination and where competing discourses about women hold sway with different industry participants. The women jockey’s insistence that they are tough enough to withstand the ‘occupational hazard’ of discrimination and harassment is an example of the paradoxically disempowering effect of the radical equestrian habitus. The women develop a habitus of physical and emotional strength and toughness as a result of their interactions with horses and as a precursor to successful participation in the racing industry as jockeys. This habitus prevents them from acknowledging any weakness in the form of being a victim of circumstances that they are not strong enough to control or endure.

The women trainers’ efforts to utilize the equal opportunity for women discourse as represented by the legislation and the actual provisions of the legislation itself has not had the effect of making substantial changes to the overall industry for women jockeys. It appears that the majority of trainers who are male continue to act as gatekeepers for other men in the racing industry, working to preserve it as a social space where men have an advantage in the contestation for economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.
Has the situation for women changed over the time that they have been involved in the industry?

The women jockeys in general answered that they felt that there had been some improvement in the time that they had been riding. None, however, felt that these changes amounted to more than a slight improvement. They commented that things were starting to change, that perhaps due to the good female riders in the industry that things would be different in ten or fifteen years time and that there was more support in terms of better facilities for women jockeys and support from Racing Victoria. One woman pointed out that there were still trainers and owners who ‘have a mentality’ about women. One was adamant that things were worse for women now because there are more TAB meetings. A TAB meeting is one where there can be bets made through the TAB system. These meetings are of a higher status, have higher prize money, and are often broadcast. She felt that women were offered more rides at non-TAB meetings and that the male jockeys were prepared to travel to TAB meetings, leaving less available rides for the women.

The male jockeys were unanimous that there had been improvements in attitudes towards women. This assessment of improved climate for women ranged from a cautious- it’s a ‘bit better now’ to an assessment of it being a lot better.

I think it was the ..... it was a fairly male dominated sport you know , most of the trainers are males but now you see a lot of lady trainers and I think that has made a difference with acceptance you know in the early days there was only lady jockeys races and now they race against each other . Once they started to do that I think they got better, and I think they are accepted pretty well now but it did..... took a fair while to be accepted. (Male jockey- Neil)

One man felt that the situation was much the same and that women did not get the same opportunities as the men.

The majority of the female trainers felt that there had been an improvement over time in the acceptance of women as jockeys. One of these women made a point of using female jockeys whenever possible but pointed out that with such a small proportion of the total number of jockeys being women it was more difficult to find the champions who would make a real change in attitude towards women as jockeys. The woman who had been in the industry for many years could see an improvement over time but this was looking back to when she helped one of the first ever women jockeys to get her city license. She felt that there was still substantial discrimination in the industry against women jockeys. One of the women trainers said that things were worse for women now because of the proliferation of TAB race meetings. This was corroborated by one of the women jockeys.

The male trainers varied in their answers to this question. One believed that women had as much involvement as men and that the situation was equitable. One that that there had been a big change since he started in the industry in 1966. Another of the men believed
that women jockeys were still frowned upon by owners, and pointed out that female jockeys were always called ‘girls’, never women. One man did not answer this question. It was of interest that one of the trainers identified owners as being influential in the decision to employ women. In the majority of decision making to do with race riding it is the trainers’ view which will prevail.

The retired male jockey argued that discrimination against women jockeys had not changed over the past twenty years. He said that there were more women riding now which made it look like they were getting more rides but that the industry was still male dominated and actively discouraged women.

In summary responses to this question were mixed and indicate that there was no consensus about whether there has been improvement for women as jockeys. This is not surprising given the age range and differing perspectives of the participants and the vested interests that participants have in maintaining varied views of reality. For instance the male trainer who said that women were ‘better with horses as well as better to look at’ said this in a ‘joking’ manner and seemed to have no idea that positioning women’s value in relation to their physical appearance as well as their skill was disempowering for the women that he employs. Once again, competing discourses about women jockeys, their abilities, prowess and who is actually doing the discriminating makes the field of the workplace for women jockeys fraught with obstacles that cannot be remedied by recourse to legislation alone.

**How do they think the public view women jockeys?**

Five of the women jockeys had comments to make about the issue of the publics’ view of women jockeys. One said that there had never been a problem with the public. Another avowed that the racing public generally had favorites, that some liked to put their money on women jockeys while others would never bet on a horse ridden by a woman. Three others very clearly made the distinction between the racing public, as in the informed punters and followers of racing, and the public in general. They felt that there was not issue for them with the racing public that is, those who bet on races and to whom an interest in horseracing is a recreational activity, but that the serious issues were what they understood to be negative attitudes towards women in the broader society. They felt that the negative view that society outside the racing industry has of women and their skills was a limitation for them in the world of racing.

Three of the male jockeys had views about the public perception of women jockeys. One said that everyone’s opinion varied and that he could not take a definitive view. One of the older jockeys felt that the punters took a much better view of the ‘lady’ jockeys now than they used to do when women first started. One of the men identified as the problem attitudes in Australia about men and women; that in society in general there is a belief that men are stronger than women.
....its more difficult for the girls riders to get a foothold as riders because like any... like a lot of sport.... the belief is that men are stronger and therefore the men can push the horse harder to get it over the line but that is not necessarily the case. I know that its way not necessarily the case. It's about balance and judgment. It's encouraging the horse to run. I've never seen a rider get off and carry a horse over the line yet. So they are the reasons why I think women struggle in Australia because there is a male – dominated – perceived - males are stronger than females and therefore males get a better opportunity. (Male jockey - Grant)

The other man felt that the racing industry is a ‘game of perception’, and that it was a combination of the attitudes of the public, the owners and the trainers that made success difficult for the women.

It’s all perception, this industry is a game of perception I believe you know. You know you could be one of the best riders but if you are not getting on the cattle you know people will start looking at you - you know. Even though you are giving them every chance a lot of people don’t look at that you know – they’ll blame the jockey before they’ll blame the horse that’s a thing - you know. Yeah. (Male jockey - Dave)

The apprentices were very clear that the racing public do not have a positive perception of women riders. The male apprentice and three of the women said that they knew that many punters would not back a horse if it was being ridden by a woman. Another woman was clear that women were first to be criticized if a horse they are riding did not run well and another had just suffered from what she saw as an unfair amount of criticism in the press after she had recently been disqualified for returning to the scale overweight. This is of interest given the assertion of the male jockey’s agent that stewards can turn a blind eye to men who register over the weight.

Well we are definitely the first to cop the criticism um I know that one of the main identities in Sky Channel really had a go at me once, not knowing that who he was bagging me to was my family- my in-laws. He had comments like ‘girls are only good on front runners. They can only sit and steer and they don’t really have the ability’. A lot people too put us on mad horses thinking oh a girl might be able to – girls have a bit of a reputation for being able to calm horses, blokes get on them and rev them up. (Female apprentice - Bonnie)

When the trainers were asked to comment on the attitudes of the public to women jockeys responses varied. One woman avowed that the public accept women as jockeys. Two of the other women made no comment about the public as such but continued to talk about the negative perceptions of women held by owners and trainers. The other woman trainer related an incident that had happened to her when she was a jockey. She had been jeered at by a group of male race-goers who used sexist language and put downs. The stewards and race officials had refused to take action even though they witnessed the incident.
Three of the male trainers interviewed were adamant that the punters and racing public in general did not like women jockeys, nor would they place bets on horses ridden by women. The other male trainers had no comment on this question.

In short, responses to this question indicate a consensus that negative views about women in society as well as within the racing industry make it difficult for women jockeys to succeed. There is a strong discourse from the gatekeepers to the work, the trainers, that women are not accepted as jockeys.

**Are women as ‘strong’ as men? Does this matter?**

On the question of whether women are as strong as men as riders, three of the female jockeys gave no response. Two women felt that they themselves were not as strong as the male riders even though one of them emphasized that she does gym four to five times per week. Another three of the women jockeys were of the opinion that strength was not an issue. One of these maintained that some of the female riders were stronger than many of the males, another that there are no differences in riding between a fit male and a fit female. Another of the women believed that in race riding it was all down to the horse and that a good horse would win if it had the ability to do so no matter how hard it was hit. Issues about skill levels were touched on by some.

....*I know for example I was lucky enough - I ride for a very well respected trainer and I ride this horse that was given to me as a project the other you know a couple of months ago and I’ve done everything with this horse. It was crazy. It had to be drugged every day and they said we are taking the drugs out of it and putting you on it- this is your project. So I went oh ok and because I’ve got an equestrian background I work in really good with them which is why my trainer likes my riding, but this is the odd occasion where I’ve been rewarded. I got to ride it at its first start at the races last week, and my hard work paid off because we won by four lengths. But I don’t think I’ll get on his back again. I’ll probably ride his track work every day. I think he’s going to Adelaide to bigger and better thing and I won’t see him back. I’m just the work rider.* (Female jockey - Carly)

This is a telling example of the lack of recognition that the women suffer due to their gender. The fact that the women themselves in general equivocated about this issue indicates that they have to some extent internalized this discourse of women’s lack of physical strength. This lack of recognition or reluctance to claim credit for their own skill and strength is a limiting factor for the women in this field of work where self-confidence and self-promotion is crucial to gaining work.

Four of the male jockeys had definite views about the strength of women jockeys and the importance of strength in succeeding as a jockey. One man avowed that women are definitely not as strong as men and then went on to discuss at length the strength and skill of one particular woman jockey. Another of the men felt that women lack strength
physically but that this was not so much of an issue as it was skill that enabled them to do a good job. Another of the men argued that you do not need to be strong as the major job of a jockey was to encourage the horse.

Two of the female apprentices believed that strength was not an issue though one felt that women are perceived to be weaker than men. The male apprentice similarly felt that there were strong women and strong men and that the differences were individual rather than gendered.

Three of the female trainers had clear views about the issue of strength in the work of a jockey. One woman made the point very clearly that there was a level of strength and fitness that was needed to do the job at all, but that after this baseline strength level, riding is actually an art form. The next woman felt that strength and skill are needed in equal measures. Another woman hooted with laughter at the very idea that women may not be as strong as men around horses. She could barely stop laughing long enough to derisively dismiss the very idea.

* I say you really think that the girls that we are putting on are not as strong as a 40 kilo male apprentice and you have no problem in putting him on. A little weak kid - When you’ve got a probably 21 year old woman riding at 50 compared with a 16 year old boy riding probably at 40 or 42 kilos and you’re trying to tell me that he is stronger than she is. It’s just ridiculous. (Female trainer - Freda)*

Two of the male trainers gave opinions about the issue of strength in the work of jockeys. One felt that women were perhaps not as strong but that that could be improved and that the women had skills that were equal to the men’s. The other man said that maybe women were not as strong but was not sure that strength was the important thing.

The female jockeys’ agent said that strength was not an issue in riding. The retired male jockey was of the same opinion. He explained that whether the rider was weak or strong the horse would still run. There were mixed views of the importance of ‘strength’ for a race rider and of the comparative levels of strength of men and women. Here again the women jockeys are caught amongst competing discourses with indications that to some extent negative perceptions of women’s strength and skill levels have been internalized by some female jockeys at the same time as they are giving examples of their own skill, success and competence. This undermining discourse is problematic for women jockeys operating as they do in a workplace where there is fierce contestation for the work and the symbolic capital, legitimation or recognition that leads to further success and the gaining of economic and social capital.
**How they feel about horses? How important is being able to work with horses in their choice of job?**

Evidence for the hyperphysicality theory came through strongly in the responses to the question about relationships with the horses. The women jockeys all spoke about their affection for horses as being one of the motivating factors in their choice of job. One woman detailed at length her equestrian background from an early age. One spoke about really liking horses. Another said that she had an affinity with all animals, not just horses. Three of the women spoke of the love that they have for horses and two expressed their commitment as a passion. All the women had an enlivened tone of voice when they began discussing this question. There was an attitude that I had finally asked something that they were joyous about.

*I've stayed in the industry because I love the horses. I love the thrill of being able to ride them. My passion is riding them and being out there on race day.* (Female jockey - Carly)

*I suppose I love all sorts of animals-- but horses through the years with riding and that-- you just enjoy getting to know horses and their learning like - you might ride a young horse every morning as it starts to go out onto the track and trot and canter round the track to learning how to gallop and learning how to go through the barriers, and it's like something that they've all got their own little character. That was one thing that I really did love through riding that was watching --you know feeling the horse grow and learn and that sort of thing. So yeh but you've definitely got to love the horses I think.* (Female jockey - Kerry)

The male jockeys by contrast had quite a diffident tone in their answers to the question of their feelings about horses. Only one admitted that he loved the animals and loved working with them. Another said that he really liked them and bred them. One talked about how he had always been around horses. Another of the men appeared not to understand the question and seemed to feel that it was an odd thing to be asking.

The female apprentices similarly used emotional language when talking about horses. One spoke about being around horses from an early age, another that being with horses was crucial in her motivation to work as a jockey. One woman said that her motivation as a jockey comes from love, another that she loves horses. One of the women apprentices spoke of how she adored horses. The male apprentice was also happy to articulate that he likes horses a lot more than most of the other apprentices that he knows.

The women trainers when asked about horses gave a range of responses. One spoke about her love for the animals, another about her fondness for horses. Two of the women spoke about their long histories with horses, one of wanting all her life to be either a jockey or ride in the Olympics, another about her work in a stud as a young girl handling stallions.

The male trainers also offered statements of affection for horses. One said that he liked horses and had always liked horses, another that he loved horses and had been around...
them all his life. One trainer said that he was semi-retired and that keeping a few horses in work gave him a reason to get out of bed in the morning.

Of interest in this question was the frequently expressed view from respondents that they loved horses. The marked exception to this was the male jockeys, most of whom did not express love for the animal and seemed to hold a much more instrumental view of the value of the horse.

The responses of the interviewees to the questions asked gives an overall picture portraying marked gender differences in many of the responses. Involvement in the racing industry is facilitated for the women by a love of horses and or a family connection to the racing industry. The industry appears to be one where unlawful harassment and discrimination against women is rife but tolerated by the women due to the nature of work allocation within the industry, along with a reluctance to place themselves in victim mode in an industry where physical and emotional toughness are necessary to be able to perform the job. The perception is that there are negative attitudes towards women both in the industry and in society at large. Female trainers seem to have been instrumental in pushing for changes for women jockeys. In general the view is that there has not been significant progress for women due to negative discourses about women.

The opposing discourses for women are clearly seen in the varied responses gained from these interviews. Persuasive discourses occur about the female body in its relationship to the body of the horse that occurs during the riding process. Women are positioned as being simultaneously not strong enough to ride winners in races but better with horses due to a natural empathic understanding, as being better at caring for and training the horse, but not better at racing it. Descriptions of the process of the race itself vary from one where the horse and rider form a collaborative team to one where the race is more a matter of how hard the animal can be flogged. Overlaid with this are discourses around whether or not the racing public will bet on a horse ridden by a woman. The strong threads of these opposing discourses operating at different levels of the racing industry make participation and success for women jockeys a fraught process. Women simultaneously partially adopt these discourses due to a need to be seen as ‘fitting in’ and are effectively discouraged from challenging negative discourses by the method of work allocation. The following chapter develops the argument by utilizing the data presented here. It looks at four realms within the racing industry for women, tracing how the three pillars of justice through recognition vary in these realms. It details the development of the habitus of hyperphysicality and how various forms of capital operate in complex and contradictory ways for women at each of these four levels.
CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS

And the talk slid north and the talk slid south,
With the sliding puffs from the hookah mouth.
Four things greater than all things are,-
Women and Horses and Power and War.

Rudyard Kipling from “The Ballad of the King’s Jest” (Way 1994)

The arguments here, drawn from both quantitative and qualitative evidence as well as the secondary sources, are two fold. First, the evidence shows that not only are women subjected to systemic discrimination via the idiosyncratic methods of work allocation that enable gender discrimination to be reinforced, but that such is the normalization of discrimination that the women themselves feel unable to openly identify it or complain about it either individually or as a group. Second, and following from this, it begs understanding why women jockeys remain in the field at all. This chapter analyses via the evidence what motivates women to enter the field and what compels them to remain. This is where the concept of hyperphysicality becomes a pivotal to the entire thesis. To encompass the levels of the analysis I have utilized Bourdieus’s key concepts of capital, field and habitus. Bourdieu has defined a field as a network or configuration of objective relations between positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97). This concept of field has been explicated by Swartz as arenas of production, circulation and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge or status and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize these different kinds of capital (1997:117). Within the field of the racing industry, networks of relations between positions are used to claim and defend various forms of capital. Bourdieu speaks of four generic types of capital (1986:243): economic capital (money and property), cultural capital (cultural goods and services including educational credentials), social capital (acquaintances and networks) and symbolic capital (legitimation). Forms of capital most relevant for jockeys as they advance their careers within the racing industry are cultural, social and symbolic capital. We could call this combination of Bourdieus’s forms of capital ‘riderly capital’, so named because of the acquisition of these forms of capital is the basis for economic success and further cultural affirmation, social status and symbolic power for the successful jockey. The evidence indicates that a key component of ‘riderly capital’ emanates from what I have called hyperphysicality. This forms the basis of the habitus that is the distinct quality of the professional, cultural and social acumen of the jockey. It is strongly supported for women in some realms of their life while simultaneously denied in other realms. Due to this paradox I have taken particular care to track the emergence of hyperphysicality within four domains or social spaces where this paradoxical tide of support and denial takes place. Habitus comprises durable dispositions that that reflect the socialization of past experiences, traditions and habits that individuals bring to situations (Swartz 1997:290).
The first of these social spaces is the **micro-level** of lived bodily experience and interpersonal subjectivity experienced by all riders but which is particularly salient for female riders as it poses a challenge to the gendering of women’s bodies as less powerful. The second level is the **family**, a context that usually provides support for the equestrian habitus. Third, the **workplace** is the site where this strongly held habitus is for women not often recognized and where women are typically denied respect but where for men an equestrian racing habitus is reinforced and supported. The final space is the **broader Australian society** with a diminishing discourse around women’s equality providing little outside support for any recognition of this discourse within the racing industry. These levels of social life shape, support or deny equestrian habitus, (in different ways for men and women) and are also are spaces where recognition is, or is not, accorded and consequently where capital is built, supported or denied in different ways for men and women. This chapter therefore is divided into sections that discuss the paradoxical matrix of recognition, support and denial of the habitus and ‘riderly capital’ for women within these social spaces.

**THE FIELD: THE AUSTRALIAN RACING INDUSTRY**

Prior to analyzing the evidence around aspects of the habitus and ‘riderly capital’, I briefly outline the formal and informal rules governing the field of racing including apprenticeships and internal hierarchies that determine work allocation and gendered opportunities. Women’s experiences of the racing industry as they work as jockeys are highlighted. A description of the construction of this field of contestation gives an indication of the complexity of the workplace, a discursive space where clashing discourses occur. In this field, the contestation for forms of capital is fiercely competitive and discourses about the competence of women riders are both reinforced and challenged especially around the question of their equestrian competence and their capacity to utilize and accrue further ‘riderly capital’.

For the purposes of analysis, the field of the racing industry considered for this thesis is the top or elite level of professional racing in Victoria. As discussed earlier in the methodology chapter, this consists of the workplace for the jockeys who are registered by Racing Victoria as Level A that is, those for whom riding in horse races and accompanying track work is their main source of income. The jockeys in this category are professionals. For jockeys registered to ride at other levels (Level B, registered to ride in country races etc) race riding may not be their main work. For jockeys who only ride at country races this can be something which they do on a part time basis as a supplement to other sources of income. This is the first of the social spaces where there are different opportunities and expectations for men and women. There is quite a marked difference of status in the racing industry between country and city racing. Country racing is where horses of lesser caliber run or where trainers send their ‘green’ or newly trained horses to see how they will fare in their job of racing. There is considerable interest when a horse is ‘sent up to the city’ where it is entered in races at the higher status/higher prize money/higher public profile races at the ‘city’ racetracks. Women are readily able to gain
rides on horses at country tracks on the lower rated or newly trained horses who are ‘trying out’. This was confirmed by the women jockeys interviewed for the study. The quantitative evidence in Chapter Five underlines the systemic discrimination faced by women in this highly idiosyncratic allocation of work and opportunities with obvious flow-on effects for the building of ‘riderly’ capital.

The work of a jockey at any level is highly casualised. While some jockeys are ‘retained’ by a particular trainer, in other words they become the ‘favored’ jockey for that trainer to use or call on first, this is still a relatively tenuous employment relationship. The jockey is rarely employed by the trainer on the basis of any conventional notion of employment. The remuneration and amount of work is still determined on a day-to-day and race-by-race basis. For instance, the ‘favored’ jockey or stable jockey will ride the track-work or daily training rides for the horse that they will be hired to ride on race day. This is most often for horses that are well regarded and on their way to winning. The jockey can thus assess the horse’s personality and way of going. This will enable the jockey to ride the horse strategically leading to a more successful ride in the race itself. Horses that are just beginning their training or those not well regarded, will most often be ridden in their ‘work’ or daily training by track workers. Again, these workers are paid by the ride and are not usually employed on anything but a casual basis. Jockeys are less willing to do this work if they can gain enough race rides which are better paid. The exception to this are the very high profile trainers (those who are ‘household names’) who have large numbers of horses ‘in work’ (undergoing training). The position of ‘stable jockey’ for one of these stables is highly desirable. However these situations are very few and this ‘stable jockey’ position remains impermanent and paid on a piece-work basis. It is common for jockeys and trainers to ‘fall out’ due to a variety of reasons. The trainer may become dissatisfied with the jockey for not following instructions on how to ride a horse in a race or for bad decision-making in a race leading to the horse underperforming. The system of work allocation is thus one of extreme competitiveness and insecurity where power is held almost entirely by owners and trainers. Jockeys are totally reliant on the goodwill of the trainers. Their success is reliant on maintaining a reputation as co-operative and compliant workers. Co-operative and compliant workers do not lodge complaints of harassment and discrimination under a legislative regime such as the SDA.

The racing industry is a fertile field of contestation in the struggle for respect, recognition and the consequent gaining of a range of forms of capital. This is because, in Australia, it is an iconic, high profile cultural product. It encompasses economic, social and cultural and symbolic realms in a way that makes it of cultural significance. Women jockeys must negotiate four industrial, social and cultural hurdles in their quest for success. The first hurdle is gaining entry to the profession through an apprenticeship offered by a trainer. Family members, stable-hands, track-workers and others who show interest or promise are typically encouraged or approached. Trainers can also be persuaded by persistent individuals to take them on as apprentices. The apprenticeship is a guarantee of work for the duration of the apprenticeship as the apprenticeship is governed by rules about the amount of work the apprentice must be given and is thus the most secure time of the jockey’s employment life. Apprentices are often offered rides ahead of more experienced jockeys as they can ‘claim’ an advantage in the handicapping due to their apprentice
status. The second hurdle to be addressed is gaining work after the apprenticeship and subsequent registration. After the apprenticeship is completed and the jockey is fully registered there is no longer any guarantee of work. The gaining of registration as a jockey only enables an availability to work. The jockey must negotiate rides each week. This involves checking which horses are running in races and then phoning trainers to request a ride on that horse. Agents are sometimes employed to do this work. It is a struggle to obtain work and the methods of allocating work are unexamined, highly arbitrary and subjective. Even after riding in a race where the horse wins or places there is not requirement to re-employ the jockey on that horse at its next race or to provide any explanation for such decisions. The trainer’s decision is the final word. Over the twenty-year timeframe studied the proportion of women registered as Jockey A (the elite professional level) ranged from 0% to 11%. During this time the number of rides offered to women riders was between 1.4% and 2%. In other words, the women were proportionally given far less work than their male colleagues. The third hurdle to be addressed by women is recognition of their skill as jockeys. As the data shows, women jockeys are not offered rides at a rate anywhere near their proportionate presence in the workforce. When this is combined with the analysis of their actual success in race riding compared to the prediction as to whether the horses they were riding would win (through the bookmaker’s odds), it is clear that women’s skills were being systematically underrated or denied as well as their very presence ignored. The pattern was consistent over the two five year periods studied. Horses ridden by women in races achieved better results than were expected by the bookmaker’s odds. Thus the fourth hurdle to be overcome for women jockeys is acceptance and recognition of their skills which is demonstrated by being offered rides on horses which would have a reasonable expectation of winning.

The methods of work allocation in the racing industry enable and support unchallenged systemic discrimination against women, the results of which are shown by the data presented Chapter Five. This field is one where there are multiple spaces for playing out struggles to gain forms of capital. For the women in this field there are significant barriers to the inclusion and recognition which leads to accumulation of capital. This is a shock for women, as in the micro realm, as described below, a radical habitus for women is developed and supported. In the domestic realm this habitus is also usually supported, albeit sometimes reluctantly out of the love, within the family or intimate relationships. This habitus fuels their belief that they can succeed as jockeys. However in the field of the racing industry methods of work allocation conducive to systemic discrimination against women are difficult to challenge. Women are either not conscious of this systemic discrimination or unable or reluctant to take the action needed to change the situation. They realize that their success is based on relationships of goodwill and compliance on their part within systems that have no transparency or fairness in the allocation of work. The tools of the equal opportunity legislation are unable to be utilized at all due to the structuring of the method of work allocation.
THE MICRO LEVEL- WOMEN AND HORSES- HYPERPHYSICALITY

Acknowledgement of the micro human/horse dynamic in producing both an equestrian habitus and the resulting ‘riderly capital’ it vital in explaining the tenacity and persistence of women jockeys in pursuing their chosen work. It is here that recognition in the form of love, one of the pillars of the cosmopolitan theory of justice occurs in the interaction between the rider and the horse. This field of the micro-level of interpersonal and interspecies interaction is a key site for the development and reinforcement of a particular habitus and the accumulation of forms of capital (emanating from this strongly experienced loving equine alliance) that have currency in the realm of thoroughbred horse racing. This factor operates horizontally and vertically in the lives of women jockeys. To begin with, it is a space that the women occupy often as young girls before they desire to become jockeys. For girls and women this micro social space is where they are in the company of the horse only perhaps with other girls and women or in a domestic situation with family members. The discourses that accompany this micro social space were outlined in detail in Chapters One and Two. It is a realm of desire for involvement in equestrian activities. It can be pony club or riding club where the majority of participants are girls and women. Sometimes a girl may borrow a pony to ride or goes to a riding school or racing stable to work and thus be near horses. The first realm of equestrian experience is one that usually precedes experience of the racing industry. However the micro is also inhabited vertically for the women in that it is experienced simultaneously as the other three social spaces of the domestic, the field of the racing industry and the discourses in the broader society concerning women’s work. Within these interlocking social spaces, many girls and women are sustained by the intensely experienced physical relationship with the body of the horse through the act of horse riding, likened by Game (2004:204) to the Buddhist notion of ‘inter-being’. This is usually supported by others who share the desires and experiences gained in this realm. A good example of this from the interviews is the woman jockey who identified that another more experienced woman jockey had persuaded her to continue her career when she was considering leaving. A friend of mine (named).....she actually got me into riding again... yeh she really helped me get my apprenticeship back (Cara).

The interviews with women jockeys summarized in Chapter Five revealed that an equestrian background or love of horses from an early age was a key motivating factor in a decision to choose to work as a jockey. *I've always been quite a practical rider and I rode ponies all my life and my grandfather was a really good show jumping rider* (Lee). This included the woman who announced to her family that she wanted to be a jockey at the age of four and the woman who had had a successful career in dressage and competitive showing before she came to work as a jockey. *Basically it started where I was a very good equestrian. I was at the top of my level as an equestrian* (Carly). Interest in horses had often led the women to gain work as a stable hand or track worker which led on to work as a jockey. *I always had horses since I was very young so I’m really passionate about them. Once I started with the work experience I loved it so much I never actually went back (to school)* (Cara). However, even for the one woman who did not
avow a great love of horses as a motivating factor in her choice of work as a jockey, this first field described, that of the micro-level of intimate bodily connection with the horse, is a realm that is necessarily inhabited by all jockeys, male and female. The axes of power that operate through this field are located in the development and re-enforcement of particular forms of habitus and the gaining of forms capital related to work with horses. That is, a habitus of physical and emotional strength and skill along with an elevated self-identity gained through the cultural overlay of the horse/human alliance and the feeling of embodied ‘inter-being’ when horse-riding that I have termed hyperphysicability. For a woman this becomes a radical habitus because it challenges what had previously been claimed as a marker of male gender identity, physical and emotional toughness.

**The radical habitus**

In the micro level of human and horse connection a radical habitus develops for the woman that originates in the hyperphysicability. Hyperphysicability in horse riding is an experience of fusion between the horse and human body into a ‘super body’ or a larger more powerful physical presence in the world. It is a feeling of physical transcendence that is experienced as the horse becomes effectively an extension of the human body or the fusion of the two bodies. This ‘hyper’ body is then able to perform feats that neither the human nor the equine body would be able to accomplish without the other. This is partly explained by descriptions in sport sociology as the feeling of ‘flow’ (Collinson 2007:119). Flow is the feeling that is triggered when movement induces happiness to the point of euphoria. It is a feeling of optimum fulfillment and engagement in an activity where time is not experienced in its normal dimensions. In the case of horse riding, the additional adrenalin induced by the speed that is experienced when racing on horses enhances this sensory, physical and psychosocial experience which is interwoven with, and reinforced by, the deep cultural background of the horse as a carrier of status and power. The interviewees (Chapter Five) describe the physical thrill of the race. Hyperphysicability is essentially a theoretical ‘missing link’ when looking at the situation for women jockeys. That is, it is the factor that explains why women have been so persistent in their efforts to be recognized and legitimated as jockeys despite enormous barriers.

The evidence for the existence of hyperphysicability lies in descriptions of horse riding in the literature (Chapter Two) and allusions to it in the discussions with the jockeys. In the interviews, as described earlier, the jockeys typically changed their tone of voice and moved from a down to earth tone to rapturous descriptions making comments that were highly emotional; *oh the horses? I love it ..I love it.. the motivation and the love I have for it..that’s what I want to do* (Anne). *I love the animals... its unique and I really do love them* (Narelle). Female respondents described it thus: *There’s nothing better than riding a horse track work and then coming out on it on race day winning on it* (Cara). *I really got a buzz for it and I really enjoyed it* (Mel). *Oh the adrenaline rush... well it’s something like when you get round a cross country course on a horse you’ve been really really scared of and you get your horse around. It’s just a huge buzz. It’s one hell of a
Male jockeys also experience hyperphysicality and form an equestrian habitus. However, for men an equestrian habitus does not constitute a radical habitus in the same way as it does for women. There is also the need to theorize an explanation of the persistence of both male and female jockeys in continuing to seek work in a situation where there is no job security or workplace benefits, a high level of danger of extreme injury or death, and often very poor remuneration. I argue that this factor of hyperphysicality leads to different social outcomes for the male and female jockeys. The phenomenon of the ‘horse mad girl’ (Chapter Two) can be explained as a reaction to a society where there is an expectation that girls and women are physically smaller, weaker and more submissive that their male counterparts. Equestrians develop a habitus of physical strength and power, self direction and confidence. It gives to young women the confidence and the freedom to, indeed demands the necessity of, asserting themselves in an unapologetic and forthright way. Successful interaction with horses requires these characteristics. I love getting to know the animal you know because every ..every horse is an individual really isn’t it? And I love trying to work out their little quirks and maybe what will help them win a race and things like that (Cara). This habitus is a radical one for women in that it is in opposition to the conventional (modernist) habitus that women are typically physically weaker, submissive, and emotionally dependent and oriented mainly towards domestic life. The latter are limiting discourses for women jockeys. A girl in control of a horse experiences on a visceral, embodied level the converse of these expectations (Chapter Two - Part Three). This experience is then deeply embedded in the habitus of the equestrian and in the case of jockeys is re-enforced continually in their daily work. Male jockeys need to be men who are very small in stature to be able to be light enough to ride at the weight expected. For these men as well the hyperphysicality of riding gives them a ‘stature’ in the world in a physical sense that would not otherwise be accessible (given their limited educational qualifications and diminutive appearance). In a sense hyperphysicality for the typically diminutive male rider repairs a ‘spoiled’ masculine identity (Goffman, 1971) because, like gymnasts, the small male can be seen to be physically and mentally tough despite their small size but it does not lead to a radical habitus (as it does for women riders) because male riders still trade on a dominant discourse of superior male physical and emotional strength. By contrast, for women, hyperphysicality leads to a radical habitus. The radical habitus of the equestrian woman is re-enforced throughout their lives on a daily basis each time they ride. In the interviews the women refer to their own strengths developed through this habitus: there is no room for any shrinking violets” (Lee, Jockey) I think we’re all pretty tough and won’t take any nonsense from anyone sort of thing in any respect you know. (Rita – Jockey). Mentally its very, very tough (Carly – Jockey).. you do think .. I can do this (Kerry – Jockey). I love the horses. I love the thrill of being able to ride them. My passion is riding them and being out there on race day.... I love the adrenaline – so I started racing. I love the competitiveness (Cara – Jockey). I hate to be big headed, but I’ve actually got a way with animals full stop (Kerry – Jockey). At this level of the micro the bodily experiences of the equestrian interaction and the human companions to this activity, the development and maintenance of this radical habitus is rarely challenged.
Riderly capital

Capital developed and maintained at this micro level by women jockeys is rarely in the form of money or property. The symbolic, cultural and social capital gained in the micro of interspecies interaction could be termed, following Bourdieu (1992), ‘riderly capital’. Symbolic capital, interwoven with the strong habitus that leads to skill and confidence with horses, is not well defined, able to be quantified or indeed readily able to be described even by those who have it. Its existence for women is highly contested at other levels of the women jockeys’ experience. This capital is a form that is located in the body of the women and is part of their habitus as individuals rather than in any extraneous factor of materiality or social connection. Symbolic capital is described by Bourdieu as a form of legitimation (Swartz, 1997:43). The capital developed in the micro is a form of credential which can play a part as an entrée into the world of the racing industry. For women I argue that the symbolic aspect of this ‘riderly capital’ is an extremely important, strongly held and validating form of capital. It is respected and recognized in the micro and in the domestic but it is not recognized by the racing industry if it is held by women. However, it becomes so intrinsic to their habitus, their self-image and way of relating in the world that it is a key to understanding both why women persist in working as jockeys at the professional level alongside men and also why this insistence on inclusion is so resisted. It forms a fundamental challenge to essentialist, conservative discourses within the broader society of superior male physical strength and superiority.

However the claiming of the symbolic form of ‘riderly capital’ beyond the micro social space is also fraught for the women, as they do not seek to consciously challenge ideologies about gender identity. This is seen in the demeanor of women jockeys who frequently assume a very feminine persona when not at work or after the actual racing (a Girl, a Horse, a Dream, Lenders 2004). Also, in the interviews, the women downplayed the issue of the harassment and discrimination that they face by claiming that this is just part of the job as if it were any other workplace hazard. They avowed their own toughness in being able to tolerate harassing discriminatory behavior by attempting to normalize it or downgrade its significance to them. ..it’ll be a roughhouse race and the first thing that comes into one of the boy’s heads is..it was a girl, a sheila rider and a few little expletives here and there, and it happens …oh once in a blue moon. It’s not very often that happens but we do it back to them (Kerry - Jockey). You get used to it after a while (referring to sexist harassment) (Marie - Jockey). We get the odd comments here and there, but I’ve got a friend working for a law firm you know she cops it there as well….. And she is a very attractive girl. So I think it’s like that in all..in a lot of industries. I just really don’t like to dwell on it too much (Cara - Jockey). The strength and resilience of the woman jockey with her radical habitus of toughness and courage is ironically also a weakness as it means that they are unlikely to use the legislation to complain formally nor to use its symbolic value in claiming it as backup to any informal protest about sexist behavior. None of the women jockeys interviewed identified the desire to challenge men or seek equal opportunity for women.
I kind of knew when I got into the industry. I've known my whole career that it is... I don't like to use the word, but it's a little bit sexist. You know that you are out there competing against the men on equal terms. I don't expect anything less. You know if I could cut off my hair and change my name to a guy's name I would do it.....We are out there competing against the men equally. We deserve to be treated the same in every respect. A female if they want to complain, then they shouldn't be doing it (Cara).

Capital that can be developed for women at this micro-level can also take the form of social capital in the form of social contacts or acquaintances. Participation in the equestrian world provides contacts with the racing world through farriers, coaches and others. The women jockeys interviewed all identified trainers to whom they had been apprenticed as providing critical support and encouragement in the racing industry. This factor was important for the women jockeys and in marked contrast to the responses given by the men. Women claimed that particular individual trainers had given encouragement and support in beginning and in their attempts to sustain their careers. This interpersonal micro level of interaction with horses on a visceral level engendering embodied hyperphysicality, along with supportive individuals in a one-to-one social space, provides a formidable background of strength and validation from which women move through other layers of experience as jockeys. In essence, the micro level of hyperphysicality and interpersonal relationships leads to the development of a habitus characterized by assertion and strength and to the gaining of forms of social, cultural and symbolic capital. The review of the literature and history of the equestrian woman indicates that at this micro level women have always been present, active and supported in their participation. This activity, presence and support however has led to women having the sense that they are both entitled and well able to participate at other types of equestrian activity, in particular at the professional level of the racing industry. This has sustained the women in their efforts to succeed as professional jockeys. When asked about family support for her work, Narelle says:

..they said yes there's a downside to it, and at that stage when I started it was when a couple of jockeys were killed and they sat me down and they said look you know that the downside is losing your life but we are not going to tell you that you can't do it because if it's something you love, if it's something that you enjoy then it's completely up to you and they have backed my decision 100% which ever way I went and I wanted to be a jockey and they still support me now.

and

My career is like ..well I started riding track work when I was 14, and gained my jockey's licence when I was 16 and just progressed from there. So far it’s been hard but I like a challenge so I'll just keep chipping away and keep boxing off with it (Nissa).
THE FAMILY/DOMESTIC SETTING

Forming an equestrian habitus

In contrast to the field of the micro described above, the family/domestic sphere is a space where oppositional discourses and competitive contestation for all forms of capital begin to occur for women. This relates to the cosmopolitan theory of justice in that it is here that the recognition in the form of love that is needed to build the self-confidence necessary for a feeling of integrity and self control continues to be ultimately supported though often in an initially reluctant or equivocal way. Of the eight women jockeys interviewed for this study only two had a history of family involvement with the racing industry. The women mainly came to the industry through a love of horses driven by the equine radical habitus created through the hyperphysicality of riding first experienced in the field of the micro. Only one of the women in the study identified family support as being a helpful factor in their career and this was only passive support that is her family agreed not to block her efforts to become a jockey. Several other women reported support from partners with one identifying that her husband had been instrumental in persuading her to continue to work as a jockey after having two children. The differing circumstances that are experienced by women in the domestic sphere are illustrated by three examples from the literature. Beverly Buckingham’s (Buckingham and Mottram, 2003) father was a trainer and gave her every opportunity and encouragement; Bruce Fullarton, the chief steward in Tasmania, who actively recruited and supported young female jockeys; and the five Payne sisters became jockeys with the help of their trainer father in the family business (Keebone, 1996). By contrast some women have needed to fight for inclusion in racing against staunch opposition from within their own family. For example, Gai Waterhouse (Perkins, 1996) initially faced active and hostile opposition from her uncle and her father, the legendary trainer T.J. Smith. Waterhouse’s story illustrates the competing discourses and changing attitudes to women in the racing industry. The domestic setting is one where support for life as a jockey is not necessarily a given for women in the same way as it is for men. In interviews the majority of the male jockeys identified biological family support as a key factor in their decision to become a jockey. Um I was always interested in horses when I was a kid and my uncle was a jockey um and I was a bit too small so I decided to become a jockey (Neil). Yeah ah I got started because my older brother was jockey before me (Daryl). Yep I started out at a very young age because of my mum and dad, because of my dad especially (Grant.) By contrast the women were not as forthcoming about domestic support from biological families tending to emphasize how their families were persuaded to support their riding aspirations. There was a trainer down the road and my dad fixed the pump for him on the proviso that he got two horses for my sister and I. We actually did get dad drunk first and tell him that he said we could have a horse (Kerry). I did a TAFE course in horseracing….. Did that and my family sort of wanted me to do that as well just to make sure it wasn’t just a phase, so I did a traineeship in horse-racing and then went on to an apprenticeship (Hilary).
In conclusion the interviewees described a range of responses from family to their desire to interact with horses. These responses ranged from hostile opposition through to passive support and reluctant, uninformed and indeed hazardous support (for example the family who allowed their nine year old to undertake the training of an unbroken thoroughbred). The domestic social space sometimes poses a challenge to the development of the radical equestrian habitus. Support in the domestic social space is needed to sustain interaction with horses. An example of this is the trainer of Melbourne Cup winner Ethereal, Sheila Laxon’s (2003) description of her early life with horses. She rode at a local riding school, rode for a show jumping rider and was hired in a racing stable as a track worker and stable hand. Her parents supported her riding as a young girl but then tried very hard to persuade her to concentrate on her secondary school work. Her subsequent entrée into racing was through working as a track rider. It was Sheila’s strong habitus of equestrian competence and her desire to work with horses that prevailed despite a family that tried to steer her elsewhere.

**Riderly capital in the domestic domain**

The forms of capital gained in this domestic setting for women jockeys include social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital. However, any capital accrued in this setting is still strongly based on the hyperphysicality developed in the micro setting. Capital gained in the domestic setting is also once again experienced for the women vertically as well as horizontally, that is, while they are gaining or utilizing capital in the domestic realm, this can simultaneously be challenged in the workplace. Accrual of ‘riderly capital’ occurs for the women jockeys in two ways. For the few women who have biological family links into racing this positioning of inclusion within the industry is a form of social capital that is reinforced and enables other forms of capital (economic, symbolic, cultural) to develop. For other women jockeys this social capital of inclusion is gained through the choices that they make about their domestic life after, or in the process of becoming, a jockey often through their partnering or marriage. It is not uncommon for women jockeys to be partnered with other jockeys with evidence that this partnership can provide vital support. **...he will push and he will go oh Kerry rode a winner today (Kerry).** At the time of the interviews three of the women jockeys were married to other jockeys and one was partnered with a trainer. One woman emphasized quite proudly that her success as a jockey really began when she married a trainer thus gaining her a privileged position in terms of having access to good horses to ride in races. **But the only way that I have made the success that I have is that I married a horse trainer and he’s a good trainer. Otherwise it would almost be a pointless activity. You find that most female riders really need to have that family support or they get out of the industry quick (Annette).**

The capital developed for the women in this setting consists of symbolic capital gained through the legitimacy of being ‘attached’ to other racing ‘insiders’ being part of the tribe. Social and symbolic capital is also built and reinforced by relationships, acquaintances and contacts made through this insider status. Cultural capital in the form of the apprenticeship which leads to the official registration as a jockey is frequently bound up in this belonging to or acceptance into a relationship with racing ‘insiders’ from...
which economic capital is ultimately derived. The woman who married a trainer and others who had a birth family relationship with a trainer had direct access to more earning opportunities. Those who married other jockeys may have gained access to more offers to ride due to the symbolic capital gained. Domestic alliances demonstrate commitment to the sub-culture of the industry forming a marker of seriousness about a racing career. In essence, the domestic sphere is a fertile space for the gaining of a wide range of forms of capital. The capital gained here provides chances to build additional capital.

In conclusion, women with a radical habitus developed through hyperphysicality form relationships through partnerships in marriage or other intimate relationships that affirm their status as part of the racing industry. The habitus developed through the micro, the strong capable woman, is supported and continues to be affirmed in this domestic sphere particularly when the domestic arrangements are chosen by the women rather than in the realm of the birth family where there is often passive rather than active support. This support though comes from the love (an important form of recognition in the cosmopolitan theory of justice) that is a part of these intimate relationships and thus is crucial in the development of the self-confidence which is a pillar of justice. This setting is a site for the development of all of the forms of capital described by Bourdieu. These factors are of course experienced by different individuals in different ways depending on circumstances. It is in the setting of the birth family that there is evidence of significant inequality experienced by women. By contrast, in situations where women have chosen their own domestic relationships, it can be seen that they often choose intimate relationships that support their race riding aspirations. The oppositional discourses encountered in this sphere seem to be able to be overcome by the women. For the women jockeys interviewed, the domestic sphere was mostly a supporting rather than an inhibiting factor in their career. However, there is a struggle for women to attain acceptance in the industry even after creating domestic partnerships within the racing industry subculture. One woman interviewed, who was married to a male jockey, identified him as being her major supporter in ‘talking her up’ to trainers and suggesting that she should ride for them. In this domestic field the equal opportunity legislation has no direct effect. The EOWWA, with its emphasis on large organizations making a report, is irrelevant in this sphere. The SDA or VEOA is not readily utilized by the women jockeys interviewed although the legislation has had symbolic value at the industry level.

THE WORKPLACE – PROFESSIONAL HORSE RACING

The habitus, both a prop and a problem

This thesis has argued that in the realm of the racing industry a strong equestrian habitus and the acquisition of ‘riderly capital’ are vital and sustaining elements for all jockeys but more particularly so for women. The strong equestrian habitus is vital for the women because it must sustain them throughout an essentially gendered and hostile field. Paradoxically the equestrian habitus operates as a consistently positive factor for the male jockeys but as a mixed blessing for the women. This discourse that enables women’s
inclusion and success and fuels their tenacity is also turned back upon them and re-framed in a negative way to question or inhibit their progress. There is evidence that the women to some extent internalize negative perceptions of women’s competence and apply them in self-limiting ways. In the interviews, when asked about factors that have limited their success, several of the women blamed their own lack of maturity or ability to recognize opportunity. *I think at this stage a barrier that stops me is the fact that I am not a pretty rider. I um don’t have a pretty style if you know what I mean* (Hilary. *I was young, yes immature mentally… I was just too young to deal with it* (Cara). The men’s perception of barriers in their careers focused on broader issues in the life of a jockey such as the risk of injury or the difficulties in maintaining weight rather than any shortcomings of their own. …… *I think the jockeys now are maybe, they are getting burnt out a lot sooner because there is racing every day….Also you know look at the injuries.. injuries are probably the worst thing for jockeys.. Just constantly losing weight every day... sitting in the sauna every day, it does your head in after a period of time* (Daryl).

The habitus of equestrian competence is also surrounded with mystique. Interviewees, both male and female, discussed rider/horse combinations that ‘clicked’ where a horse would always run better for a particular jockey. This is illustrated by one woman’s description of being given a dangerous horse to ride and train due to her skill with horses. She was able to ‘get along’ with horses due to her background and experience with them but she recognized that she would be overlooked when the horse raced in the premium stakes:

know for example I was lucky enough - *I ride for a very well respected trainer and I ride this horse that was given to me as a project the other you know a couple of months ago and I’ve done everything with this horse. It was crazy. It had to be drugged every day and they said we are taking the drugs out of it and putting you on it- this is your project. So I went oh ok and because I’ve got an equestrian background I work in really good with them which is why my trainer likes my riding, but this is the odd occasion where I’ve been rewarded. I got to ride it at its first start at the races last week, and my hard work paid off because we won by four lengths. But I don’t think I’ll get on his back again. I’ll probably ride his track work every day I think he’s going to Adelaide to bigger and better things, and I won’t see him back. I’m just the work rider* (Carly).

However, this aspect of the industry, the magical or romantic thinking, the inability to explain logically why aspects of horse/human interaction work or do not work that is part of the appeal of the industry also means that women’s demonstrated competence is able to be overlooked. A failure of logic is evident in efforts to explain why some combinations of horses and riders work or do not work, therefore there is no challenge to the abandonment of logic when decisions need to be made about who will ride the horse in the race.

The habitus of the equestrian woman also powerfully challenges the conventional gender stereotyping of women and men. The inclusion and equal competence of women is a challenge to the gender identity of the male as the physically superior and emotionally
stable sex. The racing industry is a field for the creation and sustaining of mythologies of male heroism, competence and dominance of nature in the form of a wild beast, the horse. For a woman to be successful at race-riding both male and female gender identity markers are challenged. When the jockeys come into the mounting yard it is often difficult to distinguish gender identity. Gender differentiation is masked by the common physical stature of the jockey of extremely light weight and by the riding attire of helmet, goggles, silks and boots. Conventional female gender identity markers are also implicitly challenged by this androgynous physical presentation. The issue of women’s physical strength with regard to horse riding and consequent ability to ride in races is used as a means of inhibiting women’s inclusion. The women interviewed identified that the public and some trainers still have ‘an attitude’ to women. There is a perception that women are not as strong and that strength is a defining factor in ‘riderly capital’. However, as one of the male jockeys points women capable of matching men physically in the race, as the key elements in riding a horse are balance and judgment.

*its more difficult for the girls riders to get a foothold as riders because like any... like a lot of sport.... the belief is that men are stronger and therefore the men can push the horse harder to get it over the line but that is not necessarily the case. I know that its way not necessary the case. It’s about balance and judgment. It’s encouraging the horse to run. I’ve never seen a rider get off and carry a horse over the line yet. So they are the reasons why I think women struggle in Australia because there is a male – dominated – perceived - males are stronger than females and therefore males get a better opportunity (Grant).*

The women were clear that negative perceptions about their abilities due to their gender were a major barrier for them. The jockeys’ agent interviewed was quite clear that his client was discriminated against because she was a woman with trainers claiming that she was not strong or experienced enough. Interestingly, in the realm of race riding claims start to be made about physical strength and the importance of this for riding thoroughbred race horses. Interestingly, no questions are raised about women’s physical strength in relation to their ability to ride track work which is often on untrained, ‘green’ and therefore sometimes more dangerous horses. Neither is women’s physical competence questioned in relation to riding in the Olympics on similarly fit, strong horses or in recreational pursuits such as hunting and show jumping. This discourse about the weaker physical capabilities of women riders is so pervasive in the industry that some of the women themselves have adopted it. Two of the interviewees felt that they were not as strong as their male colleagues. *We can’t do it and we can’t get ourselves as fit as a guy, so we need to do that bit extra, and if they’re not prepared to they look terrible on a horse and they look soft and 80% of our female riders are like that.(Annette). I perceive myself as looking a bit weak (Marie).*

Similarly, requirements that riders possess emotional resilience, courage and assertion as key aspects of the equestrian habitus are not recognized in women in the realm of race riding. Paradoxically the women jockeys, when asked about what held them back from career success, gave answers that were at odds with the evidence of their lived experience of daily riding. *Yes I’ve not been taken up for a horse because I’m quoted as not strong*
enough or um things like that (Hilary – Jockey). They do not openly claim for themselves the characteristics which are so manifestly obvious in the very act of being able to participate in their work. In the interviews the women displayed a lack of ability to openly identify their own positive qualities in relation to their racing careers. When discussing this question the women were hesitant and unsure as if they were not totally convinced about what they were saying. Three of the women interviewed felt that their own lack of knowledge of how the industry worked and their lack of ability to market themselves were barriers to their success. One woman believed that the fact that she started out in country racing was a barrier for her future success in that she was henceforth not taken seriously as a professional rider due to her previous ‘amateur’ status. Notably, even though two of the interviewees felt that they were not as strong as the men, none of the women claimed that they lacked sufficient physical and emotional strength or skill with horses to be successful race riders. By contrast, if men identified factors that may inhibit their future success, they nominated generic issues such as the difficulty in maintaining low weight, the attendant depression that goes with continually dieting, and the possibility of an incapacitating fall. It was interesting to note in the interviews that the demeanor of the men was remarkably gentle, most assuming a submissive, humble and self effacing tone. By contrast, overall, the women’s responses could be described as ‘feisty’, except when responding to the question about what was holding them back. At that point their tone usually became uncertain and hesitant.

In conclusion, within the workplace the equestrian habitus that is so intrinsic to professional success and strongly developed in women at a early age through the hyperphysicality with the horse is challenged or denied not only by a range of actors in the industry but also by the women themselves as they seem to partly adopt and internalize a discourse that their own shortcomings are responsible for their lack of inclusion. The adoption of negative discourses about themselves works against any possibility of raising any consciousness of the fact that systems and attitudes in the racing industry need to be examined and challenged. An individual complaint-based system such as the SDA or VEOA will not be used. Similarly a process such as reporting to EOWWA which is not required of trainers fails to address the source of discrimination against women jockeys.

**Forms of capital in professional race riding**

In the field of the workplace of professional race riding forms of capital accrued in the micro and domestic realms are utilized as a basis for accruing additional capital. The four types of capital described by Bourdieu (1986:243), economic, cultural, social, and symbolic are gained, utilized and developed by the women jockeys as they make their way in the intensely competitive realm of professional race riding. For women the ‘riderly capital’ gained in the micro and the domestic is frequently not recognized in the racing industry. Of Bourdieu’s forms of capital, economic capital is the form least able to be accrued in the fields of the micro and the domestic in a way that can be used to advantage by jockeys in the realm of professional race riding. The accrual of economic capital is however one of the main aims of the professional jockey and a focus of the
world of professional race riding. Capitals claimed by the jockey are utilized in a circular reflexive way to support each other and to build further capital.

Economic capital in the form of money or property accrued in the domestic or the micro does not provide a substantial advantage to a jockey in their work at the elite professional level. Rather, it is ‘riderly capital’ that is crucial in the choice of rider for races. This choice is usually made by the trainer, sometimes in consultation with the owner, who in only rare cases will insist on a particular jockey. Registration rules forbid a jockey to be also an owner or a trainer of a horse which means that the trainer is gatekeeper of work for jockeys. Cultural capital is accrued by jockeys in the realms of the micro and the domestic and utilized in the field of professional race riding. The main form that this takes for jockeys is the credential gained through their apprenticeship completion and subsequent registration to ride. This is an important artifact as it is probably one the few forms of capital able to be accrued by jockeys that remains free from discrimination. The jockey apprenticeship process is monitored and administered centrally by Racing Victoria. It conforms to standards of training and supervision that are subject to review by the organization charged by the government to administer racing. In the interviews one of the apprentice jockeys indicated that there had been briefings on the equal opportunity legislation at jockey school and in his view there did not appear to be any sex based impediment to women in becoming apprentices. Indeed, as argued throughout this thesis, the legislation has been effective in ensuring that gender discrimination at the formal entry level to the field has been stymied. However, it is important to note that some barriers exist because entry to the apprenticeship is frequently dependent upon the support and encouragement of a trainer to whom the (usually) young person is apprenticed. Therefore forms of social and symbolic capital that are gained initially in the micro and the domestic realms are crucial for entry at the most basic level into the profession of horse race riding. Cultural capital is also important in the continuing work of the jockey. Top level professional jockeys can become the kind of sporting heroes that Australia so loves to revere. Jockeys such as Damien Oliver, Glen Boss and the Payne family become widely known even outside the industry. This kind of elevated cultural capital then allows jockeys to accrue other kinds of capital because it enhances their chances of riding the best horses, winning races and continuing to accrue more capital of all kinds. Social capital accrued in the domestic and the micro is an important factor in gaining entry and acceptance into the field and in the accrual of the symbolic capital that is so important for jockeys success in attracting attention, gaining rides and enjoying permanent employment. Once registered and riding the jockey continues to rely on social networks, acquaintances and being ‘known’ to gain work. This is closely bound up with the symbolic capital of the reputation of the jockey that is so important in the gaining of work.

That was one of the main reasons that I wanted to keep my own name after I got married. If you are ringing up jockeys and you are some women they have never heard of – It's always about your credibility- oh what would that Sheila know – So at least if they know my name and they know me – they probably treat me better than they treat a lot of other women. That's just the way of it. Till you get yourself known. I've been around that long and they know me (Freda).
Social connections thus operate in a circular reflexive way, supporting and reinforcing each other in the building of additional capital. Social connection or reputation determine choice of trainer for the horse, which farrier shoes it, which vet attends it or which jockey gets to ride it in races. As the interviews indicate for the women jockeys, these social relationships are often built once the women have already gained entry to the industry. This is in contrast to the men interviewed who came from a base of social connection. For the women the task of gaining acceptance through the building of social connection is an additional task for them in contrast to the men. Also, there was ample evidence that for the women jockeys the gaining and use of social capital in the realm of professional race riding is hampered by the high level of discrimination that they face in their efforts to gain symbolic capital.

There is thus a symbiotic relationship between all forms of capital distinguished by Bourdieu. Symbolic capital, in the form of industry reputation or legitimation is crucial for the professional jockey because without it jockeys simply will not get work regardless of their demonstrated skill or talent. It is this factor which largely determines the ability of jockeys to access the economic capital that they need to survive as professional riders. Yet reputation is precisely the form of capital which is subject to the vagaries of public opinion and it is also where female jockeys suffer demonstrable harassment and discrimination. This is what Bourdieu calls ‘symbolic violence’. This is when symbolic systems exercise symbolic power through the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it (Bourdieu 1991:164). For Bourdieu, the important factor here is how the dominated accept as legitimate their domination. There is clear evidence of this in the data collected. The data clearly shows that women are not offered rides on horses that are expected to win nor are they recognized when they are able to bring home horses more successfully than expected (Chapter Five). The examples of the harassment experienced by women jockeys in the video “a Girl a Horse a Dream” (Lenders, 2004), the quantitative data, the interviews and the literature give clear examples of this symbolic violence described by Bourdieu. The jockey’s agents interviewed clearly identified direct and indirect discrimination of women jockeys. (Question) When you ring up the trainers do they ever say outright to you – I just won’t put a girl on? (Answer) Yep. (Bert) No not a lot of direct discrimination but you get a lot of .... ‘Oh she’s not strong enough to ride this one’ (Jane).

The female trainers related significant incidents of direct discrimination that they had suffered indicating a high level of tolerance for sexist behavior in the racing industry.

_I think the girl riders - it’s getting harder and harder.....They have to go cap in hand to the men for the basics and another thing they had jockeys on one door and female jockeys on the other door – why doesn’t it say male jockeys and female jockeys – it doesn’t do that cos male jockeys, they’re the real jockeys - not the girl jockeys you know. It just seems to me there’s an attitude (Freda)._
Notably, two of the female trainers interviewed had taken direct action to tackle this harassment and discrimination in one case by utilizing the equal opportunity legislation albeit by only utilizing its symbolic value.

Not that long ago I went to the races with a bloke and one of the guys on the gate grabbed me and wouldn’t let me in - he just went to grab me and ended up grabbing me on the breast when he tried to stop me and I turned and said “I am the trainer” and it was on the badge in front of me – he just assumed that I was with the other guy and anyway I rang the president and I said if he does it again I’m going to punch him in the head, and he said I don’t blame you. Anyway I never saw those guys on the gates again. Anyway I complained about him and he was removed (Freda).

Well I started really late and the stewards tried to stop me cos they told me that most people were retiring at that age, and I said to them ... I actually mentioned the EO laws (laugh) ...so anyway.. they shut up after that and they let me have a go (Jan).

By contrast the female jockeys interviewed, while recognizing and describing sexist harassment and discrimination that they had suffered (such as sexist verbal abuse and being told that they were not given the work because they were female) appeared not to feel any outrage. Oh well even in the race you know they’ll be throwing remarks like girly, you stupid this and bitch that, but I was tough and I’d just give it back.... they called me an effing bitch (Denise). Rather, they took the attitude that this was something that was an occupational hazard for them and needed to be tolerated if they wished to continue working as a jockey. Their complicity in accepting the power exercised over them in this way is also illustrated by their denial of detailed knowledge of the equal opportunity legislation and their avowal not to utilize any process that required a complaints process.

I’m aware of it but it’s hard... I wouldn’t ....I wouldn’t probably use it. I think it’s too hard to start something. It’s easier to keep quiet. I know it can get hard for girls .. you’ve just got to handle it like if you start blowing up you know it’s nice to have it but I can think of some areas where its hard like... if you kick up a stink that would be the end of you. You have to just cop it and carry on (Lee).

Any complaint made outside the racing industry would effectively destroy any symbolic capital an individual would have within the industry. In the interviews one of the top male jockeys summed this up. For jockeys, symbolic capital is a vital factor. It’s all about perception, this industry is a game of perception I believe you know (Dave).
WOMEN AND THE WORLD OF WORK – DISCOURSES OF EQUALITY

A social space inhabited by women jockeys, albeit to a lesser extent than the previous three domains, is the wider world of work. Discourses around women and women at work in the public realm or the broader Australian society affect all women. These discourses, while forming the background to the work of women jockeys, do not provide tools for them to draw upon to continue to improve their lot. Apart from a change in circumstances in the 1970s so that women were able to ride against men it does not appear that these discourses have had much traction in the racing industry since then. The changes in the last couple of decades of the twentieth century in discourses about women at work provided impetus for women in racing to utilize their social and symbolic capital (as illustrated by the case studies of Pam O’Neill and Linda Jones - Chapter One) within the racing industry and the symbolic aspect of the equal opportunity legislation to gain a change in the rules of race riding. This enabled women to ride against men as professionals. This was an historical first at the time for sport in Australia but one which has not been followed up with continued activism at a grassroots level. It seems that an attitude prevailed that women’s undeniable talent would then mean that they would be accepted and competitive with men on an equal basis. Broader social trends which have sidelined the equal opportunity discourse in the public consciousness have also been at play. In addition, the subculture of the racing industry is an important factor. Its unusual hours and work requirements mean that those in the industry are sometimes isolated from even basic social contact with industry outsiders. This particular culture which is at times also impenetrable to outsiders means that trends and discourses in the broader culture are not taken up as readily in the world of racing.

Equal opportunity discourse in Australian society

A move to economic rationalism in the late twentieth century had the effect of weakening a previously strong discourse of equality of opportunity in favor of a competitive individualistic approach to social and economic life (Tiddy 2001). This move to an ideology of economic rationalism in the public sphere proved to be a disempowering one for the femocrats who had been at the vanguard of changes to discourses within governments and workplaces on issues of women and work and to the view that it was a government responsibility through legislative changes to ensure equality of opportunity for women. The regulatory mechanisms in which the women’s movement had put such faith and effort were rapidly either demolished or disempowered under the economic rationalist ideological regime.

The mandated concern of femocrats for gender equity brings them into an uneasy relationship with economic rationalism. Ecorats believe that public intervention in markets in the name of equity or social citizenship rights is counterproductive and leads to economic inefficiencies. Femocrats had to shift from social justice discourse to market discourse (stressing human resource and efficiency arguments for gender equity) in order to be heard. Even in relation to the basic human rights issue of domestic violence, femocrats increasingly had to stress the
economic costs of gender-based violence. However, at the end of the day, femocrats still needed to defend the welfare state on which women were disproportionately dependent but which economic rationalists viewed as standing in the way of international competitiveness (Sawer 1996:3).

This change in discourse was supported and encouraged nationally by a neo-conservative federal government which took active steps to disempower and in some cases dismantle the regulatory frameworks which the femocrats, with the support of a strong equality of opportunity discourse in the culture, had worked so hard to set up and support.

In 1996, shortly after being elected to office, the Howard government began its assault on the employment opportunities of women. It could do this with relative impunity because, as we saw in the previous chapter, over its first year in office it had taken the precaution of abolishing or enfeebling all of the government agencies charged with protecting women’s entitlements and monitoring their equality. With the Women’s Bureau shut down, the Sex Discrimination Commissioner forced out of office and the Office of the Status of Women’s (OSW) budget and influence slashed, there were no internal bureaucratic obstacles to turning back the clock for women. Nor were there any serious political obstacles. The Labor Party had made clear in its 1996 election campaign its total lack of interest in defending women’s equality. The new Labor Party leader Kim Beazley made no effort to reverse this (Summers, 2003: 141).

The numbers of women jockeys during this time showed that from an initial influx when women were first able to be registered, the percentage of women jockeys varied only slightly from 1982 to 2000, from 19% in 1982 to 16% in 2000 and has since ranged from 12% to 20%. Interestingly, the percentage of women jockeys has not shown a steady increase during this time but rather fluctuates randomly. This mirrors the stalling of equal opportunity discourses in the public realm.

Equal opportunity discussions in the public sphere in the late twentieth century have also focused on women’s roles as mothers and the relationship of their working life to their parenting life. This is illustrated by government policies designed to encourage mothers out of the workforce such as the baby bonus, cutbacks to government funded childcare and the refusal of the conservative government to implement a national maternity leave scheme (Summers 2003). A change of focus from discussions of workforce participation to various government schemes and programs related to parenthood also fails to provide any chances for women jockeys to leverage off discourses in the public realm. Women jockeys were able to utilize equal opportunity in the late 1970’s to successfully agitate for the right to compete against men as professional riders, but with the waning influence of this discourse in the late 1980’s and 1990’s and the rise of neo-liberal discourses that championed economic rationalism, individual rights and individual bargaining processes, women jockeys were unable to maintain momentum for change in the industry. The individualistic competitive discourse in the broader society echoed and supported this same ideology in the racing industry. This meant that having gained entry to the sport women were unable to then find any support in the broader social discourses for
addressing systemic discrimination. The women who became jockeys then focused solely on furthering their careers with the belief that their own competence would be valued and rewarded. My data shows that this has not been the case. In the late twentieth century the public realm in Australia was one where the contestation for power resulted in a return to hegemonic male dominated discourses and forms in the public discourses around women and work. This gave little chance for women jockeys to utilize any form of a supportive empowering discourse in the broader society.

**Habitus of women jockeys in Australian society**

In the public realm there are contradictory and disempowering discourses that seek to position women in racing and the woman jockey as still outside of the norm. In addition, challenges to the habitus of the women jockeys occur in the form of lingering ideas about the inferiority of women’s physical strength compared to men. There is considerable interest in women jockeys. In the sport sections of the Victorian newspapers there are occasional articles about individual jockeys usually around the time of the spring racing carnival. Of these articles, a random review reveals some marked differences in how male and female jockeys are portrayed. When male jockeys are profiled the story is usually about individual triumphs and career highs and lows. The accompanying photos normally show the jockey in their work attire of silks and helmet ready to race or actually on horses in races (Sunday Age Sport section, 2/11 2008: 11). However for the women, the media coverage is typically in the context of a ‘first’ for women. There has been coverage and profiling of Clare Lindop after her historic breakthrough in being the first Australian woman to ride in a Melbourne Cup in 2003 (Age Sport section, 22/11 2005:10) and of Lisa Cropp before and after her ride in the Cox Plate (Sunday Age, 4/11 2007: 10). In media coverage of the female jockey the accompanying photos will often depict her in casual wear as well as racing attire. In addition, stories about women jockeys in Victoria were for a time centered on the Payne Family. During the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries this family of ten children produced seven jockeys, five of whom were women. For this family the story is often about the extraordinary family as much as the individual’s work and achievements. (Age, 17/10 2009: 1). The point to be made here is that newspaper articles about women jockeys are less about individual triumphs and troughs and more about their gender, family connections and supporters.

Also of interest in the more general profiling of women in racing in the media is the positioning of women in the publications of Racing Victoria and the mainstream media around the time of the spring racing carnival. Women or ‘ladies’ are inextricably linked with fashion. This follows the deliberate marketing ploy to encourage women to be race goers by linking the racing carnivals with dressing up and showcasing the fashion industry. It is rare to find a photograph of a woman in relation to horse racing that is not linked to fashion in a very conventional feminine way. A telling example of this is an advertisement (Age Good Weekend Magazine, 3/10 2009) where a high fashion couple in the foreground (she in strappy dress and hat, he in smart suit) are seen with a woman on a horse behind them. The woman on the horse is dressed in jockey silks on top but is
wearing ordinary jodhpurs and riding boots – not jockey’s silk pants, lightweight boots and jockey helmet. She is also riding with long stirrups (jockeys ride in extremely short stirrups) in a stock saddle not a racing saddle. In effect, this is a representation of an equestrian woman, not a jockey, and clearly subordinates an alternative representation of the serious female jockey to woman-as-fashion-icon. It is the converse to the equestrian habitus of the woman jockey whose radical habitus is characterized by an androgynous physical presentation when on the job, strength, capability and a concern with performance rather than appearance. This dichotomous positioning does not seem to have consciously affected the women jockeys who are so steeped in their equestrian habitus from an early age. However, it does provide another example of the multiple positioning of women within the concomitant dichotomous ideologies that are a feature of the racing industry. It is in the midst of these varied positionings of women that the subjective decision-making of trainers and owners takes place when they are deciding whether to offer work to a particular jockey.

Another factor that challenges the radical habitus of the woman jockey and is clearly identified by participants in the racing industry is the view of some members of the general public and even experienced race goers that women are not ‘strong’ enough to ride thoroughbred horses in races. Three of the women interviewed felt that the issue of the public perception of women jockeys, the widespread prejudice of the public was a limiting factor for them. There are many examples of the lack of respect and recognition not only before the law but in terms of actively denying even the possibility of women’s equal talents and capacities. It’s the public. Full stop (Kerry). One of the jockeys claimed that there are punters who would never put money on a horse ridden by a woman. Oh I’ve had mates who say they won’t back something with a sheila on it you know (Dave). One of the woman trainers reported that when she was a jockey she was jeered at by a group of men at the races who used sexist derogatory language towards her after the race. The stewards and race officials took no action even though they witnessed this incident.

> I had a heap of guys at Warrnambool one day saying.. screaming... saying I slaughtered it calling out saying...you something girl...you know... and I just went ( gesture finger up) ... (question would the stewards tell off the screamers... the public?) No the public doesn’t get told off (Denise).

Three of the male trainers interviewed were adamant that the punters and the racing public were prejudiced against women jockeys and refuse to place bets on horses ridden by women. They prefer the males to females because they don’t think they are as good. And they are probably talking through their pockets as well because if they are punting they like to have what they think is the best on (Kel). This is a factor that makes it even more unlikely that a woman jockey will be chosen by a trainer to ride in a high profile race. There was a clear indication in many of the interviews that jockeys and trainers believe that negative views about women in society as well as in the racing industry make it difficult for women jockeys to succeed. Once again, in this field of the public perceptions of women in general and of women jockeys in particular, these attitudes are taken up and internalized by the women to a certain extent.
I’ve had trainers say to me and every other girl too ... you are not strong enough.....or we’re going to put a male on and it just makes you... it makes you feel horrible but it makes me feel well, you know I’ve just got to show these people that I am strong enough and just keep going like that (Nissa).

This then becomes an internal self-limiting factor for the women in a particularly competitive industry where all jockeys and especially women need all of their self-confidence intact to continue to have the resilience to tout for work on a daily basis in the face of the usual setbacks for jockeys. It is pertinent to remember that not only do women jockeys face ordinary competition from each other as well as their male colleagues but begin from a disadvantaged position because of the lack of recognition for the skills of women riders in the industry.

In conclusion in the realm of the general public and the racing public perceptions about women in general and jockeys in particular impact on women jockeys in ways that challenge their radical habitus and undermine their efforts to prove equal levels of skill and talent. Positionings of women in racing as being concerned primarily with fashion and women in general as having less physical strength than men are partially accepted and adopted by the woman jockeys themselves. This forms a self-limiting, reflexive factor challenging the habitus developed by the women jockeys in their day-to-day-work with horses in the previous three fields mentioned - the micro, the domestic and the world of racing.

Forms of capital for women jockeys in the public realm – swings and roundabouts

The utilization and accrual of forms of capital for the women jockeys is similarly fraught in the field of the broader society with its limiting discourses about women and work in the late twentieth century. The most important form of capital for the women jockeys is symbolic capital or the legitimation or normalization of their role as professional riders. This is still only partly recognized by the broader society and thus forms a limiting factor in a work role that is dependant in good measure on the goodwill of the public. Social capital (with the exception of the high profile human interest in racing stories such as that of the Payne family) is of limited relevance for jockeys in the broader society. The cultural capital of women in the world of work in general is relevant to jockeys but again forms a limiting rather than a supportive or empowering factor. Economic capital, although one of the chief motivating factors for jockeys, is unable to be accrued or utilized to gain further capital in the field of the broader Australian society.

The symbolic capital that is important for women jockeys in the field of the racing industry is interdependent with their symbolic capital in the broader society. As described earlier the positioning of women in general during the last decades of the twentieth century focusing on their role as primarily mothers and carers has been a limiting factor for women as workers during the timeframe studied. This positioning also fails to support the type of legitimation that the radical habitus of the woman jockey needs of independence, competence, capability and physical strength. This positioning of women
in general as mothers and within the racing industry as primarily associated with fashion creates a further dichotomy for the woman jockey to deal with. Once again, women jockeys demonstrated little cognizance of this. An example from an article in a leading newspaper (*Herald Sun*, 13/10 2006) is pertinent because it was run as a promotion for a novelty race meeting run as a marketing promotion to encourage women to attend the races. The article featured two young women jockeys who would be riding at this race meeting. They were pictured not dressed in their riding attire but in designer race wear and hats holding full glasses of champagne. The copy begins *swapping their jockey silks for different designs, the leading ladies of the turf pictured above jumped out of the saddle into the fashion world yesterday* and then goes on to describe the designer outfits and hats. This emphasis on ‘fashion’ and aligning women with ‘fashion’ is a discourse that is particularly strong in the racing industry. As described earlier there are also often stories about women jockeys in the sporting pages or special interest pages on the press but primarily in the context of the women doing something that is unusual for women jockeys such as riding in a high profile race. The interviews also revealed a view that there are still issues for women jockeys in being accepted by the general public as anything but a novelty. Further, many of the interviewees across all categories believed that there were still members of the public who doubted women’s physical and emotional ability to be able to adequately ride thoroughbred horses in races. The accrual and utilization of social capital in the form of acquaintances and networks in the broader Australian society has little relevance for women jockeys because the most important social connections are made once one has gained acceptance or entry in some way. Attempting to accrue cultural capital in the form of cultural goods and services, including educational credentials in the broader society, once again leads to women jockeys being caught in opposing discourses. The racing industry itself is a potent and important cultural product in which the jockey is a key player and through which a jockey can become a celebrity in the broader society. However for women any possibility of utilizing cultural capital in the form of a valorization of women’s bodies, work and social standing has been negated or limited by the modernist discourses about women and work operating in the broader context and those in the industry among punters, owners and trainers that women’s bodies are not robust enough to compete adequately with men. This emphasis in the broad social context on economics and rationalism supporting the ideologies of the racing industry of economic gain and social individualism exists paradoxically at the same time as an opposing discourse to the prevailing culture within the racing industry and within the broader society (Chapter Two) of love and desire for the horse. This is the romantic mythological thinking in terms of hope for a miraculous way of increasing economic and social status through association with that winning racehorse. The horse, and in the broader society the racehorse in particular, is a symbol of desire and a status symbol in the same way as the luxury car. Jockeys are necessarily a part of this schema as they too desire to be the rider of that special racehorse who will take them from being a struggling rider to being a national hero. Jockeys on horses winning high profile races achieve status worldwide. This desire, along with the hyperphysicality of riding and the strong radical habitus of the equestrian woman, keeps the female jockeys hopes for success high at the same time as they are receiving clear messages within the racing industry and the broader society that they are not worthy of being recognized or valued for their equivalent skills and capacities.
Economic capital for women jockeys is able to be accrued in the field of the racing industry not in the broader society because there are specific rules around registration banning jockeys from taking employment in specific racing related activities. This is to prevent the corruption that sometimes is evident when there are large amounts of money at stake either in betting and/or prize money. After their racing career is over, jockeys will often find other work within the industry. Retired jockeys often take up training. Further, the possession of economic capital in the broader society does not affect the success or otherwise of the jockey unless the jockey has accrued social or symbolic capital as well by coming from, or becoming aligned with, racing ‘insiders’. That is, making or having personal or domestic relationships with individuals or families who are well known and successful in racing already. In these cases it is the social, cultural and symbolic capitals that are the telling factors rather than money or property.

**In Australia – a diminished discourse for women’s equality**

In conclusion, in Australian society in the late twentieth century, the discourse around women, work and women’s equality in a social sense moved from being a grassroots social movement to becoming institutionalized as femocrats sought and gained positions of power and responsibility in government and in turn promoted programs designed to further the cause of women’s social and economic equality. However, this change also enabled the stalling of further change due to the rise of an ideology of economic rationalism and its infiltration into the discourses of management and government. These changes meant that after an initial period of rapid change for women supported in the cultural realm the shift to faith in institutionalized change meant that this movement for change was challenged and slowed in many institutional settings.

For women jockeys this meant that, although racing organizations were initially forced to permit women to ride on an equal basis with men, there was insufficient follow-through in examining the industry or in ensuring that the culture of the racing industry and the system of allocating work would continue to support their inclusion. Further, the nature of the pieces of legislation that were set up to enhance this inclusion, the SDA, VEOA and EOWWA have not been useful, except in a symbolic way, to the discourse of equality at work for women jockeys. The SDA and VEOA with their emphasis on the taking of individual complaints do not lend themselves to being utilized by women for whom their work is dependent on the goodwill of a tightly knit racing community. The EOWWA has no direct relevance at all to these women as they do not work for an organization that has more than one hundred employees and is thus required to report. There is also significant evidence of continued inequality for women in the broader Australian society in the late twentieth century as described earlier. This social field is one where the women jockeys have found insignificant sources of support to develop capital that can be utilized in their quest for respect and recognition in their workplace.
WOMEN JOCKEYS –NAVIGATING LAYERS OF COMPETING DISCOURSES.

Bourdieu’s relational theory, comprising the key concepts of capital, field and habitus applied to the different social spaces in which women jockeys’ lives are enacted, provides a comprehensive picture of why these skilled and resilient women continue to be demonstrably denied respect and recognition for their demonstrable achievements. Discourses which are sustaining and enabling at the early levels of their involvement with horses are subverted and denied at other levels. Discourses around individual effort and male and female physical strength are such an intrinsic part of the racing industry that those who aspire to inclusion in this sub culture need to adopt these discourses. When adopted by the women these negative discourses about women’s intrinsically lesser physical and mental strength become serious self limiting barriers to success. This makes it difficult for female jockeys to identify and take action on the factors that are impeding their careers. It is in this analysis of the cultural factors impacting upon women jockeys that we can see some clues as to where further action and change needs to take place. In this complexity, we can begin to understand both the persistence and resilience of the women who choose this career and the reasons that, despite twenty years of legislation designed to further equality for women at work, the racing industry continues to demonstrate lack of real acceptance and respect for women jockey’s skills. Harkening back to the three pillars of justice argument of van Hooft (2010) and Honneth (2003), the case study of the women jockeys illustrates that respect and recognition in the spheres of love, to develop a sense of self that enables an individual to claim social space as an equal citizen, the law, so that this claim is supported and enacted and for their achievements, to support their sense of self-worth, are the bases of substantive justice. The case studies of change for women jockeys further show that there have been points in time when these three pillars were in place for women jockeys. There was a discursive space in the social realm that recognized their achievements, the enactment of legislation that supported this recognition and relationships of love in the form of supportive individuals in crucial positions who were prepared to act together as change agents for women jockeys. I argue that further change towards substantive equality for women jockeys will require this concatenation of factors to be acknowledged, studied and replicated.
CONCLUSION

There is no equal opportunity in this industry and I don’t believe there ever will be in the riding ranks. It’s one of those things that as a female or as women we come into it knowing that we can never make a difference. We just go at it the best we can and see what happens. (Carly – Jockey)

This thesis has presented data that demonstrates that Victorian Equal Opportunity Act (1995), (VEOA) the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth), (SDA), the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity) for Women Act 1986 (Cth) and its successor the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999 (Cth) (EOWWA) have been ineffective tools for the achievement of substantive equality for women jockeys in Victoria in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The thesis has argued that the legislation will continue to be ineffective as a remedy for injustice for women jockeys unless it is accompanied widespread changes within the workplace notably that key actors (most importantly owners and trainers) extend respect and recognition for the demonstrable achievements of women jockeys. This means removing cultural and workplace barriers to women’s inclusion such as cultural attitudes informing workplace practices based upon anachronistic ideas about the feminine mind and body that deny women’s skills, capacities and potential. The thesis shows the importance of ongoing respect and recognition in the form of love and care within familial and intimate relationships for exemplary performance within the workplace. In other words a comprehensive theory of justice includes diverse underlying pillars giving rise to key attributes, or in Bourdieusian terms, forms of capital which are needed for success as a jockey. These pillars are self-confidence (love); self-respect (based on equality of legal standing) and self-esteem (based on recognition of merit for individual achievements in the market and public life). Changes would also need to address significant structural workplace barriers to women’s inclusion as jockeys. The argument has emerged through exploring the history of the industry, women’s involvement in the industry and the cultural significance of both the racing industry and the equal opportunity legislation, using the analytical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, and the theory of justice espoused by van Hooft and Honneth.

The thesis has drawn on a range of literature and secondary sources, discourses of equal opportunity, a range of theoretical traditions and quantitative and qualitative empirical data. The data and historical and cultural background has explored the cultural milieu of the thoroughbred horse racing industry, contextualizing the discourses for women jockeys within four interlocking social realms. These social realms are the micro-interpersonal, where women experience relationships with horses and other individuals interacting with horses, the domestic or family setting, the workplace for jockeys, that is, the racing industry and finally the realm of the broader society with its fluctuating discourses about women. The first part of the thesis presented background to the empirical data collected. A review of the legislation indicated that there is criticism of the limitations of the redress that it offers, as well as acknowledgement that it has raised awareness of the issues of harassment and discrimination. It thus has considerable symbolic importance. Yet there has been little research addressing the relevance of the
legislation for particular types of workers, or addressing the reach of the legislation using schema such as Bourdieu’s with its emphasis on contesting forces in the cultural realm. This thesis addresses this gap. Examination of the history of change for women in the racing industry provided background to the discussion of what I called the radical habitus for equestrian women in the case studies of tenacious women who have effected change in the past. Examples of how the official acceptance of women diminished as the racing industry gained status, prestige and power indicate that the racing industry is a field where contestation for forms of capital is fierce. A picture emerged of an industry based on an ethos of competition and individualism that relies on gendered essentialist cultural norms that systematically misrecognise women’s skills. The cultural significance of sport in Australian society is a factor in the world of horseracing. There are indications that the industry is a social space for the contestation for power through its role as a space for establishing and maintaining a hegemonic male gender identity. In addition, the horse itself in western culture is historically, and remains, a vehicle for producing and displaying economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. When this deeply embedded social relationship of horse and human is overlaid with the specific culture of the racing industry with its classist and sexist origins, a powerful social and cultural milieu emerges. Within this milieu contradictory mythical/ritualistic and instrumental/economic discourses simultaneously hold sway and are evoked in different social spaces within the industry to misrecognise women’s abilities and potential.

The role of the horse as a symbol of non-rational desire also forms part of the basis of the factor operating for the women jockeys that I have called hyperphysicality. This factor is a combination of a rich cultural equine/human alliance and the euphoric physical sensations which occur when horse-riding. Hyperphysicality is experienced by all riders but for women, leads to the development of a radical habitus. This habitus is radical for women, as it is at odds with the gendering of women’s bodies as inferior to men’s. For men, the equestrian habitus formed through hyperphysicality reinforces social norms around the power and superiority of the male body. The radical habitus for women gives them the resilience to continue to work as a jockey in the face of powerful structures and discourses that work against their inclusion and success.

Using Bourdieu’s framework of capital, field and habitus to examine the forces at work for women in four social realms shows that women jockeys work in a field in which there is fierce contestation for various forms social capital and which is riven with competing discourses which limit their involvement by authorizing a lack of recognition of their skills. There is complexity in the interlocking social spaces within the industry, where opposing discourses for women are simultaneously supported. The radical habitus developed by women in the micro and domestic is not recognized in the field of the racing industry. The demonstrated skills of the women are systematically denied. An important factor for women jockeys is the hyperphysicality factor of horse riding. In the micro level for girls and women, their intimate horse/human experiences of horse riding, there is no barrier to their participation. This is an activity in which it is socially acceptable for women to participate. It is within this space that women develop a powerful sustaining equestrian radical habitus of assertiveness, physical competence and (for women) an atypical sense of power. This experience combines the cultural
background of the place and consciousness of the horse in western society with the
euphoric embodied experience of riding. Social and cultural capital built at this level may
enable entry into the world of the racing industry. The domestic social space, the family
dynamics that the women jockeys are born into as well as the partners they choose are
important in shaping their aspirations to enter the racing industry as professionals. The
case studies from the literature and the empirical evidence from interviewees show that
for some - families can challenge their efforts and for others families can be an enabling
factor. Ultimately though, the radical habitus of the riding woman is usually supported in
the domestic when there are relationships of love which affirm the woman. This is an
important pillar of social justice. Love in the familial relationships provides the emotional
self-confidence and self-respect that women need to claim justice in the wider social
realms of the market and the public sphere. Thus the micro space of intimate
relationships becomes a fertile arena for the development of forms of social, cultural and
symbolic capital that are able to be utilized as leverage to enter the field of the racing
industry and compete successfully at a professional level to gain economic capital.

It is in the workplace, the field of the racing industry, that women jockeys encounter
serious challenges to the discourses that have enabled and sustained them on the previous
two levels. The fiercely competitive contestation for economic capital in the field of the
racing industry means that the radical habitus of women is denied or misread. This means
that forms of capital that are accrued in other social spaces are not recognized. This lack
of recognition of their achievements is a fundamental form of injustice towards the
women. They encounter the systemic barriers of arbitrary and unexamined methods of
work allocation that are not able to be challenged by utilizing any legislative remedy in
its current form. This is because it is unlikely an individual jockey would lodge a formal
complaint against a trainer, owner or fellow jockey, nor is the workplace organized in
such a way that many employers would need to make reports to EOWWA. The field is
organized in ways that entrench unrestrained power in the hands of those who make
judgments on the basis of subjective, unchallenged perceptions based upon limiting,
modernist notions of femininity and masculinity. Women jockeys are caught in a web of
competing discourses running through this field and the complications of differing
attitudes from different powerful actors. They also encounter problems in that discourses
that they need to adopt to ensure their inclusion are also the discourses that need to be
challenged by them to ensure full respect and recognition for their work. This is the
fundamental injustice of lack of recognition of their achievements. The individualistic
ethos of the racing industry means that any form of collective action to name and address
the problem of discrimination is unlikely to occur.

The legislation purporting to be a solution or form of redress is organized in a way that is
culturally inaccessible for women jockeys. Consequently, any legislative remedy relying
on individuals to take action is not effective, nor is any legislative remedy that relies on a
purely organizational approach. Despite over twenty years of equal opportunity
legislation, the vast majority of jockeys at the elite level are male. This thesis
demonstrates that the equal opportunity laws, tools limited to the legislative realm, have
little traction in a field where discourses in the cultural realm hold sway. The application
of Bourdieu’s framework has illuminated the limitation of the legislation, namely that it
is based on a partial theory of justice. Justice requires recognition in the cultural realms as well as the legal realm. While formal legal mechanisms are unable to exercise jurisdiction in the domestic domain, the sphere of law needs to extend to unexamined essentialist assumptions about gendered notions of skill and capacities to ensure that women are rightly recognized for their achievements. In a practical way this would start with exclusionary practices of work allocation.

This thesis has argued that ensuring social change towards substantive equality for women jockeys requires an understanding of the complexities of the culture of the racing industry and targeted action in the cultural realm based on respect and recognition for women. This argument was developed by firstly, in Chapter One, reviewing assessments of the effectiveness of the legislation as well as change for women in the racing industry over time. It provided a background to the emergence of a radical equestrian habitus on the part of women, through examples of women who have worked towards long-term change in racing. The chapter detailed examples of how the official acceptance of women as riders, owners and trainers of horses diminished with the increasing status and prestige of the sport in Australia. The historical perspective illustrated the contention that the racing industry is a field for fierce contestation for forms of capital. The equal opportunity legislation, while proving symbolically important in the mid 1970’s enabling women to compete professionally against men, has since provided little traction since in an industry where cultural norms misrecognise women’s skills. Women’s achievements have been unrecognized over time.

In Chapter Two the cultural background to the racing industry was provided. A cultural analysis using Bourdieu’s categories outlined factors enhancing and inhibiting equal participation of women as jockeys. The chapter began by reviewing sociological approaches to the position of the animal in human society. Both the racing industry and the broader Australian culture are strongly influenced by discourses of horses and riding that may be traced back to an ancient human/equine-animal alliance. Selected examples from the history of the horse as a status symbol and as an object of non-rational desire illustrate part of the background to the development of the hyperphysicality factor for women contributing to the formation of the radical habitus. Examples illustrated how both mythical/ritualistic and instrumental/economic discourses continue to hold sway, and are utilized by the racing elite to contest for social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital. The case was made that the racing industry is a field whose structures reinforce class and gender hierarchies. This is partly due to the place of sport as a cultural artifact developing and valorizing traditional notions of masculinity involving physical and emotional strength resilience and toughness. The strength and durability of the culture and structure of the racing industry also works against women’s participation as jockeys. Many of the decisions and ways of operating within the culture of the racing industry are non rational; luck is a governing discourse within racing. Actors (owners, trainers, riders and punters) believe that luck will change their social status and economic circumstances and thus exerts a powerful influence over decision making. An addition, the racing industry in Australia has been resistant to the aim of substantive equality due to the mismatch between the provisions of the legislation and the workplace culture of the racing industry.
The chapter also addressed the role of the horse and rider in Australian culture, tracking the popularization of ‘natural horsemanship’. This discourse is relevant to the development of the radical habitus for equestrian women. It forms part of the cultural background to the hyperphysicality factor. I argued that women find hyperphysicality a desirable state because they claim that it enhances their relative sense of personal and professional competence. Although not anticipated by van Hooft or Honneth, I have argued that in dissolving the animal/human binary through the intensity of the rider/horse bond, the practical relationship with the horse provides a form of emotional self-confidence, the first of the three pillars of social justice.

In Chapter Three a range of theoretical approaches were reviewed as being useful contributions to the argument. The principal approaches used are the relational theory of Pierre Bourdieu along with the cosmopolitan theory of justice. The Bourdieusian approach addresses social change, culture and power including the role of myth and ritual in cultural analyses. Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus, and capital were used to analyze the contradictory forces working for and against women jockeys in four of the social spaces that they inhabit and simultaneously navigate; the micro level of interpersonal interspecies subjectivity, the domestic field of family and intimate personal relationships, the world of professional race riding in the Victorian racing industry and the broad discourses surrounding women and equality at work. Within these spaces respect and recognition are accorded or denied through the formation of habitus and the gaining of capital.

The methodology and detail of data collected was outlined in Chapter Four. In order to address a range of factors impacting on women jockeys, a range of data was collected, including quantitative data such as information from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Racing Victoria Limited as well as form guides and race results as published in The Age newspaper. Qualitative data was also collected through personal and telephone interviews with male and female jockeys, trainers, apprentices, rider’s agents and retired jockeys. Secondary sources included academic and popular historical commentaries on horseracing, newspaper articles pertaining to women jockeys, biographies and autobiographies and documentaries on jockeys.

The empirical data collected and presented in Chapter Five showed that in the time frames studied, the overall participation of women jockeys indicated little improvement. The numbers of women apprentices increased commensurate with the number of women in the Australian workforce overall but the numbers of women riding at the top professional level failed to keep pace. In the period 1990 to 1995, for the period August to November, in the metropolitan race meetings in Victoria women jockeys were offered only between 1.4% and 2.8% of the available rides. However, the data also indicated that in each year from 2000 to 2004, the horses that were ridden by women achieved better results than was expected. Recognition for their achievements was systematically denied to women jockeys.
The interview material revealed gender differences between men and women in their avowed love of horses as a factor for them as well as a tolerance by the women of a high level of unlawful harassment and discrimination against them. The harassment and discrimination was informed by negative perceptions of women’s physical and mental/emotional capabilities, both within the industry and in society at large leading to a lack of recognition for women due to a dominant prevailing discourse about women’s relative inferiority. This is paradoxical for the women jockeys. Their radical equestrian habitus of physical and emotional strength and independence is not only intrinsic to their self-identity but is also a crucial factor that propels them into, and sustains them in, this difficult type of work. It is the form of recognition through love that sustains self-respect and self-confidence.

Chapter Six analyzed the paradoxical and contradictory discourses utilized by, and operating upon, women jockeys in their simultaneously inhabited social spaces. Comment was made on the effects of the equal opportunity legislation for women jockeys within each of the four spaces outlined earlier. The chapter analyzed why these skilled and resilient women jockeys remain demonstrably denied recognition and respect despite their track record of better than average wins on lesser horses. Discourses formed and encouraged at some levels paradoxically work as barriers at other levels. The radical habitus born in the micro field of intimate relationship with horses and underpinned by hyperphysicality is an example. This discourse propels women’s entry into the field of the racing world but then presents a cultural barrier in the broader society, with its strictures about appropriate femininity in cosmetic appearance and dress that are challenged by the androgynous representation of that the equestrian woman in the field.

The assessment and the review of case studies of change for women jockeys in the past along with the application of Bourdieu’s framework and using a more complex theory of justice such as the cosmopolitan ideal indicates that there needs to be a combination of factors put into place simultaneously to effect change for women jockeys. First there needs to be a discursive space in the public realm that urges change for all women by rejecting gender essentialisms and cultural binaries and which is inclusive of non-rationalist and non-positivist knowledge and experiences. This discursive space needs to foreground recognition of the achievements of women jockeys. Second change will be expedited by change agents located in strategically important positions in the workplace and in the bureaucracy who are prepared to champion recognition of women’s achievements. Further change requires coalitions of change agents both within and outside of the racing industry (such as in the case of Linda Jones who had support from a journalist, and an MP, as well as her family) who are prepared to act together for the common goal of change. Finally and most importantly, there needs to be empowerment for women at an individual embodied level.

This thesis has contributed to the discussion of women and work in Australia by:

- for the first time collecting data on numbers and actual participation and success of women jockeys.
- addressing the effectiveness of equal opportunity legislation in relation to professional race riding, a blue collar casualised workforce of elite professional sportspeople.

- proposing that cultural and historical analyses specific to particular workplace cultures that encompasses a broad theory of justice is crucial to fully understand the effectiveness of legislative change.

- applying the relational theory of Bourdieu to consideration of social change towards equality for women jockeys.

- proposing a fourfold approach to change for women jockeys and,

- proposing a new term, hyperphysicality, to explain the resilience and comparative success of women jockeys in the formidably closed male domain of Australian horse racing, and as a possible key to further levels of empowerment and transformational change for women.
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