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**Indentured and modern apprenticeship in the
horseracing industry – a gendered analysis**

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is all my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Signed: 

Deborah Ann Butler

Date: ~~30th September~~ 2011

20th December 2011

Abstract

Using a Bourdieuan approach, the main argument of this thesis is that men and women develop an embodied racing habitus that is shaped by their access to economic, social, cultural and physical capitals. This determines how much power, influence and recognition they enjoy, and positions them differently within the class and gender hierarchy of the racing field. The thesis begins with a historical and contemporary analysis of the racing field and apprenticeships as a model of learning, showing how power was held in the hands of the Jockey Club, once the sole ruling body of racing, from the mid 18th century. It governed the racing field through class privilege and through its members having access to certain forms of economic, social and cultural capital. The entry of women into the racing field began in the 1960s when women with suitable economic and cultural capital gained the right to train as racehorse trainers. Working-class men were already part of the employment hierarchy, as indentured apprentices, and it was due, in part, to a shortage of small 'boys' that working-class women were taken on as stable 'lads' or 'girls'. The equalities legislation of the 1970s meant women could be members of racing's workforce as well as gaining the right to hold jockey's licences. The process of learning to become a stable 'lad' takes place 'on the job', through practice; this means that women become accepted as workers as long as they act 'like one of the lads' and embody a certain form of masculinity. Indentured apprenticeship was abolished in 1976 and replaced by a system of modern apprenticeship. This has gone along with a change in the significance of physical capital, an increase in the division of labour, and an increased reliance on migrant workers.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| AJA | Amateur Jockeys Association |
| BHA | British Horseracing Authority |
| BHB | British Horseracing Board |
| BHEST | British Horseracing Education and Standards Trust |
| BRS | British Racing School |
| CIMRI | The Committee of Inquiry into the Manpower of the Racing Industry |
| HBLB | Horserace Betting and Levy Board |
| JRB | Joint Racing Board |
| LJA | Lady Jockeys Association |
| NAS | National Apprenticeship Service |
| NASS | National Association of Stable Staff |
| NH | National Hunt |
| NRC | Northern Racing College |
| NTF | National Trainers Federation |
| NVQ | National Vocational Qualification |
| ROA | Racehorse Owners Organisation |
| RCA | Racecourse Association |
| RRC | Reorganisation Committee |
| SDA | Sex Discrimination Act |
| SLA | Stable Lads Association |
| TUC | Trade Union Council |
| YOP | Youth Opportunity Programme |
| YTS | Youth Training Scheme |

Glossary of Terms

All-weather loop. An oval ring made out of a synthetic surface which does not freeze over in the winter. It can be used to trot and canter round. The loop at Conborough was approximately 2.5 furlongs (500 yards round).

Apprentice. An apprentice is a male or female trainee jockey. They must be small and weigh less than seven stone at 16 if they want to ride on the flat. In National Hunt racing trainee jockeys are known as 'conditional' jockeys. They must weigh no more than 9 stone.

At grass is when the horse is turned out when not racing. They will live out in the field for 24 hours a day.

Board and wage men. 'Board and wage' men were former indentured apprentices who, having served their time, were paid a set wage and were provided with some form of accommodation, either in digs or above the stables.

Boys. The name given to indentured apprentices whilst serving their apprenticeship. It infers that its holder lacks experience and knowledge. It is still used to refer to 'boys' races'. These are races for young inexperienced male and female trainee jockeys.

Changing hands. When the rider shortens up the reins when riding. It is a movement that a racehorse interprets as go faster. As a technique it requires skill and balance and so young riders tend to struggle when first learning it.

Conditional. A conditional jockey is a trainee National Hunt jockey. They need to weigh no more than 9 stone.

Curry comb A metal scraper, with small teeth used to scrape the dust and scurf out of other grooming brushes.

Doing up. When a horse is brushed or washed off after exercise and their rugs put back on.

'Doing two'. The number of horses a 'lad' would be expected to look after, which used to be two. A 'lad' is given horses to 'do'.

Dressed over refers to the process carried out during evening stables when a horse is given a thorough grooming. Horses would also be 'strapped' during 'dressing over'. This involved massaging their muscles with a pad made of hay. This is very rarely done any more.

Drop. The equivalent to giving the 'lad' a tip. It can also mean falling off a horse.

Evening stables. When the horses will be mucked out, groomed, fed and watered. 'Lads' return to the yard at 3pm, sometimes later and finish about 5 30pm. (See appendix 4 for details of evening stables).

Flat racing is where horses race either at turf meetings or on all-weather surfaces.

Furlong. 220 yards (200metres). Races in the United Kingdom are measured in furlongs.

Gallops. Traditionally grass, these are where the horses canter and gallop as part of their fitness routine. Gallops are now often made out of synthetic material that does

not freeze up in the winter so it is possible to keep the horses fit when the weather is bad.

Gelding. A castrated male horse.

Girls. The word 'girls' is used in racing and applies to women of all ages. It can be used pejoratively and is sometimes replaced by the term 'bird'. It may have come into use as it is the opposite of 'boy' which was originally the term used for young indentured apprentices and older male staff. It implies a gendered inequality

Grackle. A piece of equipment that is used with a bridle that makes the horse easier to control. Can be called a crossed noseband.

Hack has two meanings. It can refer to a type of exercise that is less strenuous exercise and may be used after a horse has run . Horses will typically be ridden around the roads and bridle paths, usually only walking and trotting. Its other meaning refers to a horse that the trainer rides when watching the racehorses being exercised. Hacks have to be sensible and quiet.

In-hand. When a horse is led by someone walking.

Jocked-off. When a jockey is replaced by another.

Journeyman. A Journeyman was a skilled worker who had served his apprenticeship but had not set himself up as a 'master', usually due to a lack of financial resources.

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

Leading file. The horse and rider at the front of the 'string' who will pass instructions back to those behind.

Lead horse. A sensible older horse that is used at the front of a group of young horses, as the older horse is used to its surroundings.

Legged up. When the rider of the horse is given a lift, off the ground, on the left hand side, onto the horses back rather than using a stirrup iron.

Long-reining. Part of educating young horses before they are used to having a rider on their back. The 'lad' walks directly behind the horse but far enough back not to get kicked. The horse is controlled through the use of two long reins.

Looking round. When the trainer inspected every horse in the yard during evening stables, checking for any injuries. As a procedure it reinforced authority relations. It involved the 'lad' 'standing the horse up' for the trainer to inspect.

Lots. A lot is the collective name for any exercise routine the horses complete.

Lot board. Indicates to the staff which horses are to be ridden and may detail what the exercise is to be for that day.

Lunged. When a horse is exercised in a circle on the end of a long rope.

National Hunt racing involves horses jumping steeplechase fences and smaller jumps, known as hurdles. The races are longer than in flat racing and the horses cannot race until they are least three, usually four. There is more risk involved for horse and jockey.

Off the bridle. When a horse is getting tired and is no longer pulling on the reins when galloping.

Paid lad. A term used that refers to senior stable staff who have not served an indentured apprenticeship.

Pull out. When the horses and riders leave their stable at the start of each exercise ('lot').

Running away. When the horse is going too fast and the rider has lost control.

Silks. The jackets and hat covers jockeys wear, also known as colours. Each owner must have his own registered colours.

Stable lad. Term that used to refer to a male or female worker of any age in the racing industry.

Standing a horse up. A routine that formed a part of 'looking round', when the trainer inspected each horse. The 'lad' had to stand the horse across the stable for the trainer to look at. As a process it reinforced authority relations.

String. Collective name for a group of racehorses being exercised.

Sweeping out corners. A process that is not done as much in racing because of a changing division of labour. It involves pushing all the bedding into one corner and sweeping out the dust or chaff from the corners of the stable. It keeps the bedding fresher and the stable cleaner.

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

Tack bag is the bag that 'lads' carry their grooming tools in. It used to be made out of the corner of a jute sack. It is usually made of plastic now, with a drawstring to carry it with.

Take a turn. The 'string' will ride in a circle, at walk, often done when the trainer tells the riders what to do.

Trainer's hack. This refers to the horse the trainer will ride out on to watch the horses being exercised on the gallop. Sometimes retired racehorses are used if they are sensible.

Upsides. When two horses ride at the side of each other.

Valet. Now a profession in itself, a racing valet must be registered with the BHA. They help jockeys change in between each race. They will wash any dirty racing kit and have extra equipment, such as lighter saddles if a jockey has to borrow one to be able to ride at the correct weight in a race.

Weighing room. Where jockeys change in between each race. There will be a first-aid room, showers and often a sauna. The weighing room is where racing officials are located during a race meeting.

Work day. When the horses gallop, usually in pairs. It is an important part of the training schedule.

Introduction

All writers are vain, selfish and lazy, and at the very bottom of their motives lies a mystery. Writing a book is a long, exhausting struggle, like a long bout of some painful illness. One would never undertake such a thing if one were not driven by some demon whom one can neither resist nor understand (Orwell, 2000:6).

Whilst I would not categorise myself as a writer there have been times when my reason for writing this thesis has been a mystery to me. It has sometimes felt like a long, exhausting struggle and, as will become clear, my 'demon' has partly been the contradictions and inequalities I myself have been party to, when working as a 'lad' in the racing industry. The title 'lad' itself is a contradiction in terms when referring to female members of staff and reflects the gendered nature of the racing field. On a similar theme it was only in 2007 that the Stable Lads' Association (SLA), the independent certificated trade union for stable staff, changed its name to the National Association of Stable Staff (NASS) to be more representative of racing's workforce.

It is the stable staff who form the central characters for this thesis; the indentured apprentices, stable 'lads' (male and female) and modern apprentices who, as in Newby's (1976) description of agricultural workers, 'are a group of workers of whom most people have little knowledge or understanding...' (Newby, 1976:11). This lack of 'knowledge and understanding' initially prompted the idea for this study which in turn is informed by my autobiography. My 'life experience' to date includes being part of a family that was involved, and is still involved in racing, either as jockeys, racehorse trainers or race goers. I grew up hearing about some of the hardships my uncle, a former jockey and indentured apprentice had to endure, nearly dying as the

result of a bad fall while race riding. On reflection, this has predisposed me to pursue a certain biographical path that was orchestrated, not by my family's wish that I should work in racing, but by a habitus, a product of history, which in turn, produced its own history. Working in horseracing has produced, for me, a 'racing habitus' that involves not just a state of mind but a bodily state of being and a mastery of practical skills. These skills have, to a great extent, been misrecognised and I myself rarely questioned why only a small proportion of 'girls'¹ who enter the workforce become jockeys, especially professional ones, earning their living through race riding; I unconditionally accepted that, as a woman, I would not have the opportunity to race ride.

Having worked in racing for over fifteen years as a 'lad' both full time and part time I was, however, always interested and puzzled by the way some people 'got on' and were viewed as better than others of similar ability and knowledge. At the time I put it down to the 'way racing was', unfair and discriminatory, especially against women but, although I did not really question it, I was aware of the inequalities which at times annoyed me. They seemed unjust and out of date, but I did my job as well as I could while recognising that working hard, being conscientious, using my initiative was not enough; there was a gap, a 'relational property existing only in and through its relation with other properties' (Bourdieu, 1998:6). My curiosity as to why these inequalities existed provided the impetus for this doctoral research and my questioning of why racing worked as it did, with some people succeeding and others not, can now be put into more sociological terms, using Bourdieu's 'principles' (Grenfell, 2008:219) of habitus, capital and field. I use these as 'thinking tools' (ibid) to help unravel the way power structures the racing field.

This thesis has evolved through my interest in tracing the trajectory of fledging stable staff as they are initiated into a bodily craft that can, to the outsider, appear confusing and mysterious. It attempts to account, ethnographically, for working practices that are essentially corporeal, set in a cultural field that, at the same time is traditional as well as

¹ The word 'girls' is used in racing and applies to women of all ages. It can be used pejoratively and is sometimes replaced by the term 'bird'. It may have come into use as it is the opposite of 'boy' which was originally the term used for young indentured apprentices and older male staff. It implies a gendered inequality.

modern and where, 'the most essential is transmitted, acquired and deployed beneath language and consciousness' (Wacquant, 2004:xii). In other words, it translates this (implicit) comprehension of the senses, a bodily disposition and embodied practices into explicit sociological language. Originally the thesis was to be a comparison of indentured and modern apprenticeship. In a similar way to Cockburn (1991), the emphasis of the study changed once it began to take shape. It has ended as a study of the working lives of stable 'lads', male and female, a small number of whom have race ridden. The change was gradual. Having worked in a male dominated, gendered and classed environment for so long I was, like a fish, not aware of the water around me: I was quite comfortable where I was.

Because of my own experiences, I was particularly interested in how the racing field is gendered and how this gendering appears invisible to those within it. This invisibility explains why there have been times when my knowledge of the racing field, my doxic values, made me wonder why and what I was researching, it all seemed obvious. In Susan Gallier's (1988) aptly titled book, *One of the Lads*, she discusses 'the life of the 'lad' as she lived it, highlighting the fact that as a woman in racing 'you have to give as good as you get, there is no room for the weak' (Gallier, 1988:45). On reading this I questioned why I was continuing with my research, as her 'practical sense, misrecognition and symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1994; 1998) exercised upon her were very similar to my own experiences and appeared to explain everything. Between her account and my working knowledge, answering the research questions seemed really straightforward - how is a racing habitus embodied and how can women embody a racing habitus which is gendered masculine? - there you have it - why trawl through literature, what's gender got to with it? Why write a thesis about it? - You only have to know racing to know what it is like. My 'answers' and Gallier's (1988) account accepted the core values and discourses of the racing field. We were mirroring its 'doxic' attitudes (Bourdieu, 2001) through bodily and unconscious submission to conditions that were quite contingent and arbitrary. Bearing this in mind through wider reading of the literature it became clear that employment relations and

the operational functioning of racing's workforce do not operate within a vacuum. The racing field reflects the wider prejudices and gender relations that are entrenched within other occupational and sporting fields.

Working in racing has given me certain privileges as a researcher that a racing 'outsider' might have struggled to obtain. Gaining access was never something that I considered would be a problem and I was right. I had racing contacts and networks I could draw on should I need to and I was 'in' the field already which, as will be highlighted in the methodology, can make the difference between being accepted or not. I also understand the terminology that racing uses and have struggled not to write the thesis in this way as it seems to me the most 'natural' way to describe something. This is partly why there is quite a large glossary of terms and why, now, I have a supervisor well versed in racing linguistics.

As mentioned earlier the focus of my research shifted from a comparison of modern and indentured apprentices to a study of the working lives of stable staff. In order to carry out this study I developed the following research questions:

1. How has the learning experience of apprenticeship changed?
2. How has the nature of work in the racing industry been transformed with the shift from indentured apprenticeship to modern apprenticeship?
3. How is a racing habitus formed and embodied?
4. Can women embody a racing habitus which is gendered masculine?

The 'long, exhausting struggle' (Orwell, 2000:6) began in 2007 and its outcome is structured as follows.

Chapter One, Introducing the Field, discusses the relevant literature that was used as a means of comparing the racing field with other male dominated sports and occupations. Little has been written on racing's labour force although some of the social historical texts written at the turn of the 20th century help to illustrate the classed and gendered nature of racing and how it has been slow to change. The thesis draws heavily on the work of Bourdieu for its conceptual framework which is set out in this chapter. In an industry where weight is all important, physical as well as economic, social and cultural capital are concepts which are used to explain some of the inequalities that run through the racing field like cracks across a broken plate. It also draws upon the concepts of Lave and Wenger (1991) in order to situate apprenticeship within a community of practice, and to show how apprenticeships have changed from being a contractual arrangement between employer and apprentice, where learning was by 'doing', *in situ* and informal, to a contractual arrangement with the state, where learning is both formal and informal and not situated in one specific learning environment. Finally the chapter shows how women adapt their behaviour and working practices to 'fit in' and be accepted when employed in male-dominated occupations and within the sporting field.

Chapter Two, the Methodology, discusses the way in which my autobiographical history has been both beneficial and problematic to the assimilation and analysis of the data and examines the research methods that were used. These included a twelve month study of a racing yard, Conborough racing stables, where I worked part time, four half-days a week as a 'lad'. Semi-structured interviews with indentured apprentices, former female apprentice jockeys, stable staff and modern apprentices were carried out, the data from which threads through all the chapters. Two periods of participant observation were completed at the British Racing School in Newmarket, each consisting of three, one week residential stays. The first period, in 2007, was a bit like the curate's egg – good in parts. I was able to collect all the data I needed when there, but my participants, the modern apprentices, disappeared once they got out

into the work place which meant I was unable to interview them. This was the reason that a second period of participant observation was completed in 2008, and this time my young interviewees stayed in place. The thesis presents an ethnographic study of a racing yard; whether it can be seen as auto-ethnography is discussed within the methodology, as is one of the reasons for my difficulties in writing up which was due to the fact that I was an 'insider' who struggled to get out.

Chapter Three, Changing Class and Gender Relations in the Racing Field, is the contextual chapter. It traces the rise and relinquishing of power of the Jockey Club, formed as a private gentlemen's dining club in Newmarket, from the mid-1750s to its handover of regulatory power to the British Horseracing Authority in 2007. During its 250 year history it ruled racing as a patriarchal, self-perpetuating private gentlemen's club where entry was governed by class and to a certain extent gender. Its power, as highlighted, was challenged by the formation of the Horserace Betting Levy Board (HBLB) in the early 1960s, a body that was seen by some in the racing industry as the financial saviour of racing. The importance of class and gender in structuring the racing field is explored through an account of the Jockey Club's stance on women in racing and how women with access to economic and social capital fought successfully to gain the right to become racehorse trainers in their own names in the 1960s. It highlights the way in which working-class women entered the racing field as part of the workforce and as jockeys. Finally, it outlines the employment relations that are typically encountered in the racing industry and describes the occupational hierarchy of a racing yard. This chapter gives a macro view of the racing field while Chapter four provides a micro view.

Chapter Four, Producing the Racehorse, is concerned with the relations of production in a racing yard and follows the production of a racehorse from unbroken horse until it graduates as a racehorse. Racehorses undergo an apprenticeship in the same way as stable staff as they must learn how to be a racehorse, how to gallop and

how to become an all important part of the racing field. Off course the racehorses need to be cared for by staff and the chapter provides an analysis of the labour process that is integral to the racehorse production line and the power relations that underpin it. The production line has its own classed, gendered and raced hierarchy which is illustrated in this chapter.

Chapter Five, Feminising the Workforce, explores the way in which women became an accepted part of racing's workforce, charting their entry in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It analyses the way that women have had to become 'one of the lads' in order to fit in. They must embody a racing habitus yet the contradictions that exist mean that whilst women working as 'lads' do the same work as men, they still struggle to be accepted as jockeys.

Chapter Six, 'Sitting by Nellie' – learning through practice, draws upon interviews with former indentured apprentices over a period stretching from the 1940s to the 1970s when indentured apprenticeship was abolished. Entry as a member of the workforce was by indentured apprenticeship only and was exclusively male. Indentured apprentices, who might be given the chance to race ride, were a source of cheap labour. From working-class backgrounds, the only qualification they needed was to be very small and very light. They would pass through a rite of passage, starting off as 'boys', ending up as 'board and wage men' after either three to five, or, occasionally, seven year apprenticeships. The field they were situated in was structured by class and employment relations that were feudal in nature, they were at the bottom of the labour hierarchy and were treated accordingly.

In contrast, and in order to explore how work and learning in the racing industry have changed, **Chapter Seven, Modern Apprenticeship, a new way of learning?**, charts the way in which a group of modern apprentices enter the racing industry via the

British Racing School (BRS) and looks at their experiences and the way in which they start to develop a racing habitus during the nine weeks they spend there. It draws out the differences and similarities between the two types of apprenticeship, indentured and modern, the first managed privately by employers, the trainers, the latter managed and funded publicly by the state. It outlines how both groups learnt through being in a community of practice set within a total institution (Goffman, 1991).

Chapter Eight, the Conclusion summarises the main findings of the research which are organised around the themes of learning, class, gender, power and capital. It restates the main argument of the thesis which has three elements. The first element that threads through the whole thesis is learning, how men and women learn to be stable 'lads' and, in some cases, jockeys. The second is class, gender and power relations and how these are internalised, inscribed and embodied within these men and women, producing a racing habitus. The third element, without which the other two would not exist, is the effect the field of power has on the racing field. The main argument is that men and women develop an embodied racing habitus that is shaped by their access to economic, social, cultural and physical capitals. This determines how much power, influence and recognition they enjoy and positions them differently within the class and gender hierarchy of the racing field.

Chapter One

Introducing the Field

This chapter develops a conceptual framework that draws upon Bourdieu's theory of practice and situates the research within the wider literature. It first reviews the historical context of apprenticeship and examines how, while apprenticeship used to be synonymous with mastering a trade over a number of years, its meaning has become diluted. It highlights the sporadic way in which women, in earlier periods, became indentured apprentices but, on the whole, were excluded from male-dominated occupations and pushed into more 'female' trades. I explore the processes of learning and skills acquisition characterising apprenticeship and illustrate how important these are in understanding how knowledge is transmitted and assimilated through practice in more vocational occupations. Using the work of Bourdieu (1977; 1990; 1992), an understanding and explanation of the practices of individuals, the development of a gendered and classed habitus, and the contexts in which these practices occur is developed. The final section discusses the ways in which women have dealt with working in male-dominated occupations, both managerial and manual, as well as within the sporting field.

First, however, a word about my source material. Although I am able to use my own biographical narrative, first shaped by oral family biographies, as a reference point for understanding how the working life of an indentured apprentice/stable 'lad' once was, little written material draws upon first hand observation of and interviews with former indentured apprentices. Anthropological studies, such as *The Racing Tribe* (Fox, 2005) record the 'experiences, habits and perceptions of the racing world' (Fox, 2005: viii), and Cassidy (2002: vi) undertook an ethnographic 'case study of a 'specific class system' which is known as 'racing society'. Overall, however, there is a dearth of empirical research on the horseracing apprentice, both indentured and modern, and

whilst many pages have been written on the Government training scheme known as the modern apprenticeship none refers directly to the training of staff for the horseracing industry.

Contemporary studies on horseracing more generally are often either of an encyclopedic nature (Vamplew and Kay, 2005) or social historical accounts and, whilst invaluable as reference tools, say very little about ‘the lived experience’ of the apprentice. And while there is a long tradition of life histories of memorable racehorses, with Arkle, Red Rum and Desert Orchid all having their own biographies, little is drawn out regarding their interaction with, and the background of, those who cared for them on a daily basis, namely the stable lad. Indeed, as Cassidy (2002) records, the text by Susan Gallier (1988) is the ‘only lad’s autobiography of which I am aware’ (Cassidy, 2002:122fn). I have drawn upon one other, *Stable Rat*, Philip Welsh’s semi-autobiographical account that starts in the 1930s and describes his working life as an indentured apprentice. He describes the ‘daily life of the stable rat’ as stable ‘lads were sneeringly referred to’ (Welsh, 1979:9) which resonates with much of the anecdotal and oral family history that was recounted to me as a young girl. In what follows I draw upon autobiographical accounts such as these and histories of racing, as well as anthropological and sociological literature.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship in Britain has a long history stretching back to mediaeval times and to the guilds of the Middle Ages. When historians consider apprenticeship they seem to generalise in terms of three extended periods (Snell, 1996): the first being broadly characterised as that of guild apprenticeship, from the 12th century to 1563 when the state began to underpin the control of apprenticeship; the second, from 1563, as the guilds slowly attenuated, to 1814, when the statutory control of apprenticeships was weakened; the third, from 1814 until the early 1990s, can be summarised as ‘voluntary’ apprenticeship often with agreements between employers and unions.

This period also includes the introduction of state-sponsored youth training schemes, such as Youth Training Schemes (YTS) and Youth Opportunity Schemes (YOP) introduced in the 1970s and 80s (Fuller and Unwin, 2009).

In researching this area I have been able to identify a fourth ongoing period, from 1994, when modern apprenticeships were introduced, until the present day. Still state-sponsored the title used was seen as symbolic, 'apprenticeship', to emphasise continuity with craft conditions, 'modern' to suggest a reconstitution of a valuable tradition and to distinguish it from the often discredited YTS (Ryan and Unwin, 2001; Fuller and Unwin, 2003b; Brockmann et al, 2010). Each period will be discussed in turn.

The twelfth century to 1563

The first period, that of guild apprenticeship, was concerned with the local control of qualified or soon to be qualified labour as a skilled labour force and formed part of a spectrum of local controls. These included the prohibition of 'poaching' other 'men's' [sic] servants, the encouragement or discouragement of migrants and maximum wage restraint. The position of women during this period as part of the growing number of waged labourers seems to have been varied, locationally and geographically. In general the guilds and chartered town corporations excluded women although not to the extent that women had no involvement at all. For many trades apprenticeship was the only route of entry as was the case for the institutionally male building trades (Clarke and Wall, 2006). There were important reasons for preserving apprenticeship in this way, as a male institution. Apprentices were not allowed to marry and as Simonton (1999) explains,

Apprenticeship was a period when the role of the male apprentice moved from lad to man; it was a transitional period that meant far more than 'learning a skill'. The close identification of apprenticeship with sexual development helps to identify the role of the institution in defining masculinity and conversely femininity and in excluding females from the system (Simonton, 1999, cited in Clarke and Wall, 2006: 36).

Perhaps what was more salient was the fact that the exclusion of women from apprenticeships appeared to be an integral part of a closed guild system so ensuring that the transfer of power remained with the privileged group (Sheriden, 1992).

Whilst this may have been the position within town corporations, in the countryside female wage earners were to be found acting as labourers, carrying for instance, sand and gravel albeit at a rate estimated between 50% and 70% of the male wage, as laid down in the Statutes for 'women labourers' (Bennett, 1994:62).

1563 to 1814

The second period (1563-1814) is marked by the introduction of the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers, 1563. The statute came to represent one of the most crucial of Elizabethan enactments (Snell, 1996) and exerted control over artisan production for at least two centuries. It had the effect of making the guild apprenticeship system more regulated and prescribed. It transformed local trade company practice in town and country through the integration of the growing army of wage labour and bound it to a locality, so stemming vagrancy (Clarke, 1992; Clarke and Wall, 2006). It set out terms and conditions for training which included a seven year term of service during which time the apprentice was indentured to their master. The terms used were not gender specific referring to apprentices as 'persons' and 'boys and girls'. Boys were bound over until they were 24, girls until they were 21 or married. Like the first historical period the somewhat haphazard nature of apprenticeships for women seems

to have varied by location and trade. In the southern counties of England between the 17th and 19th centuries 34% of parish apprentices were girls who were apprenticed in 51 occupations, including more manual trades such as shipwrights, bricklayers and carpenters (Snell, 1985). There is evidence of girls working in a wide range of occupations in non-parish apprenticeships during the first half of the eighteenth century, as bricklayers, blacksmiths, ironmongers and carpenters (Snell, 1985) yet women seemed to have been more likely to receive training informally as widows or children, such as in the printing Industry (Cockburn, 1991). Some could be found working as casual or unskilled labour which did not need an apprenticeship.

Although at this time young women were active participants in the labour market they were much less likely to be formally apprenticed by their family than boys (Clarke et al, 2006; Krausman Ben-Amos, 1991; Simonton, 1999). In the printing industry, for instance, rituals, such as regular and excessive beer drinking and forms of corporal punishment were enough to deter women from entering the trade as apprentices. Formal banning was unnecessary. As Cynthia Cockburn highlights, ‘It was unthinkable that a girl should pass through a process so clearly designed to produce a free *man*’ (Cockburn, 1991:17).

It would have been an odd family that was willing to see a daughter enter so male-orientated a life. The exclusion is inherent in relations between workers in the workplace and practices that were designed, maintained and adapted over time precisely to create a close identity of interest among a fraternity of men who defined themselves as masculine, a universe away from women (Cockburn, 1991:19).

Labour relations during these pre-capitalist times were tightly entwined with those of the patriarchal family, with businesses often being passed down to the eldest son. A master would set up business near or in his home with his apprentices and some

qualified journeymen² who would live in his house and be provided with food and lodging (Cockburn, 1991). Indenture documents were signed by three parties: the parent or guardian, the master and the boy, a situation that still existed in the racing industry (see Appendix One and Two).

Thus apprentices became the property of their master who could treat them as well or as badly as they saw fit. Apprentices who survived the rituals and terms of their apprenticeship often became journeymen rather than masters or, in the case of racing, 'board and wage' men³. They obtained their status as an artisan and a passport to citizenship. They were the aristocracy of the working class as skilled labour and, in the narrow occupational field of racing this was how 'board and wage men' were looked upon and spoken about.

1814 - early 1990s

The third period, from 1814 to the late 1980s involved the repeal of the Statute of Artificers which had the effect of loosening statutory control of apprenticeships. It now became possible to learn a craft or skill without having to be apprenticed to a master. Without the protection of regulation, women were increasingly excluded (Clark and Wall, 2006). Time served as an apprentice could now be shorter than seven years. This period marks a break with what had previously happened, particularly in terms of learning processes, class (which is explored in more detail later on) and gender relations. By the late nineteenth century, unregulated apprenticeships had spread from artisan trades such as building and printing to the newer industries of engineering and shipbuilding and later to plumbing and electrical work. However there was a marked difference between 'male' and 'female' trades with some 'male' trades, such as plumbers, paviours, glaziers, carpenters and bricklayers, becoming

² A journeyman was a skilled worker who had served his apprenticeship but had not set himself up as a 'master', usually because of a lack of financial resources.

³ 'Board and wage' men were former indentured apprentices who, having served their time, were paid a set wage and were provided with some form of accommodation, either in digs or above the stables.

more male dominated. Concomitantly, 'female' trades became more heavily female, such as ribbon makers, glovers and dressmakers (Snell, 1985). Alongside this shift the range of occupations available to women shrank as did the number of female apprentices (Snell, 1985). Throughout the nineteenth century the presence of women as workers became minimal as gender divisions were strongly reinforced under industrial capitalism. Control of apprenticeship was applied by employers and trade unions to exclude women from entering and to preserve the male 'ownership' of skill and craft knowledge (Clarke, 2006).

Apprenticeships in the late nineteenth and twentieth century were characterised by a low starting wage, informal or formal agreements about the length of service (Booth and Satchell, 1994; Carr, 1966) and corporal punishment (Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1927; Carr, 1966). Indentured apprentices were at the very bottom of the labour hierarchy although working conditions in racing were said to be not as hard as for some industrial apprentices (Vamplew, 1976). The moral welfare of apprentices was left to the master, in the case of racing, the trainer, with many nineteenth century apprentices learning their trade at the end of the trainer's stick. Corporal punishment was less in evidence at the close of the century but this does not mean that apprentices were not still roundly beaten when their actions were seen to be detrimental to the horse they were riding. Fairfax-Blakeborough, a former army officer who wrote one of the few texts on the racing industry, describes in his *Analysis of the Turf* (1927) one such incident that befell former indentured apprentice, Harry Taylor. The mare Harry was riding was chased by another racehorse, a stallion, and galloped the three miles back from the gallops with the stallion in hot pursuit. In chapter two, aptly named 'Equine Rogues and Savages', the author gives 'a full and graphic description of the incident' (ibid, 1927:35) as told to him by Harry Taylor.

I was beat to the world, and before I had fairly got my breath, Mr Jennings [the trainer] arrived post haste into the yard, jumped off

his hack, and, without asking any questions, gave me the soundest thrashing I had ever had for galloping a racehorse on a hard road...I thought it was adding insult to injury but in those days apprentices were ruled with a rod of ash, if not iron (Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1927:36).

Indentured apprenticeship was abolished in the racing industry in 1976 amid growing concerns about the effectiveness of apprenticeship training in general. Although there were approximately 240,000 apprentices of all kinds in the 1960s, apprenticeship training was criticised for its exclusivity, for being male-dominated, for focusing on serving time rather than on outcomes, and for a failure to embrace new and expanding occupations (National Apprenticeship Service, 2011). By the 1990s apprenticeships had declined to 53,000 due in part to a lack of public funding (NAS, 2011). By the 1990s the changing requirements of work and production led to calls for a more skilled and educated workforce that could adapt to new circumstances (Fuller and Unwin, 1999).

1994 – present

Through the literature available it is possible to outline the emergence of a fourth period in the history of apprenticeship. In response to concerns about skills shortages at intermediate and technician level, in 1994 the government introduced a new apprenticeship scheme, to be known as modern apprenticeships (MA). The modern apprenticeships were to revitalise the notion of apprenticeship training on the basis of competence-based National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) and key skills attainment (Maguire, 1999). The term ‘apprenticeship’ was used in order to emphasise continuity with craft conditions, still seen today as synonymous with the exercise of skill and quality of output (Gospel and Fuller, 1998). The modern apprenticeships were the government’s flagship initiative for training new entrants in a range of occupational sectors and were developed as an instrument of government policy for work-based learning in Britain (Brockman et al, 2010).

The foundation modern apprenticeship was launched two years later, in 1996. Used as a method of training in a wide range of occupations, it became the main qualification available in the racing industry, and was delivered at the two specialist training providers for the horseracing industry, the British Racing School (BRS) and the Northern Racing College (NRC). The modern apprenticeships were rebranded as apprenticeships in 2004 and a blueprint was introduced in 2005 which aimed at providing updated guidance on how to define apprenticeship frameworks (NAS, 2011). However, the lack of a clear definition of what constitutes an apprenticeship framework and the progressive dilution of the modern apprenticeship has been criticised as being a regression from the best of the indentured apprenticeships (Brockman et al, 2010; Fuller and Unwin, 2003b; Gospel and Fuller, 1998).

Prior to the introduction of modern apprenticeships, apprenticeships for women had not been readily available and were segregated by gender, a persistent feature of contemporary apprenticeships worldwide (Fuller, Beck and Unwin, 2005; Fuller and Davey, 2010). One of the priorities of the modern apprenticeship was to increase male and female participation in 'non-traditional' occupations, that is, those normally practised by just one sex (Fuller, Beck and Unwin, 2005). However research indicated that the modern apprenticeship programme had failed to achieve this aim, prompting an investigation by the then Equal Opportunities Commission (2004). This showed the deeply entrenched nature of gendered occupational stereotypes and the psychological and emotional barriers that potential 'non traditional' apprentices must overcome. The TUC report, *Still More (Better Paid) Jobs for the Boys* (2008), shows that little has changed and, whilst more apprenticeships have opened up for women this has not happened in male-dominated sectors such as construction and engineering. Part of the problem, as Cockburn (1991) illustrated, may be due to entrenched masculine and sexist ways of behaving.

This is highlighted by a plumbing employer, reflecting on why there are low female participation rates in ‘non traditional’ occupations,

It’s a male-dominated environment, the environment needs to change and the attitude of the people in the environment needs to change ... my first experience of going on site, what they were saying [swearing and sexual innuendo] and I became like them within in a year or two, by behaving the way you’re expected to (Fuller, Beck and Unwin, 2005:305).

Table 1.1, shows there has been little progress in dealing with gender imbalances in the five sectors investigated in the Equal Opportunities Commission’s General Format Investigation into occupational segregation in apprenticeship (Fuller and Davey, 2010). And as Cynthia Cockburn (1987) argues, if this situation is to change, ‘simply exhorting young women to widen their aspirations ... is certainly not enough’ (1987:194).

Table 1.1: Female % of starts in different sectors, 2002-3 and 2008-9

| Sector Framework | 2002-03 | 2008-9 |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Construction | 1 | 2 |
| Early years (Childcare) | 97 | 97 |
| Engineering | 4 | 3 |
| Information Technology | 15 | 19 |
| Plumbing | 1 | 3 |

(Source: Fuller and Davey, 2010:16)

Although the structure and significance of apprenticeship has changed, it has some abiding features (Clarke, 1999). It is part of the development of skilled waged labour, it serves as a means of entry into a trade or industry, it is a model of learning, and as a concept, apprenticeship has long been synonymous with people's understanding of the journey that an individual travels in order to acquire the knowledge, skills, practical experience and mastery associated with a particular occupational identity (Clarke, 1999; Fuller and Unwin, 2009). It is also gendered as has been discussed throughout this section.

Apprenticeship - Learning a trade or lifelong learning?

With this in mind, the following section focuses on the processes of gendered, embodied and tacit learning in characterising apprenticeship and work based learning. It questions whether the changing pattern of apprenticeship allows the apprentice to become a 'master' of their trade or craft or whether it is more a method of providing employment for young people who become lifelong learners.

Classifying apprenticeships

Rikowski (1998) makes a useful distinction between what he calls classical and modern forms of apprenticeship. The term (new) modern apprenticeship as he uses it, shows the shift from (old) classical to (new) modern apprenticeship which began in the 1930s. This is illustrated in Tables 1.2 and 1.3 which show what I describe as ideal types of apprenticeship under capitalist social relations. Both classical and (new) modern apprenticeships gave the apprentice the opportunity to become a master (Rikowski, 1999).

Table 1.2: Ideal-types of (old) classical and (new) modern apprenticeships

(Old) Classical Apprenticeships:

- time- serving
- training by 'sitting by Nellie' (observation of the master) and learning by doing (participation in production)
- evening classes (not compulsory)
- emphasis on indentures. Document signed by parents, apprentices and employers which laid out rights and duties of the three parties
- methods of entry through trade unions or informal links (sons of employees)
- specialised training in a single trade
- inculcation of 'craft pride' and 'craft mysteries'

(New) Modern Apprenticeships:

- training to standards of craftsmanship [sic] (through module system)
- supervised off-the-job training
- compulsory day release for college study
- contract of employment
- emphasis on attainment of formal qualifications (eg City and Guilds)
- 'scientific' entry: tests, structured interviews, application forms and stipulated qualifications
- flexibility; trade specialism, but some training in other trades
- results-orientated and importance of quality

((Source: Rikowski, 1999))

This contrasts with a third type of apprenticeship which Rikowski (1999) calls (Post) Modern Apprenticeship.

Table 1.3 Ideal type of (post) modern apprenticeship

(Post) Modern Apprenticeships:

- training to standards of NVQ level 3
- contract of employment
- ‘scientific entry’: structured interviews, application forms etc
- flexibility 1 – expanded form (mixing GNVQ with NVQ, customising NVQs for firms immediate or medium –term needs)
- flexibility 2 – increasing importance of core, key or transferable skills for internal flexibility in-company; transferability within and between companies and industrial sectors; for retraining (in case of unemployment); and for progression (including higher education entry)
- set within a lifelong learning context and trajectory

(Source: Rikowski, 1999)

These models, especially those relating to (old) classical and (new) modern apprenticeships, are a useful heuristic device for highlighting the variations between different types of apprenticeship. I develop these ideal types further and add another category which typifies the period 1960-1990s; this is discussed later.

Rikowski's models of apprenticeship show a shift from learning a trade, 'learning to learn' to meeting the needs of large scale employers and the state. Each ideal-type is based on a model of learning which emphasises the importance of a community of practice. Under (old) classical apprenticeships learning took place within the trade/craft being learnt, but this total immersion within the learning and training community is superseded by other, more formal, methods of learning and training. In none of the ideal types is there an explicit reference to gender; it is as if women are excluded from apprenticeships, even the (post) 'modern' types. These gendered assumptions are also reflected in the language used (see table 1.2).

The following sections discuss why apprenticeships developed and whom they benefit in terms of economic stability, employability and self development.

Master and apprentice

As has been highlighted previously apprenticeships provided the means by which to gain practical knowledge, skills and eventually mastery of a trade. During the mediaeval period, after serving their time, an apprentice became a 'journeyman' who could sell their labour. Those journeymen who were adjudged to have sufficient expertise (by the relevant guild) then progressed to the status of master. As Parkin (1978) records, apprentices learn the process of self-generating skill which involves learning how to undertake continuous learning, a stage which the master has reached. Rikowski (1999) uses the writings of Nietzsche to show how the horizon of the master

is set by role, identification and status and functions as a boundary within which individuals can develop and gain experience within their chosen activity. Mastery is thereby nurtured within a closed social sphere through apprenticeship and when it is attained there is minimal scope for a re-definition of practice by individual masters. Nietzsche argues that

every craft, even if it should have a golden floor, has a leaden ceiling over it that presses down and down upon the soul until that becomes queer and crooked. Nothing can be done about that. Let nobody suppose that one could possibly avoid such crippling by some artifice of education. On this earth one pays dearly for every kind of mastery. For having a speciality one pays by being a victim of this speciality (Nietzsche, 1974/1882: 322-23).

Using Nietzsche's interpretation of mastery, the first two 'ideal-types' of apprenticeship, classical and 'new' serve as preparation for a narrow 'trade mastery', an analysis that would fit the racing industry. The transfer of knowledge from master to apprentice was seen by Nietzsche as strangling the life force of individuals, restricting individual growth and development rather than developing an expansive creativity. In the racing industry time was served and indentured apprentices became masters of their craft within a hierarchy defined by gender and class relations. Indentured apprentices became known as 'board and wage' men. For Nietzsche individuals must smash through the barriers set by their trade or occupation as a way of self-development and self-mastery which is a lifelong vocation and has strong parallels with the idea of lifelong learning (Rikowski, 1999). The 'board and wage' man in contrast was constrained by the class dynamics and employment relations of the racing field. He was a valuable asset to the trainer through being an experienced and knowledgeable worker yet was limited as to what other areas he might work in.

For modern apprenticeships, the ending of training does not signify mastery for a number of reasons. One of the underlying principles of the modern apprenticeship is adaptability and flexibility so that the skilled, trained worker will be able to move from one occupation to another with a capacity to learn in a range of situations (Rikowski, 1999). The modern apprenticeship emphasises lifelong learning which therefore precludes mastery. Government initiatives, such as the modern apprenticeships and NVQs seek to develop individuals in a way that will increase the pool of skilled labour available to employers. Thus, it has been argued that the importance of such training and the creation of a learning environment is one of the keys to competitive success and to the attainment of competitive advantage (Altman and Iles, 1998; Saunders et al, 2005). Self-overcoming from a Nietzschean perspective involves struggling against educational institutions and involves the denial of lifelong mastery, so Rikowski's (post) modern apprenticeship with its emphasis on lifelong learning is in contrast with the classical and 'new' models pushing back against the 'leaden ceiling' (Nietzsche, *ibid*: 322-23)

Apprenticeships are part of the social production of labour power - the production of 'work-ready', employable people who themselves will create capital, and whose labour power will be sold within the labour market. Although the ideal-types illustrated earlier differ, the (new) and (post) modern apprenticeships have a similar over-arching aim, of creating employment whereas the (old) classical apprenticeship was focused more on reproducing a particular trade. According to some, policy makers are concerned with finding ways of strengthening the relationship between education systems and the economy. Workplace learning is seen as a way of meeting this objective by improving organisational performance through developing the qualifications and skills of the workforce which are believed to be central to productivity (Fuller, Munro and Rainbird, 2004). Investing in the workforce is therefore assumed to result in economic dividends. In the racing industry, the modern apprentice gaining a qualification may be seen at a national level as a proxy for learning and skills, yet, for the industry itself, it would appear to hold little, if any,

importance. The modern apprentice may be classified as a lifelong learner but will never become a master in the same way as the indentured apprentice did. Indentured apprentices learnt by being in a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991), following a tacit and informal model of learning. The following section elaborates more on the importance of this to work place learning.

Apprenticeship as a model of learning

Apprenticeship is concerned with job specific (short-term) as well as personal (long-term) development. It has survived as an internationally understood structure, although the nature and meaning of apprenticeship varies greatly according to the organisational context and the social and pedagogical relationships between participants (Fuller and Unwin, 1998; Fuller and Unwin, 2003c). Apprenticeship once existed to enable craft unions to train their next generation of skilled workers, but it is now regarded as a means of achieving social and economic goals, for instance, employment and income, as well as playing a significant part in education and training systems. Generally speaking apprenticeship is just one kind of ‘educational’ environment within the broader context of workplace learning and as such, is characterised, conceptualised and promoted as advantageous for employees, employers and the state (Boud and Garrick, 1999; Lee et al, 2004). Workplace learning, as Boud and Garrick see it, is

concerned with not only immediate work competencies, but about future competencies. It is about investment in the general capabilities of employees as well as the specific and the technical. And it is about the utilisation of their knowledge and capabilities wherever they might be needed in place and time (Boud and Garrick, 1999:5).

Paul Hager's aptly named paper, 'Finding a good theory of workplace learning'; shows that workplace learning as a topic has gone from being largely unnoticed to one that has attracted unprecedented attention; this has resulted in its being viewed from the perspective of varied fields and disciplines (Hager, 1999). Workplace learning theories and perspectives have emerged from two different paradigms of learning, where each has different epistemological assumptions and beliefs (Beckett and Hager, 2002; Hager, 2004). Formal learning is found in educational institutions where the best learning, following this approach, consists of abstract ideas that are context independent and transparent to thought. It involves bringing learning to mind and an inability to do so indicates that learning has been imperfect or unsuccessful. As Hager notes, it also implies that non-transparent learning, such as tacit or informal learning is 'a second-rate kind of learning' and learning of this nature, which is commonly found in the workplace, is 'consigned to second-rate status' (Hager 2004:244). Thus, the second paradigm of learning has very different characteristics. They include the learning of skills which are concrete, context dependent, tacit and based on intuition (Hager, 2004). Learning from this perspective is seen as 'doing', being engaged and involved in the action. The dominant approach within this paradigm is 'learning as participation' (Lee et al, 2004). As part of their social theory of learning Lave and Wenger (1991; Wenger, 1998) have proposed that learning is a process of participation in what they refer to as communities of practice where participation is at first legitimately peripheral but increases gradually in engagement and complexity. Their work arose out of the need, in their eyes, 'to rescue the idea of apprenticeship... as no one was certain what the term meant from a learning perspective' (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 29). The conception of 'situated learning' was being used, conventionally, to represent 'learning *in situ*' or 'learning by doing' (ibid: 31) but it was seen as needing a better characterisation as a theoretical perspective; this resulted in their view of learning being 'an integral and inseparable aspect of social practice' (ibid: 31). It implied emphasis on comprehensive understanding involving 'the whole person... on activity in and with the world; and on the view that agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute each other' (ibid: 33). Lave and Wenger give the following explanation:

... we mean to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of the community. 'Legitimate peripheral participation' provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991:29).

From the literature it would appear that women who train or work in non-traditional occupations, such as engineering, find becoming part of 'the community' (ibid) problematic. As Allison (2009) shows, female engineering modern apprentices found it difficult both to attain 'legitimate peripheral participation' and to achieve full membership status. Their difficulties started at the pre-recruitment stage and continued through to employment or lack of it after completion of their engineering apprenticeship. For Paechter (2003), whilst learning does take place in a community of practice learners will also learn that, in order to fit in and be accepted, they must embody the masculine and feminine values within that community. The following section will elaborate more fully how this bodily knowledge becomes assimilated, so becoming a 'natural' way of being and behaving.

Apprenticeship: practice and theory

One of the aims of this research is to investigate how the nature of work in the racing industry may have been transformed with the change from male only indentured to predominantly female modern apprenticeships. Modern apprenticeships differ from indentured apprenticeships in significant ways, one of which is the process of learning and skills acquisition characterising them. It is therefore one of the wider aims of this research to uncover whether the tacit, experiential and indeterminate knowledge that

former indentured apprentices refer to as intuition, ‘having a feel for it’, ‘in the blood’, has been overlooked in the wider drive to provide vocationally based, assessment-led qualifications for the industry.

Here I use some of the observations of Polanyi and Bourdieu to explore whether embodied knowledge, that is knowledge sensed through and with the body is still as pertinent now as it used to be. Has the change to a vocationally based qualification changed the nature of embodied practice as well? Polanyi (1966) argued that it is often impossible to make what we know explicit so that the essence of tacit knowledge is that we ‘know more than we can tell’ (1966:6). Practical knowledge, such as riding a horse or artistic skills require intuitive bodily awareness which is achieved through what he calls ‘indwelling’, a process of both doing and observing empathetically. Tacit knowledge, therefore, relies fundamentally on ‘hands-on’ experience and the technological instruments deployed are inseparable from the body. In a similar way Schyfter (2008) describes the playing of men’s lacrosse as ‘hybrid play’ where there is a ‘body-artifact’ unity – the male body and the lacrosse stick.

We use instruments as extension of our hands and they may serve also as an extension of our sense. We assimilate them into our body by pouring ourselves into them... Our body is always in use as a basic instrument of our intellectual and practical control over our surroundings (Polanyi, 1959:30-1).

In the racing industry the role of the body is that of a sensing instrument. It is often said that the best jockeys become part of the horses they ride implying an embodied knowledge that makes good riding look as if you’re ‘sitting there doing nothing’ (Hearne, 2007:121). This idea of practically *mastering* the action is something that Bourdieu elaborates; he argues that knowledge and belief are always acquired through experience. He uses the analogy of getting ‘a feel for the game’ when he defines

the practical sense of, or, if you prefer what sports players call a feel for the game, as the practical mastery of the logic or the imminent necessity of a game – a mastery acquired by experience of the game, and one which works outside consciousness, control and discourse (in a way that, for instance, techniques of the body do) (Bourdieu, 1994:61).

Le sens pratique is a form of knowledge, therefore, that is learnt by the body but cannot be explicitly articulated (McNay, 1999). ‘It is because agents never know completely what they are doing that what they do has more sense than they know’ (Bourdieu, 1992:69). This is how a racing trainee describes riding a racehorse: it is something that, in time, becomes ‘second nature’.

Whilst Polanyi uses the notion of tacit knowledge to conceptualise and clarify his interpretation of embodied knowledge there appears to be a close conceptual relationship between this and Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of habitus. Bourdieu (1994) in his discussion of ‘fieldwork in philosophy’ uses the analogy of a tennis player to explain how

action guided by a ‘feel for the game’ has all the appearances of the rational action that an impartial observer, endowed with all the necessary information and capable of mastering it rationally, would deduce. And yet it is not based on reason. You need only think of the impulsive decision made by the tennis player who runs up to the net, to understand that it has nothing in common with the learned construction that the coach, after analysis, draws up in order to explain it and deduce communicable lessons from it. The conditions of rational calculation are practically never given in practice: time is limited, information is restricted etc (Bourdieu, 1994:11).

Habitus is an acquired set of dispositions. It is a medium and outcome of social practice as well as a bodily state of being (Wainwright and Turner, 2006). It is a concept that expresses the way in which individuals become themselves and, on the other hand, the ways those individuals engage in practices (Webb et al, 2002). For the tennis player, as Bourdieu indicates, their actions are ‘not based on reason’ (Bourdieu, 1994:11) because, ‘we remain ever unable to say all we know ... [and] we can never know all that is implied in what we say’ (Polanyi, 1966:95). Similar observations can be made about a racing habitus, which disposes the individual to certain perspectives and activities that express the historically and culturally constituted values of the racing field. The instruction received by an indentured apprentice in the racing world would embody them with a racing habitus that involves ‘the practical mastery that people have of their situations’ (Robbins, 1991:1) and allows for the development of a life ‘that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get close to it’ (Goffman, 1991:7).

The habitus however, is only one dimension in the theory of practice (Crossley, 2001b). As a way of expressing this Bourdieu developed a set of key concepts which draw upon the concepts of ‘capital’ and ‘field’ in the form of an equation : ‘[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice’ (Bourdieu 1984:101). Crossley (2001a) suggests that

practice is the result of various habitual schemas and dispositions (habitus) combined with resources (capital), being activated by certain structured structures (field) which they, in turn, belong to and variously reproduce and modify (Crossley, 2001a:96).

Bourdieu’s theory of practice provides a way of trying to interpret the embodiment of social structures. The circular process whereby practices are incorporated within the body, then regenerated through the embodied work and competence of the body are illuminated by his accounts of habitus and *illusio*. Placing the concept of practice

within the wider concept of a social field provides the opportunity to see beyond the 'ground level of immediate visibility of the body and to locate the agent within the broader games in which they are involved' (Crossley, 2001a: 106).

Lois Wacquant interprets Bourdieu's definition of field as

... a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions 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 power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (Wacquant, 1989:39).

A field, therefore, consists of many different parts. First it is a structured system of social positions which are either occupied by institutions or individuals and it is the nature of the field which defines the situation for their occupants (Jenkins, 1992). Second it acts as a system of forces which exist between these positions and is structured internally in terms of power relations. The positions that are taken up by way of subordination or dominance in the field are governed, to a certain extent, by the access of agents to the resources (capital) and goods that are at stake.

This section has sought to highlight the way in which workplace learning and apprenticeship have, in recent years, become linked to specific models of learning, where learning is still seen as 'doing' and being engaged but there is also a formal element to the learning process, such as the acquisition of credentials in the form of key skills or an NVQ. These changes are shown in the ideal-types developed by Rikowski (1999) (tables 1.2 and 1.3) and have enabled me to see where and when

there has been a shift away from a model of learning by ‘sitting by Nellie’ towards one that is more concerned with assessment-led qualifications aimed at producing a culture of lifelong learning. There are, however, some problems with Rikowski’s (1999) typologies and, building upon the work of Parkin (1978), Richards (1988), Rikowski (1999) and Fuller and Unwin (2009), I have adapted them to highlight the contrasts between the different types of apprenticeship and changes in their regulation. Each ideal-type relates to one of the historical periods discussed in the first part of the chapter. Unlike Rikowski, I have included gender, the mode of learning and acquisition of skills in each ideal type, so highlighting how the characteristics of apprenticeship have changed as the apprenticeship framework has changed. The additions I have made to the original typologies are in italics and can be seen in tables 1.4 and 1.6. Table 1.5 is the ideal type I have myself developed to characterise apprenticeships in the 1960s-1990s. The way skills are acquired are discussed further in chapters six and seven and are related to ideas of tacit learning and embodiment.

Table 1.4: Modified ideal types of (old) classical and (new) modern apprenticeship

| |
|--|
| <p>(Old) classical apprenticeships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • time-serving • training by ‘sitting by Nellie’ (observation of the master) and learning by doing (participation in production) • skill acquisition gradually increasing over length of apprenticeship • evening classes (not compulsory) • emphasis on indentures - document signed by parents, apprentices and employers - which laid out rights and duties of the three parties • methods of entry through trade unions or informal links (sons of employees) • specialised training in a single trade • inculcation of ‘craft pride’ and ‘craft mysteries’ • <i>male apprentices</i> • <i>little state involvement</i> <p>Post 1930s apprenticeships (New) ‘modern’ apprenticeships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • training to standards of craftsmanship [sic] (through module system) • supervised off-the-job training • compulsory day release for college study • contract of employment • emphasis on attainment of formal qualifications (eg City and Guilds) • ‘scientific’ entry: tests, structured interviews, application forms and stipulated qualifications • flexibility; trade specialism, but some training in other trades • results-orientated and importance of quality • <i>mostly young men</i> • <i>state-controlled enterprises, eg, BBC, Royal Mail ran large scale apprenticeship programmes</i> • <i>respected pathway, understood by parents, employers and young people</i> • <i>historical reluctance of State to regulate employer behaviour</i> • <i>learning more formalised, classroom based as well as gradual skill acquisition through ‘doing’</i> |
|--|

(Adapted from Rikowski, 1999; see Table 1.2, p.40)

Table 1.5: Ideal types of apprenticeship, 1960s-1990s

Apprenticeship. Early 1960's-1990's:

- *Restriction to generally manual occupations and trades*
- *Dominance of male apprentices*
- *Reinforced restrictive practices, training too variable, too job-specific*
- *Introduction of government rather than employer led apprenticeship, e.g., Youth Opportunities Programme, Youth Training Scheme*
- *Used by some as a source of cheap, replaceable labour and who never completed their journey from apprentice to master*
- *Reflected moral development as well as job-specific skills*
- *Political framework of voluntarism*
- *Regulated at a higher social level ,i.e. State rather than the master/employer*
- *Expanded opportunities for women to enter jobs with structured training*
- *Both formal and informal learning modes*

Table 1.6: Modified ideal type of (post) modern apprenticeship

'Lifelong' apprenticeship

- training to standards of NVQ level 3
- contract of employment
- 'scientific' entry: structured interviews, application forms, etc
- '*flagship*' training model, part of government policy
- *competence and assessment based qualifications*
- *male and female apprentices but in gendered occupations*
- flexibility 1 – expanded form (mixing GNVQ with NVQ, customising NVQs for firms immediate or medium –term needs)
- flexibility 2 – increasing importance of core, key or transferable skills for internal flexibility in-company; transferability within and between companies and industrial sectors; for retraining (in case of unemployment); and for progression (including higher education entry)
- set within a lifelong learning context and trajectory
- *both formal and informal learning processes*

(Adapted from Rikowski, 1999; see Table 1.3, p.41)

What all these typologies have in common is that learners are situated in a community of practice yet, because apprenticeships are gendered, this can be problematic for women in male-dominated occupations (and vice-versa), who must embody the gendered qualities valued by that community if they are to be accepted. Thus learners must develop a particular embodied gendered 'feel for the game', where their attitudes and dispositions become second nature. It is here that Bourdieu's conceptualisation of habitus becomes so important, as it provides a way of explaining how specific workplace values and behaviour are absorbed and practised. Practice is the outcome of combining habitus and capital, and it is capital that I shall go on to explore in more detail in the following section.

Capital

Capital is an important conceptual tool, as habitus on its own does not allow for an explanation of how factors such as class and gender influence the way in which an individual's position in a specific field might be explained by differential access to capital. As Crossley (2001a) writes, capital to Bourdieu means the resources distributed through the social body which have an exchange value in one or more of the various 'fields'. These resources can be divided up into economic capital, social capital, symbolic capital and cultural capital. The latter three can assume a fairly 'field specific' form and their value may be tied to specific social 'worlds', so what might count as valuable in an academic world would be of less value in a sporting or theatrical world. The same argument holds for the 'connections' and status that may accompany an individual and help them progress in one field but have little or no value in another.

Economic capital is highly rationalised and has a precise numerical value but it is the concepts of symbolic, social and cultural capital that have more resonance within this

thesis. Social capital is a concept that can be readily applied to the racing industry as, for Bourdieu, it means the connections and networks which an agent can call upon in order to achieve a specified goal. Having the connections and being 'in' the industry is what has helped me achieve the access needed to complete this thesis. Symbolic capital may be described as

a form of capital that is not recognised as such but includes prestige, a glowing reputation ... they mean nothing in themselves, but depend on people believing that someone possesses these qualities (Webb et al, 2002: xvi).

Believing that someone possesses these qualities requires an acceptance that there is something that can be exchanged; there is an exchange value present within the notion of the different forms of capital. Working for a particular racehorse trainer, for example, means that staff are seen as having specific dispositions that can function as capital and impress others enough to enable them to secure a strategic advantage. This is capital that can be 'exchanged' and is embodied. It also has a function as a 'use value' in that these qualities cannot be spent, like money, but, instead, retain their value; it can be used at a later date, either consciously or not, to bring about other desired ends on account of its perceived identity or value (Crossley, 2001a).

'Cultural capital is a form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills and awards' (Webb et al, 2002: x). Bourdieu sees educational qualifications as one of the more institutionalised forms that this type of capital can assume and so an academic degree would constitute cultural capital. However within the racing industry, qualifications did not exist until the introduction of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in the 1980s and have, in some people's eyes, little cultural capital. Possessing good riding skills and a wide knowledge of 'horsemanship' would be seen as more important. Nevertheless having an NVQ

provides its holder with a qualification that has both a cultural and economic exchange value.

Physical and embodied capital

Bourdieu understands 'embodied' capital as a sub-division of cultural capital and interprets it as a cultural resource invested within the body (Bourdieu, 1986). Shilling (1991) however sees the 'physical' as being too important to be just a component of cultural capital and so has developed Bourdieu's (1978) conceptual tool of 'physical' capital as a way of more adequately capturing the importance of the body as a form of capital in its own right. In the following quote Chris Shilling explains what Bourdieu (1978/1984) understood as physical capital.

The *production* of physical capital refers to the *social formation* of bodies by individuals through sporting, leisure and other activities in ways which express a class location and which are accorded symbolic value. In contrast the *conversion* of physical capital refers to the translation of bodily participation in sports, leisure and other activities into different forms of capital. Physical capital can be converted into economic capital (e.g. goods and services), cultural capital (education) and social capital (social networks which enable reciprocal calls to be made on the goods and services of its members) (Shilling, 1991:684).

Using the racing industry and boxing as examples, the importance of physical capital and how it is gendered can be illustrated. Racing, like boxing exists within a world that has its own rules, practices and interests and, in the past, gave many working class 'boys', as indentured apprentices, the opportunity to strive for success, not unlike young footballers today. The racing field was and still is, intersected with notions of class and gendered bodies. Given the widely held view within racing that women have 'weaker' bodies than men's and so are seen as not being strong and tough enough

for race riding, the gendered nature of social inequalities and the conceptualisation of physical capital together are potentially useful for understanding some of the barriers faced by women working in racing. This is discussed in more detail in chapter five. Wacquant's (1995, 2004) work on boxing focuses upon the ways in which boxers build and mould their bodies to suit the field in which they are operating, namely, the boxing ring and gym. He suggests that 'the bodily labour of fighters is fundamentally a work of engenderment in the sense that it creates a new being but also a gendered being embodying and exemplifying a definite form of masculinity: plebeian, heterosexual, and heroic' (Wacquant, 1995: 90fn). Whilst not as physically demanding on the body as boxing, working in racing has its inherent dangers and demands of its participants a state of body that is light yet strong, able to withstand falls, kicks and have deep reserves of stamina. In addition to the production of a specific physical capital there is the physical danger, and occasionally pain that exists within the *illusio* that jockeys and staff construct in the face of these hardships. Both racing and boxing are sports which must be mastered if they are to have a value to the participants.

A habitus is produced within the body and mind and is shaped by social structures and how the individual acts. The habitus is then embodied, and the way individuals treat their bodies 'reveals the deepest dispositions of the habitus' (Bourdieu 1984:190). So women's physical capital is shaped by the racing field that is gendered masculine and regulated by their habitus. In order to be accepted as 'one of the lads' (Waterson, 2009) women must embody masculinity, perform certain lifestyles that are limited by material constraints. This is also true in other occupations and the following section looks more widely at the constraints that women have had to deal with and the strategies they have developed when working in male dominated occupations, strategies which are consistent with those displayed within the racing field.

Women and male-dominated occupations

This section is important to my thesis in that it allows a wider comparison to be made about the position of women at work in both middle and working-class occupations as well as in the sporting arena. It highlights the similarities between them with regard to the position of women and so lets me situate the identities of working women in the racing field within a wider occupational field.

Bourdieu's concept of embodied cultural capital has been extended by feminist theorists to include the idea of gender capital (see McCall, 1992; Skeggs, 1997; Lovell, 2000). Within most organisations capital is mainly economic (Everett, 2002) but as Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010) discuss, in their paper on women in senior managerial positions in Australian organisations, embodied cultural capital, in the form of gender capital that is linked to the habitus, can be important. They pursue the idea that femininity and female capital can be forms of embodied cultural capital which can be used to destabilise the masculinised field of management and that feminine capital may be gaining wider currency which may change the way in which masculinised management fields operate. That said they come to the conclusion that women's gender capital 'may only manipulate constraints rather than over-turn power' (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010: 562).

Feminine and female capitals whilst appearing to be increasingly valued in management culture (Illouz, 1997) are still limited in their use value (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010). The benefits that might be gained from femininity are restricted (McCall, 1992) and as Skeggs (1997) suggests, feminine capital has a limited use value as 'it provides only limited access to potential forms of power' (Skeggs, 1997:10). Although women have achieved greater representation in the management field they continue to face considerable obstacles in management cultures and are subordinately positioned in comparison with their male colleagues (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010).

This has been explained by the gender-related barriers to success faced by women in male-dominated careers (Etzkowitz et al, 2000). If a woman demonstrates the supposedly female qualities of care and sensitivity she may be assessed either as a good *female* manager or an inefficient and inappropriate *manager*. On the other hand, if she is efficient and competent she is more than likely to be judged as unfeminine (Evetts, 1993). Research studies indicate that these barriers lead to women who seek entry into male-dominated occupations leaving if they cannot adapt to the culture, acting like men in order to be successful, or remaining in the industry without behaving like men but maintaining unimportant positions (Bennett et al, 1999 cited in Evetts, 1993). Feminine capital whilst useful is still subordinate when in a male-dominated environment.

Some of the literature on women working in non-traditional, working-class occupations attributes women's low recruitment levels and lack of progress to the characteristics of women themselves - their lack of ability or lack of desire and motivation to perform in these jobs (see England, 2010). In other words, 'women hypothetically choose female, socially devalued occupations because something in the culture makes them want to express their "true" [gendered] selves' (Reskin and Maroto, 2010:82). Nevertheless other explanations challenge England's (2010) hypothesis of gender essentialism and cite barriers such as lack of access to training, especially when union controlled, the resistance of co-workers to workers of a different sex or colour, physical labour structured to suit muscularity, and employers' ability to disregard what workers want (Bergmann, 2010; Cockburn, 1981; Crawley, 2010; Prokos, 2010; Reskin and Maroto, 2010).

Women's perceived lack of muscularity and lack of innate ability are seen as a potential barrier to women performing manual work, for example, as a carpenter or a bricklayer (Fielden et al, 2001). It has been estimated that in an industry where manual occupations dominate the workforce, only about 1% of manual workers are

women (Briscoe, 2005). Research into gender roles in the Scottish construction industry highlights the role of men's perceptions in explaining women's lack of participation; women are seen as lacking in strength and in the ability to use tools and therefore unsuited to working in some trades. 'Women don't have that natural understanding of building as the men do' and 'women don't have the innate ability to use the tools' so 'they are not equally suitable for the work' (Agapiou, 2002:701). Such comments are not seen as sexist or going against equal opportunities as men are talking about 'natural, God-given abilities that women lack' (Agapiou, 2002: 701). Some of the problems that women operatives working in construction found they had to contend with on a regular basis were sexual harassment, crude language and having their tools stolen by male colleagues who then claimed the women were incompetent. Other research that has been carried out where women work in working-class non-traditional occupations, such as construction, mining, and as train conductors and operatives confirms that certain roles are seen by men as being more suitable for women. In the construction industry, plastering, painting and tiling were mentioned as they do not require as much strength for lifting and suit women's 'aptitudes to detail, a sense of colour and design and finesse' (Agapiou, 2002:702). However the argument is a somewhat spurious one as new technology has mitigated against heavy lifting for both sexes even for the 'weedy men' (Agapiou, 2002:701). Women, on the other hand, found the best way to negotiate their place was to be able to take 'a joke, being broad-minded and giving back as good as they get' (Agapiou, 2002:703) and being very good at their work and needing to prove themselves. Swerdlow's (1989) study of train conductors and operatives in the United States found that women threatened men's assumptions of male supremacy. A consensus was achieved as long as both women and men adopted accommodative patterns of work that allowed men to accept women as co-workers without the presence of women threatening beliefs of male supremacy.

Women's experiences within the construction industry are similar. The career experiences of women are such that they have to assume male 'norms' if they are to

achieve any success pursuing a management role within construction (Watts, 2009). Feminine capital has little value. The construction industry is one of the most male-dominated of all industries within the United Kingdom where, according to estimates, between 84% and 99% of those employed are male (Fielden et al, 2001). There is a paucity of detailed data on women, ethnic minorities and disabled workers in the UK construction sector, but trends confirm that these groups are currently significantly under-represented in the work force (Briscoe, 2005). It is one where harassment, inflexible and long working hours are routine, coupled with an unruly and potentially disaffected workforce that is governed by a strict occupational hierarchy and resists any attempts to be managed at all (Druker et al, 1996). Women find that if their career is going to last in construction there has to be a subordination of home and family to company and career (Watts, 2009). Mainstream and senior management roles are often out of reach as women tend to fill administrative or human resource management roles (Fielden et al, 2001). Whilst the industry may appear to be modernising itself with regard to diversity and equal opportunity practices it appears to be very resistant to change (Watts, 2009). According to research into the barriers that prevent women from taking up these positions, part of the problem lies in the fact that the construction industry has not, until recently, acknowledged that the under-representation of women is an important issue.

Although not involving physical labour, the IT and computing sector is largely a male preserve where the career experiences of women are not dissimilar to that of women in the construction sector (Woodfield, 2002). This may be due to the fact that women who study computer-related courses and perform as well, if not better than men underestimate their skills and equate technical competence with masculinity and men (Henwood et al, 2000). The creation of 'hybrid' roles that combine technical and 'traditional' female skills, (seen within IT as empathy, interpersonal skills and communication) were seen as the way forward in creating opportunities for women, yet the proportion of women in this sector is falling. A study by Guerrier et al (2009) exploring attempts to change the nature of skilled roles in the IT sector, found that

women unquestioningly accepted the fact that this sector was male-dominated. There was no evidence they could uncover that questioned stereotypical beliefs in a woman's 'natural' role or any 'consciousness that these might limit the prospects of these highly qualified women' (Guerrier et al, 2009:505). Women were accepting of the doxic values and were bound up by the illusio the IT sector had created.

Women, when joining an established homogeneous group, can represent a threat to the established order and as such can be subjected to a 'boundary heightening' (Kanter, 1993). This means there is a strengthening of group characteristics by the dominant cultural group which has the effect of making the newcomer feel like an outsider and different from the rest. For example, within a male-dominated workplace there may be an increase in sexual innuendo, sexual orientated jokes and offensive language. This idea has been further developed by Cohn (2000) who argues that boundary heightening is intended to test the newcomer, test their resilience and willingness to fit in. Initially this can mean that the individual is isolated and can become totally excluded if they do not accept the established order. From the literature it would seem that women working in a male-dominated environment must adopt particular embodied behaviours in order to conform to group characteristics and advance their career.

Engineering as a profession is often viewed as a masculine one and has reproduced the perception that it is unsuitable for women. Historically its image is one that is tough, dirty and heavy, dominated by men with the prevailing culture and ethos of the industry extremely masculine (Evetts, 1993). As in the construction industry different strategies have been used to try and increase the number of women entering engineering but their success has been limited (Powell et al, 2009; Watts, 2009). In their study of women engineering students Powell et al (2009) found that women had to utilise various coping strategies in order to gain male acceptance, such as acting as one of the boys, accepting gender discrimination, and adopting an 'anti-woman'

approach. As in the sporting field, women had to 'undo' their gender (Butler, 2004) and uphold an environment which was hostile to women whilst perpetuating the gendered culture of engineering which is masculinist and male-dominated.

A similar picture emerges from research into women in working-class occupations in engineering, such as apprentices and technicians. Working at craft and technician level women felt that 'they had to fit in ...' (Andrew, 2009:403), that is, adapt their behaviour to suit the work culture by displaying 'inappropriate' female behaviour such as excessive swearing, 'proving themselves' by not making mistakes but not doing too well either, so they did not stand out. A common finding in studies of women in non-traditional industries is of women 'becoming men' (Carter and Kirkup, 1990; Bagilhole, 2002; Clarke et al, 2004; Du, 2006 cited in Andrew, 2009) or 'one of the boys' in order to survive. A study of female miners found that they were subjected to male miners' sexualisation of work relations 'in the form of either sexual harassment, propositioning or sexual bribery' (Tallichet, 1975:701). Some of the women who refused men's sexual advances were seen as lesbian so challenging the male miners' heterosexist beliefs. Men thought there was a place for women in the mine but in roles that mirrored the work women traditionally performed in the home, and as the male mine superintendant insisted 'men had a more 'mechanical approach' to their work and the women had the more menial mining jobs because of the 'the natural settling of their skills and their application' (Tallichet, 1995:707). This may explain why women were in more administrative type work; and contributed to their concentration at entry-level jobs. As Tallichet (1995) suggests, this sexualisation of work relations represents men's power to stigmatise women and reinforces stereotypical beliefs about women's incapability of doing more masculine-identified work; it contributes to the gender typing of jobs within the mine and reinforces gender boundaries.

In studies of women in the sporting arena it has been found that women had to display an exaggerated femininity in order to distance themselves from masculine-identified

sport. Research into women's wrestling shows that wrestling, a male-dominated sport in terms of participation, the requirement of muscular strength, courage, fighting spirit and combat, is perceived as a masculine sport (Sisjord and Kristiansen, 2009). One of the aims of senior elite women wrestlers was the development of a large muscle mass as well as having the physical capability and wrestling skills needed; this muscularity was something that contradicts common perceptions of feminine body appearance. The younger, less experienced women wrestlers gave more priority to their 'private' rather than their 'athletic' body so held back on developing muscle which they saw as unfeminine and making them 'look like a man' (Sisjord and Kristiansen, 2009:241). The 'seniors' however had redefined traditional notions of femininity/masculinity in relation to physicality; for them it was movement that was perceived as an indicator of being mannish not muscle mass. The women wrestlers' negotiations of femininity were different and related to their 'private' or 'athletic' body; evidence presented by this research suggests the seniors especially were developing a bi-gendered embodiment. Both groups of wrestlers, however, like women footballers, displayed a compliant femininity, engaged in feminising strategies and exaggerating their femininity whilst, at the same time, transgressing traditional social norms by entering a typically male sporting field. Studies show that women entering the male-dominated world of football have to challenge dominant notions of young female behaviour, defining themselves in opposition to femininity and performing as self defined 'tomboys' (Scruton et al,1999; Cox and Thompson,2000; Sisjord and Kristiansen,2009). This act of self-definition does not help to transform gender relations and by perceiving themselves as 'honorary boys' they reproduce and reinforce perceptions of masculinity, the binary between men's/women's sports, and the power relations between male and female. Thus there is a complex relationship between playing a traditionally male sport and constructions of femininity and sexuality (Cox and Thompson, 2000). Women players and athletes who deviate from the 'norms' of femininity by having athletic bodies and short hair may find themselves challenged about their sexuality. In order to compensate for displaying the seemingly unfeminine trait of playing elite sport some women actively emphasise what are considered to be symbols of heterosexuality by dressing in feminine ways outside the

arena and by having long hair that differentiates them, not only from men, but also from the stereotypical, short-haired lesbian (Cox and Thompson, 2000; Sisjord and Kristiansen, 2009).

The involvement of women in ice hockey provides an important example of how gender ideologies and shifting gender relations are being challenged. Men's ice hockey has been described as one of the 'flag carriers' of masculinity (Bryson, 1990: 174) and is one of the sports that 'quintessentially promote hegemonic masculinity and to which a majority of people are regularly exposed' (Bryson, 1990:174). It celebrates force, toughness and direct confrontation between competitors. Theberge (1997), however, questions whether the women's game, because of its prohibition of body checking (that is the intentional effort to hit or take out an opponent), does actually challenge masculine hegemony as it continues to be played in a cultural context in which men's sport is hegemonic. It is this expression of physical violence that defines the nature of men's hockey which has been positioned as the 'real' game and as such, is one against which others will be compared and evaluated (Theberge, 1995). Against this background the challenges posed by women's hockey to dominant views of how the game should be played are severely diminished (Theberge, 1997).

Nevertheless there would appear to be a link between the physical violence of men's hockey and women's perceived lack of strength. Gender differences in strength have been used within the armed forces to question whether women should be allowed to become part of the armed forces, an organisation that epitomises heterosexual and masculinist ideals (Chandler et al, 1995). Cohn (2000) discusses how male officers in the American military used the gender normed standards set for physical training (PT) as a way of arguing that women do not deserve equal rights because they have different PT standards from men. More profoundly, men's protest was more about the fact that women had no right to be in a white male military organisation which had hitherto been a male sanctum. This discussion illustrates how women who succeed in

male-dominated occupations learn to embody a particular style of working that reproduces 'male norms' but that is contradictory. Thus women conform to the 'norms', of femininity away from the field of play at the same time taking part in male-dominated sports where, in order to be able to progress their careers, they have to challenge dominant notions of femininity and adopt 'male' ways of behaving. Female and feminine capital is useful to a degree but only where it has an exchange value that is seen as valuable within the field in which it is situated. If this is expanded to take in physical capital, it can be seen that women who work in racing may have the necessary physical capital, in that their bodies are often smaller and usually lighter than their male counterparts, yet the gendered nature of the hierarchy that exists in racing and as shown, in the army, creates barriers which prevent women from succeeding as men do. Women must embody 'masculine' attributes in order to be taken seriously yet if they are seen to be over emphasising this their femininity and sexuality may be called into question. Their options are limited in that if they challenge 'traditional' notions of femininity they are called lesbian and butch, but if they do nothing and accept the doxic values of the field their roles will be limited to those that fit men's sexualisation of women and their place in society. The practices that are found in racing, in sport, in the army and at work are the result of resources and dispositions which, when they come together and are structured by power relations, cause the individual to learn a certain way of acting and reacting which in time becomes second nature, an almost unconscious action. Gendered behaviour becomes embodied and this is what indentured apprentices are referring to when they say it is 'in the blood', or speak about having a feel for it. As in wrestling and boxing such behaviour becomes absorbed into the body and the actions of the body become 'natural' movements.

Conclusion

In this chapter I began by discussing the dearth of written material discussing the lived experiences of indentured apprentices and women who have worked in racing. Gallier's (1988) account of her life as a 'lad' mirrored many of my own experiences of

working in racing and highlighted the doxic values of a field that she, like myself, has sometimes questioned. Through tracing the historical development of indentured apprenticeship it has been possible to gain an understanding of how women were gradually excluded from what became known as 'male' trades and concomitantly identified with more 'female' trades.

Widening the scope of the literature shows the long history apprenticeship has, and emphasises the way in which women were mostly excluded from indentured apprenticeships. The meaning of apprenticeship, once synonymous with mastering a trade and becoming a man in the process, has gradually been diluted. Apprenticeship was a marker of the change from boyhood to manhood built around rituals and initiations that would have deterred most women from entering such a male oriented life. From the literature it is evident that whilst the apprenticeship has changed the underpinning aims are still the same - the development of skilled labour and entry into a trade or occupation. It is training which is delivered through a specific model of learning that contrasts with more formal methods of training and learning. Using the work of Rikowski (1999) three different ideal types of apprenticeship are highlighted illustrating the changes that have occurred in the delivery of apprenticeships. There is little reference to gender within them, and the gendered language used is perhaps indicative of the assumptions that women were subordinate and insignificant in this field. Initially characterised as 'sitting with Nellie', apprenticeships fitted the conceptualisation of apprenticeship developed by Lave and Wenger (1991) which involved learning in a community of practice, going from beginner to master, learning by 'doing' knowledge becoming embodied. The nature and delivery of apprenticeships have changed to meet the needs of large scale employers and the state with greater emphasis on more formal methods of learning and training. The gendering of apprenticeships has also changed.

Using Nietzsche's interpretation of mastery the chapter shows how (old) classical apprenticeship created apprentices who become masters in their trade but their specialist skills work against them in that they are restricted in what they may go on to achieve. The phrase, 'jack of all trades, master of none' however, springs to mind with regard to modern apprenticeships. The aim is to encourage lifelong learning so modern apprentices avoid the 'leaden ceiling' yet the knowledge they gain does not represent the bodily expertise and bodily mastery of their trade or craft which was the result of a classical, indentured apprenticeship.

Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that learning takes place in a community of practice and is an integral part of social practice. Women apprentices in non-traditional occupations, such as engineering, found it hard to become legitimate members of the community and, as Paechter (2003) emphasises, learners adapt and embody masculine and feminine forms of behaviour. Thus, the learner develops a gendered habitus that is appropriate to the job.

Through drawing on the theoretical concepts of Bourdieu, namely habitus, capital, and field, it has been possible to analyse how the attitudes and dispositions of a gendered habitus are formed. As Bourdieu shows, knowledge and experience are always acquired through practice which becomes embodied but cannot be articulated. Habitus is an acquired set of dispositions that express the cultural norms, values, behaviour and practices that individuals engage in, set within a particular field that is regulated by the distribution of power and those who possess it. The power individuals hold can be linked to what Bourdieu calls capital and this explains how factors such as class and gender affect the positions individuals occupy in a particular field. This capital can be exchanged and like a currency are only valuable within their specific field.

Using Bourdieu's concepts to guide my analysis will enable me to explain the classed and gendered inequalities that exist in the racing field, and in many male-dominated occupations, and to answer my research questions. These are:

1. How has the learning experience of apprenticeship changed?
2. How has the nature of work in the racing industry been transformed with the shift from indentured apprenticeship to modern apprenticeship?
3. How is a racing habitus formed and embodied?
4. Can women embody a racing habitus which is gendered masculine?

In the following chapter I describe the methodology used for this research. It takes the form of an ethnographic study of a racing yard, Conborough, where I spent a year working as a 'lad', using semi-structured interviews with indentured and modern apprentices and semi-structured interviews with stable 'lads', as well as former female apprentice jockeys.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Introduction

The last chapter provided an overview of the literature which forms the conceptual and empirical framework for my analysis. This chapter outlines the methodological approach that I have taken in order to complete the research. As outlined in the introduction my research initially focused on apprenticeships and employment relations and how they had changed with the shift from indentured to modern apprenticeships and the increase in the number of women employees. With this in mind the research questions I first developed were:

1. How has the nature of work in the racing industry been transformed?
2. How do indentured and modern apprenticeships differ?
3. How has the learning experience of apprenticeship changed?
4. What impact has the emergence of female employees had on the horseracing industry?

Having worked out my research questions I next had to ask what type of methodology to use for this type of research. I felt I already knew some of the answers to the questions (the answers themselves were implicit and part of my habitus) but I still needed to explain, theoretically, that my feelings, my hunches, had some substance to them, that they weren't just non-sociological reflections that I had used to justify the

employment relations I had been part of. I had the advantage of being involved in the racing field, in terms of experience, knowledge, access and rapport and, as already mentioned, much of my working life was, and still is, involved with horseracing, particularly with the racehorses, exercising and looking after them at a practical, hands on level. The fact that the research was auto/biographical, to a certain extent, and the researcher was 'in' the field raises some epistemological questions (where I see epistemology as what I, as an individual, can know). The research draws upon my personal experiences and to that extent is autobiographical, it is also biographical in that I draw upon the personal histories and biographies of others. This creates difficulties because of my positionality. I was already part of the racing field with a racing habitus so therefore was not aware of all the assumptions I was making which needed bringing to light.

Sasha Roseneil, describes her own role as a researcher at Greenham 'as anything but the unbiased, objective observer ... even of mainstream interpretive qualitative research' (Roseneil, 1995:8). She engaged with her pre-existing experiences reflexively starting from the position of those being researched, claiming a high level of validity for her research '*because of*, not despite my involvement with Greenham' (Roseneil, 1995:8). The problems that I encountered when doing this research, both during the fieldwork and in writing up because of my position of being 'in the know,' are discussed later. Whilst I do not claim to be providing a definitive account of the racing field, I do feel that, like Roseneil (1995), I am starting at the level of those being researched and understand the networks and the language that they and the wider racing field use on a daily basis.

In order to benefit from my involvement in the racing field and to be able to answer the research questions, an ethnographic approach to the collection of data was used to construct my sociological analysis. An ethnographic approach seemed the most sensible and practical method to use, especially when I already had the social and

cultural capital needed to make gaining access and operating within the field possible. The methodology used involved an ethnographic study of a racing yard known as Conborough, interviews with indentured and modern apprentices, interviews with women and men who had worked and are working in the racing field and participant observation at the British Racing School (BRS).

The chapter begins with a general discussion of doing ethnography, interviews, participant observation as data collecting methods. I then go on to describe the ways in which I was able to gain access to the three areas that were key to the completion of the fieldwork. Following this I describe how I did the research. I then elaborate upon the meaning of auto-ethnography, discussing whether this research is an auto-ethnographic study and the advantages and disadvantages of being a 'native insider.' As the thesis draws upon my own participation in the racing field I include a section on using autobiography. Finally a discussion of the ethical considerations is provided before I introduce the revised research questions.

Doing ethnography

The term 'ethnography' within this chapter is used as both a methodology and the product of the research. Although there are a wide range of definitions for what ethnography is seen to represent, it is basically a research process based on fieldwork using mainly qualitative research techniques but including engagement in the lives of those being studied over an extended period of time (Davies, 2008). However it is viewed, the ethnographic product draws its data from an incorporation of the information collected to produce a holistic description of the culture of the community (Agrosino, 2007). There are those who see this as one of its basic weaknesses and question whether ethnography can produce a distinctive theoretical description of particular settings, organisations or groups (Hammersley, 1990), others however challenge this stance (Stanley, 1990).

Ethnography has a very long pedigree with works such as Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918-1920) *The Polish Peasant* and Malinowski's (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* being earlier examples of this genre. As Davies (2008) highlights, when doing research there is an implicit assumption that we are investigating something 'outside' of ourselves. We cannot research something that we are completely isolated from. Davies (2008) continues by adding that 'all researchers are to some degree connected to, or part of, the object of their research' (Davies, 2008:3). As Fetterman (1998) illustrates, for an ethnography to portray an accurate and close analysis of the 'native's' point of view, the ethnographer, through relying on their senses, thoughts and feelings in their dual role as scientist and storyteller, has to become close to the subject in question.

Biographically I was already an insider and was 'close to the subjects, two and four legged' so had the necessary

direct and sustained contacts with human agents within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what's said and asking questions (O'Reilly, 2008:3).

However, as will be explained later in this chapter, being an insider and part of the fixtures and fittings had its disadvantages, especially when analysing the data. One advantage that I had was ease of access in that I had gatekeepers to facilitate access to the people and places I needed to carry out the research using interviews and participant observation. Together these helped to provide a rich ethnography which evolved as the research progressed.

Interviews

Interviews are probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2004, O'Reilly, 2008). Ethnography usually involves a substantial amount of interviewing, but this tends to differ from the type of interview used, for example, as a structured or semi-structured medium of data collection. The ethnographic interview is more like an in-depth conversation where a reciprocal trust and familiarity has been built up during the field work, in which participant observation forms a large part of the ethnographic process. This is not to say that other types of interview cannot be used and may, where there is less familiarity between the parties involved, be more suitable. With an ethnographic interview the researcher goes to the interview with a set of questions or a list that serves as their interview guide which they can alter as the interview progresses, changing the order, leaving questions out if they seem inappropriate and possibly introducing new topics. Interviewees can be encouraged to expand upon their answers and introduce topics of their own as well as their own concerns. As Davies, (2008) highlights, 'most important, their responses are open-ended, in their own words and not restricted to the preconceived notions of the ethnographer' (Davies, 2008:106). Research based on semi-structured interviews has become an important and a very popular form of interviewing across the social sciences and such interviews are often combined with participant observation; this means that the relationship between the two parties (the researcher and the researched) goes beyond that of a single interview (Davies, 2008).

Participant observation

Participant observation is the ethnographic method par excellence but it does court the danger of 'going native', something I already was and discuss later in the chapter. As highlighted by O'Reilly, (2008:107) and Van Maanen, (1995:4) the term participant observer is essentially an oxymoron, juxtaposing, as it does, two apparently opposed ideas. Becoming a participant observer presents various other hurdles, such as access, gaining rapport then observing and participating, either separately or together,

dependent on the place, time and organisation. Observation gives the opportunity to try and understand procedures and interactions that occur between people and can provide a link between what is observed and what is asked in interviews.

Using the internet

One research gateway that has come to the fore more recently is using the internet and this can be viewed as an additional tool for social research, for example, keeping in touch with research subjects through social networking organisations such as *Facebook*, distributing and administering questionnaires, or providing background information on organisations. That is not to say that it cannot be used and adapted to produce studies that are similar to ethnographic research (Davies, 2008) as Illingworth (2001) did in her study of assisted reproduction. Other research has incorporated the internet more fully into its design where the research is carried out mainly on-line, and is referred to as ‘inter-ethnography’ (Tapper, 2001), ‘ethnographies of cybersociety’ (Jones, 1998) or ‘virtual ethnography’ (Hine, 2000). I did not use the internet as described here, but it was invaluable in keeping in touch with interviewees as will be discussed later in the chapter.

This section has provided a general overview of some of the research methods that can be used in ethnographic research. The following section highlights the ways in which some of these research methods were used to collect the data, and reflects on the practical implications of doing research ‘on the job’. As will be illustrated my personal contacts provided many of the points of access that I had from being ‘on the job’.

Access

My personal contacts provided the main points of access for data collection, which were the British Racing School (BRS), Racing Welfare and Conborough racing stables. Working in a community gave me the expertise, knowledge, and background which made gaining access not overly difficult. Involvement with the BRS, one of the two specialist training providers for the racing industry, through other work-related matters allowed the opportunity for tentative enquiries to be made to the Director of the BRS into the viability of observing one of their groups of trainees during the summer of 2007, which met with little if any objection. The first group (group one) that was followed was at the BRS 11 June - 13 August 2007. Unfortunately after finishing their initial training, the majority of this group left their new employment and became impossible to follow. The BRS however were very willing to let me follow another group (group two), who were at the BRS 26 May - 18 August 2008 and to complete follow-up interviews with them.

Established in 1983, the BRS is one of the two specialist training centres for the racing industry, the other being The Northern Racing College (NRC). It is a charity, first registered under the name of The Apprentice School Charitable Trust, in 1981, but is now known as the British Racing School. Being owned by a charitable trust means that any income generated is re-invested in the School. Its original aim was to provide training (after the abolition of indentured apprenticeships in 1976) for young people who had the potential to become apprentice jockeys. Since then it has developed and flourished, and now it is the Centre of Excellence for training in the racing industry, providing a wide range of different courses including the initial training for stable staff aged between 16 and 22 on the government funded modern apprenticeship (MA) in racehorse care. The modern apprenticeship is known as a foundation apprenticeship and is made up of key skills in working with others, communication and application of numbers at level one, a technical certificate and National Vocational Certificate (NVQ) in racehorse care; 70% of the units are completed whilst the trainees are at the BRS. The NVQs were developed by the racing and thoroughbred breeding industries and are awarded by the British Horseracing Educational and Standards Trust

(BHEST), the only government recognised organisation to offer racing specific qualifications. It is a requirement (governed by the rules of racing) that any young person between the ages of 16 and 18 who wants to work in a racing yard must complete the foundation training at either the BRS or the Northern Racing College (NRC).

My 'insider' status made access and acceptance at the BRS much easier than would otherwise have been possible. I became part of group one on the first day, observing their induction down at the stable yard on the first afternoon where they met the instructors for the first time. Initially the chief instructor was a little hostile, regarding me as some sort of 'spy' who had been sent down from 'the top', that is the main part of the BRS complex, to see what they did down at the yard. When I explained that it was the trainees I was interested in and that I had worked in racing his attitude softened and we got on well. I was able to interview him too as he was himself a former indentured apprentice. The course instructor was very friendly and I think this was helped by the fact that he knew I had worked in racing and had a family member who trained in Newmarket where the BRS is located. I had previously worked with one of the other female instructors at a large National Hunt yard and had worked and lived with a good friend and former work colleague of the other female instructor. My background in this instance paid off and I avoided those potentially difficult and awkward situations that occur when meeting total strangers in a new environment for the first time. I also knew, through having a background in racing, what the instructors were talking about and that, unfortunately, when most of the trainees said they wanted to be jockeys, few of them, if any, would meet their goal.

The other route used to gain access was through the Head of Welfare at Racing Welfare. Racing Welfare is a charity that provides a welfare service to all those working in racing including employers, employees and the retired. I contacted former indentured apprentices through the 'Lifetime in Racing' award. To qualify for this,

recipients must have worked nearly all of their working life in the racing industry and they can be nominated by friends or family. As it could have been rather a long drawn out process to find and contact former indentured apprentices this seemed a good way in which to make contact. Racing Welfare sent a forwarding letter out that stated who I was and gave a very short outline of my time in racing and what my interest in their career was, together with a letter from me setting out my contact details and thanking them in advance for their help. Of the thirty letters I sent seventeen elicited replies from which I was able to interview eight men who had been indentured, and one man who had worked as the stable manager of a large racecourse, whose job entailed providing stabling and accommodation for horses and their handlers on race days and whenever accommodation was required. One former female 'stable lad' who had worked in racing in the late 1960s, early 1970s was interviewed as a result of this method of recruitment. Some of the indentured apprentices thought I was gathering information for a book which in a way I was. I explained my presence as an interested party who having had relatives who were indentured thought it was about time that their stories were in some way recorded. Two of the indentured apprentices were known personally to me, the first, my uncle, and the second, Solly, a former colleague.

Conborough racing stables

I was already working part time at the racing yard where the ethnographic study was set, I reduced my hours at Warwickshire College, my other 'day job', so that it was possible to balance work and family commitments. I told the trainer and the other staff what my research was about and why I was doing it, although no one really took that much notice. They knew I was involved with the BRS through my work at Warwickshire College and had no objection to my interviewing them as part of my research. I discuss the ethical problems raised by my close involvement with the yard later on in the chapter.

Semi-structured interviews

In order to explore how apprenticeship has changed, former indentured and modern apprentices were interviewed, as were ‘stable lads’. A total of 32 interviews were carried out, as is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Number of interviews carried out

| Interviewees | Male | Female | Total |
|---|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Indentured apprentices (including ex-stable manager) | 12 | 0 | 12 |
| Modern apprentices | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| ‘Stable lads’ | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Female ex-apprentices (ex-trainee jockey) | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Female apprentice (trainee jockey) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 14 | 18 | 32 |

As can be seen from Table 2.1 the sample was very gendered. Indentured apprentices could only be male but the sample for stable 'lads' is almost entirely female: This is unrepresentative of the workforce of the racing industry as I will show from data in chapter three. Conborough was unusual having such a high percentage of women in its workforce during the time I was working there.

Semi-structured interviews with former indentured apprentices

Twelve semi-structured interviews with male former indentured apprentices were carried out, which enabled me to gain insights into the practices that used to govern workplace relations and working conditions. In practice, although I had a guide (see Appendix 3), to the areas I wanted to discuss, the interviews were like taped conversations and I was able to use my own experience of working in racing, and that of my uncle, a former indentured apprentice, as auto/biographical currency which the interviewee and myself were able to exchange and understand. I had an awareness of the working practices they endured as they wove their account of being indentured and what it meant to them. Areas such as whether indentured apprentices received any formal training or learnt 'on the job', 'through common sense' and, by being shown were discussed, taped and then transcribed. The interviews, which were mostly carried out at the interviewees' homes, ranged from an hour to two hours in length. One was conducted as the interviewee was long reining a horse⁴, so we had our conversation as I walked beside him, scribbling quick notes down as we went. This could have been perceived as problematic but both the interviewee and myself were in an environment that we knew. For him, what he was doing, although it needs patience, concentration and skill, was like second nature, he could do it without thinking, something I, as a horseperson, was able to understand and identify with. My knowledge of horses was useful as I was able to hold the horse's head for him as he

⁴ This is part of getting a horse to accept the saddle, bridle and new experiences. Two long reins are attached to the bridle, usually at the bit with the handler standing behind the horse, far enough back so as not to get kicked and then directing the horse from the ground.

quietly wound the reins back up to the front of the horse once the exercise had finished and we were chatting about his time as an indentured apprentice.

As already mentioned in the access section I was able to use my personal contacts to interview two of the indentured apprentices. Solly I interviewed at my home where we could formalise and record much of the information we had discussed informally when travelling to race meetings together. The other interview was at the house of my uncle, whose biography I had grown up with in conversations with my maternal grandmother and grandfather as well as my uncle himself.

The interviews could be classed as biographical since they focused on the interviewees' apprenticeship period which, for some, was during the 1940s. I had thought that there might have been problems with remembering but the interviewees were able to reminisce as if it were yesterday, describing horses they had ridden, where they had lived, and the fun that they made for themselves as young, impoverished, indentured apprentices.

The interview with the ex-stable manager was interesting as he was able to give his view of indentured apprentices through having to look after them and their horses when they used the racecourse stables during a race meeting. His daughter was also one of the first women to work as a 'lad' in racing during the early 1970s, and he could remember the first set of 'ladies races' that were run, ostensibly for female stable 'lads'.

Semi-structured interviews with modern apprentices

Eight of the modern apprentices whom I followed at the BRS were interviewed at their work place. Seven were female, one male. Using semi-structured interviews, I asked

about their family background and, reflecting on their time at the BRS, how they found they learnt best at the BRS and in the workplace and whether they saw themselves as staying in racing. I tried to keep the interviews to around an hour as I was aware it was usually their lunch break and they needed to go and eat and even have a sleep if they were in a yard where they started very early.

After my first group of trainees simply melted away I was somewhat concerned that the second group might do the same and looked for a strategy which would give me official access to three of the trainees at least. In order to achieve this I decided to complete my A1 National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) assessors' training through the BRS and with the approval of Warwickshire College, my main employer. This involved my completing a portfolio of assessments for three of the trainees in this particular group. This meant I was also on hand to interview them after Shelley, their assessor, and I met up at the trainee's yard. She could then assess me assessing them for their remaining NVQ assessments. This made me feel more confident in my chances of following at least three from the group, although one of these young women left the racing industry soon after starting at her new yard but not before our first interview! When interviewing them I explained to them why I was doing it and that the interview was a separate issue from the NVQ assessment.

Yard visits were made to interview the other five of the eight English-speaking trainees in group two, once they were in the workplace, something that is easier in theory than practice. I had been warned that once trainees got into the workplace they tended to forget that they had a qualification to finish as do some employers, and I sensed that they felt they were part of the racing field now and did not want to be reminded that they had been, until recently, BRS trainees. At first I thought that this situation was being exaggerated by the NVQ assessors but, as a trainee assessor myself, I appreciated the difficulty they had in gaining access to the trainees before they could even start to assess them. Through visiting them it was possible, over the

passage of time, to see them starting to develop in confidence as they assimilated their new yard routine and culture into their habitus, something that began during their initial training at the BRS.

I was quite lucky with the location of yards as they were not too far for me to drive to in order to do the follow-up interviews. The most distant was in Wales which was approximately two and a half hours away. I contacted them by mobile phone and through *Facebook* to arrange a date to meet which worked well, and they were keen to hear from me how the other trainees were doing; they kept in touch with each other through *Facebook*.

Semi-structured interviews with ‘stable lads’

Eight interviews were carried out with ‘stable lads’, seven with women and one with a young man. Two of the women that I worked with and two women that rode out at Conborough were interviewed at the yard in the relative warmth of the ‘office’. These interviews were also like taped conversations as we knew each other well and I had worked with two of the women at a previous yard. Having similar working backgrounds meant that at times I was able to concur with what they were saying, especially about their early working life in racing. I could also add my opinion when asked what I thought of the way, for example, ‘girls’ were sometimes spoken to. We would also discuss the careers of some of the jockeys as to why some made it and others did not. There are however, disadvantages when interviewing people who are known well, as it is very hard at times not to spend too long reminiscing and to keep the conversation moving and explicit rather than leaving things unsaid as in the following extract.

DB. So what was it like for you, being in a yard of lads?

Interviewee. Oh, you know what it’s like, the usual for a ‘bird’

DB. Yes, I found the same, it's tough

Interviewee. Yes, very

I implicitly knew 'what it's like' so had to make sure I got them to explain just what it was that they found difficult as, for them, it was normal working practice for a yard. I had to be extra vigilant that things were made explicit as they would be if I had known nothing about working conditions. This was extremely hard and a little strange for the interviewee in that I needed them to state what was, to us both, 'the bleeding obvious', but epistemologically what we knew needed bringing out rather than remaining unstated. I was on the same critical plane as those I was researching but by making myself aware of this was able to overcome it some of the time. The closeness and familiarity created difficulties which are discussed later in the chapter.

The other three interviews with female 'lads' were carried out in a variety of locations with two in the interviewees' homes. The first interview was through Racing Welfare and their 'Lifetime in Racing' award and was with a former female 'lad' who still rode out. I was able to have a taped conversation with her about her recollections of being one of only a handful of women who were employed during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The other two interviewees were contacted through what could be loosely described as a snowballing technique which will be discussed next.

The remaining interviewee was David, a young stable 'lad' who had been to the BRS and completed his modern apprenticeship before working at Conborough where the interview took place.

Snowballing

Contacts with three former female apprentice jockeys, a current apprentice jockey, a former indentured apprentice and two former female 'lads' were made through a snowballing technique. How this came about is explained in more detail in what follows, and the contacts are highlighted in bold.

Given that the racing industry thrives on networks and contacts I was seen as having 'racing form', that is the appropriate social capital. This meant I was able to make contact and interview more women as the importance of interviewing them about their experiences became apparent in the course of the research. I became more aware of how significant gender was in structuring the racing field. I also realised that women's biographies were similar to mine except that some of them had broken through the 'starting gate' (glass ceiling) that had held many women back, including myself. Whilst I was interviewing one of Racing Welfare's indentured apprentices it transpired that his wife, who was there, had worked as a '**lad**' in racing from the late 1960s and early 1970s and so I spent some time interviewing her about her experiences whilst taping our conversation. Having another contact with whom I had previously worked proved invaluable, as she was able to secure me access and a 'taped conversation' with one young woman who was currently race riding as an **apprentice** jockey and working in a yard. I was very enthusiastic about interviewing women who were involved in racing but had to curb my enthusiasm, on my supervisor's advice, as the data were slowly but surely slewing in a different direction with regard to my research questions. I was eating into the limited time I had available too, while trying to work at Conborough and fulfil my other work and family commitments, which filled the remaining parts of the working week.

Whilst at the BRS I used a snowballing technique to gather interviewees. As a sampling technique it worked well, although I was aware that the interviewee was

picking the next individual for me. One of the instructors interviewed was asked about her experience as one of the first women to ride as an **apprentice** jockey in the UK and she then told me about Julie, who also worked at the BRS and been an **apprentice**; this meant I was able to arrange to interview Julie about her experiences as a 'lad' in racing and as an apprentice jockey in the late 1970s.

Once the chief instructor at the BRS realised I was not a spy sent down 'from the top, the management' (Duncan, field notes, 14/06/07) he was more than willing to be interviewed and proved extremely helpful and knowledgeable about some of the areas I was interested in finding out about, having served his time as an **indentured apprentice**. His interview, therefore, was divided into two, his time as an apprentice, and his views on the current methods of training staff. This included areas such as the relevance and adequacy of the NVQs, the modern apprenticeship, the relevance of key skills, and the impact that the changing division of labour seen in horseracing yards is having on the 'learning culture' (Fuller and Unwin, 2003a) within the racing industry.

Since it emerged, when I was chatting to one of the trainees, that his mother had ridden as an **apprentice** jockey in the mid 1970s, I met up with her on Presentation Day, the trainees' last day when parents watch them ride, took her details and set up an interview. We already had a link in the form of a mutual friend whom I was currently working with at Conborough; this meant we had some common ground that I could use to start the interview off.

Through completing my NVQ assessors award I met Shelley, a former '**lad**' who agreed to be interviewed. The interview took place over a cup of tea at a cafe in Lambourn. The processes outlined above help to demonstrate how networks operate and how important they were in the construction of my sample.

Fieldwork at the BRS

Fieldwork was based at the BRS and involved participant observation, following a group of modern apprentices through their nine week training, and culminated in follow-up interviews with eight of the modern apprentices. Fieldwork began in the summer of 2007. I observed both Groups, One and Two, for three, five-day periods, in weeks one, five and nine of their nine-week training. Field notes were taken during this period. Group One consisted of seventeen British trainees, fourteen young women and three young men whose ages ranged from 17 to 21 and one Japanese woman, aged 26, who was self funded. Unfortunately with Group One the majority of the seventeen British trainees, once in the workplace, left their employment and were almost impossible to contact as they had changed mobile numbers or did not respond, something the BRS also found, since they had to try and track where they were, as the training provider. Some of the group left the racing industry completely after just a couple of months in their new yard and some were constantly moving yards, whereas others were out of reach logistically, working in yards that were over three hours' drive away. As trainees are not known for being that reliable at keeping arranged meetings, I decided that practically this would be too far to travel only to find the trainee was not available or had gone racing.

Although initially the loss of my research subjects was a problem, I was able to turn adversity into an advantage as, when I was following the second group, I already knew something about how the BRS structured the modern apprenticeship training. I was comfortable with my surroundings and the staff and they were accustomed to me walking around, talking and helping the trainees and, on occasions, them.

In order to try and keep tabs on Group Two I decided that a different strategy was needed. I therefore used a two pronged attack involving mobile phones and *Facebook*. This way I could send them a message whenever and wherever I was as long as I had internet access and it made me feel less anxious that I was losing touch with them. They all used *Facebook* and it was often a topic of conversation when they were riding

out or in the hostel. This gave greater overall contact with the trainees and meant I had another means of keeping in contact with them when I was not resident at the BRS if I could not contact them by phone.

Group Two consisted of fifteen young women and three young men whose ages ranged from 17 to 26 and was quite a mixed group in terms of nationality. I will discuss the international trainees first. Two young men and three young women whose English was limited were from Hungary. There were three young Swedish women and the Japanese woman from Group One, making a total of nine.

Of the remaining nine trainees, one young woman left on the first day and the Japanese woman left to go to Cambridge on an English course. This left a total of eight British trainees and eight international trainees after day one, meaning that sixteen started the nine week course. One of the British girls returned to Jersey to do university re-sits after week four, one of the Swedish girls went home after five weeks as she had the offer of a job in racing in Sweden. Thirteen trainees completed the nine week training as one of the young Hungarian men was sent home in the last week for sexual harassment. At the end of the nine weeks there were two young men, one Hungarian and one British and eleven young women, two Swedish, three Hungarian and six British.

Whilst at the BRS I took photographs of what the trainees were doing in order to add a visual dimension to my descriptions.

Participant observation at the BRS

During my five-day visit to the BRS I tried, where possible, to integrate myself into the daily routine of the trainees which started at 6 a.m. This will be elaborated upon in more detail in chapter seven. I was there when they initially arrived, helping to carry their bags to their rooms and answering any simple questions they had as to when was the first meeting of the group, where did they keep their riding kit, and when would they go down to the yard. When asked whether I was one of the staff or not, I explained to the trainees what my position was, that I was carrying out research into indentured and modern apprenticeship, so would be asking them lots of questions! None of them seemed to have any problems with this, and the trainees and I built up quite a rapport when on the yard. I was viewed as an authority figure, who in their eyes automatically had power over them but could at times help them in what they were trying to do. Having already done what could best be described as a dummy run with the first group together with the fact that I knew the staff at the BRS quite well, to the trainees my role was that of a voluntary assistant, an extra pair of hands and a welcoming face on their first day. This appeared to be accepted without there being any difficulties in building a comfortable working relationship and treading on somebody else's toes. In fact, this was the situation that existed with the first group when up at the hostel, as I quietly slotted into the background, having brief conversations, longer chats and unscheduled discussions with the staff whenever and wherever there was the time and opportunity. I went to most of the evening activities that were held at the main BRS site, for Groups One and Two, as evenings were mainly spent having lectures for their NVQ L2 or doing fitness and PE sessions, which I joined in and enjoyed. There was little time to sit and chat to the trainees during the day, but I used the computer to access the internet in their accommodation in the evening, about 8.30 p.m. I would sometimes sit and watch the large plasma screen television that was in there and talk to them about things that were going on and what was happening in the group. By this time of night they were tired, as was I, and I found that using the time to write up field notes in my own room was beneficial, as quite often their talk was about who had said what to whom in the hostel, how so and so did not pull her weight, chat that got more prevalent and barbed the longer they were at the BRS.

As a participant observer I used to walk down to the yard with the trainees just before 6 a.m although my role (initiated by me) was more akin to that of a helper. I would help those who had less experience than others, giving them a lift up with their muck sacks, which were heavy, onto their backs, washing out and filling their water buckets and helping them to tack up and untack. On occasions I would catch the horse they had been given to muck out as horses can be wily creatures and will take advantage of anyone they know is lacking in confidence or knowledge. This gave me the opportunity to chat to the trainees as they were working and try to imagine what the experience was like for them, remembering my ham fisted attempts at tacking up my pony as a young girl. It was easy for me, now, to take for granted the process involved, for example, in putting on a bridle as I know how to do it with my eyes closed, yet for them it involved thought processes and movements that had not become automatic. In the end some of the less confident and slower workers would ask for my help although I had to be careful not to help too much as one of the instructors told me off as the trainees would have to do it themselves once in a yard. I found it very difficult not to get involved as I could see, having the experience, how they might do things more easily and efficiently and it reminded me how I had struggled with putting head collars on, carrying buckets and holding a broom, as a young girl of eleven, helping in my uncle's racing yard at weekends. It helped me understand how the body learns to do things which then become automatic and do not need to be thought about.

My position when the trainees were riding was that of an observer, although I would hold a horse for them if necessary. Once we were in the indoor school I would watch them riding from up on the observation gallery, listening to what the instructor was saying and observing how they coped with the riding which, to me, using my knowledge and experience, looked quite physically hard even for those who had ridden before. In the gallery it was easier to write brief field notes, something that was difficult to do when I was on the yard, when I had to wait until lunchtime to keep my

field notes up to date. Sometimes I would stand down on the floor in the indoor school but still take the role of an observer as the instructor was busy watching each horse and rider, talking to the trainees, making suggestions and giving instructions.

For breakfast, at 9.a.m, I sat with the instructors although they had little time to chat much then as we were back down in the yard, for 2nd lot⁵, at 9.30 a.m. When the trainees were out of the indoor school and riding on the all weather circular gallop I stood and watched. I occasionally spoke to the instructor but their time was taken up watching the groups of three cantering round, talking to them on the two way radio and making sure that the riders were in control of their horses. When a trainee got 'dropped', that is fell off, I was able to help by catching the loose horse and would sometimes lead a trainee round when they were re-united with the horse if they seemed initially apprehensive about getting back on; this was something I was able to pick up on knowing what it feels like myself and through my experience with horses.

When we were in the mini-bus that drove alongside the six furlong straight gallop (three quarters of a mile) as the horses cantered and galloped up it, I took on the role of observer for there was little else I could do. The instructor had to watch the horse, the trainee, and the road, talking to them on the radio as well as driving.

Figure 1: Photograph taken from the mini-bus as one of the trainees is cantering up the straight gallop.

⁵ 2nd lot refers to the second period of riding out the trainees do. Each block of exercise the horses complete is called a lot.



Ethnographic study of a racing yard

I always felt a bit of a fraud within the academic world when I said my research was mainly an ethnographic study of the racing industry and that I was carrying out a large part of the research in a racing yard. The fraudulent part for me was the fact that I was working in the yard doing something that was no different to what I had spent many years of my life doing, which made me question whether it was proper research. I was also working with friends, which raises ethical and moral questions which I discuss later. My role in the yard was that of a 'lad' in that I used to arrive just before 6 a.m leaving my home at 5.20 a.m. Once there I mucked out my five horses in the morning then rode out two or three lots. From the middle of October to the beginning of February, after mucking out, I clipped the horses, that is removed their woolly winter coat, as it makes them sweat too much when working. As I was part time I used to work Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday until 12 p.m. or later. After finishing for the morning I went on to my other job, at Warwickshire College, where I worked

as a 50% fractional term time only FE and HE lecturer on a Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Finding time to write field notes up was difficult as quite often, once at college, I would be straight into teaching. I found that the only way to manage was to stop on the way from the yard to the college and write short notes about the morning. I could then elaborate on them more in the evening, at home, if I was not too tired by the time everything had been dealt with. Whilst these field notes were not of the moment it would have been nearly impossible to keep disappearing to jot things down and would also have looked quite odd and maybe even suspicious to the others. Many of the conversations (my 'hoof notes') tended to be when we were riding out, forming part of the social fabric and processes of the daily working experience of the yard.

'To be or not to be...that is the question'

I have already said that my research is ethnographic, but something I had to consider was whether it was considered an auto-ethnography. After I had read countless books, journals, ethnographies and monographs before beginning to write up the methodology chapter the writing, always slow, stopped. Like a rabbit caught in the headlights I was mesmerised by the very many different types of ethnography that were being written, all of which seemed to use different methods. I was left in a quandary and a panic as to whether I was conducting an auto-ethnography, or simply using my autobiography as part of an ethnography: was I a 'native', an insider or a native insider? Close to packing it all in and spending all my time at the yard I happened, thankfully, to read a piece by Narayan (1993) which put all my worries into perspective.

Rather than try to sort out who is authentically a 'native' anthropologist and who is not, surely it is more rewarding to examine the ways in which each one of us is situated in relation to the people we study (Narayan, 1993:678).

Although I would not classify myself as an anthropologist I shall now try and endorse what Narayan is espousing and give an outline of where and how I saw myself as 'situated in relation' to those I was studying.

It has long been recognised that ethnography has a biographical dimension, and the use of autobiography has been identified as a key element in the task of writing ethnography (O'Reilly, 2008). It is still relatively unusual for the ethnographic self to play a central role in the experiences, events and practices that are written about, in the field (Coffey, 1999). For this research my experience played a large part in the choice of topics, and the manner of gaining access and completing the fieldwork. Scott's (2005) account of racing and Cassidy's (2002) ethnography of a racing stables drew upon their biographical engagement in a specific social world in a similar way.

In this research my status as 'native' is such that I consider myself as one of the 'racing tribe' (Fox, 2005). I understand its customs and rituals and have been party to them. I know its culture and how to behave within the racing field. It is part of my habitus. Although I no longer work full time in the field I can drop back into it, straight up to speed as if I had never left at all. Thus, in my case, I see the study of the yard as being partly auto-ethnographic in a similar way to Hayano's (1979 cited in Adler and Adler 1987) description of auto-ethnography as the cultural study of a group to which you, the researcher, belong. This is but one of the many different interpretations of how auto-ethnography is defined (see Denzin, 2006). Carolyn Ellis (2004) defines auto-ethnography as

research, writing and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural and social. This form usually features concrete action, emotion, embodiment, self-consciousness and introspection (Ellis, 2004, xix).

From this viewpoint my research could be auto-ethnographic but Tami Spry (2001) suggests that

auto-ethnography is a self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self and others in social context (Spry, 2001:189).

If auto-ethnography is defined in this way, my research is not auto-ethnographic in that I do not intend it to be a self narrative although I try to make it reflexive, something that any auto-ethnography should strive to be, given the closeness of the researcher to the field. My study fits the criteria posited by Leon Anderson (2006) for an account to be classed as analytical auto-ethnography, yet the definition that on reflection suits my research best is where

the teller of the story is a native who studies to become an anthropologist (ethnographer) and who then relates a story infused with and informed by that professional orientation (Woolcot, 1999:154).

I therefore see my study as ethnographic rather than an auto-ethnography. I use auto-ethnography slightly different from Radin (1999) who writes autobiography as related to him by a native American, and Bernard and Salinas (1989) where an autobiographical account is produced by the 'native' in their own language which then must be translated and interpreted by the ethnographer. I do however draw on others' biographies to add extra depth to the data.

Because I had full time employment in a similar role to my research one, I found that there was a close relationship between being able to draw upon my own life history, as an insider, and an ethnomethodological matter of indexicality. The concept of

indexicality refers to the contextual nature of objects and events and, without a precise situational context, behaviour, conversations and objects are all open to multiple and ambiguous interpretations (Adler and Adler, 1987). In order to understand the meaning of social action the researcher needs to know something about the following features: the identity of the people being researched, salient aspects of their biographies, their immediate intentions and aims, the settings, the relationships between the people involved, and how their action follows previous action by others. Whilst it is possible to gain this knowledge as an outsider, as an insider I have a close sense and knowledge of working in the racing field, how it affects those who are in it and how they may anticipate future events. As a concept, therefore, indexicality suggests that for researchers to gain a valid and rich sense of what is happening and to be able to understand the meaning behind what is being implied, they must participate in their settings to the fullest degree. There is much then to be said for being a complete insider, a 'native' amongst the 'natives' although a word of caution must be added.

'Native amongst the natives'

However much the individual's ethnographic research is couched in terms of aims, objectives, methods, purposes, theories, and issues to be investigated, it is not necessarily practised that way and is always changing, by the minute, by the day, as new incidents happen and the field takes on a different appearance. As Shahaduz Zaman (2008) illustrates there are inherent challenges to overcome when 'being native amongst the natives'. In a similar way to him my 'native state' was twofold: working as a 'lad' in the racing industry and being part of a specific culture.

The term 'going native' describes the ethnographer becoming too involved in the community being studied (O' Reilly 2009), thereby losing distance and objectivity. It is also used, by some, as a derogatory or offensive term, something associated with the

attitudes and language of colonial ethnography. Whilst many contemporary ethnographies are now completed in communities where the ethnographer is already, to a certain degree, an insider, the problem of 'going native' has become less of an issue but there is still a danger of over-rapport, something that Paul Willis has been accused of in his ethnographic study, *Learning to Labour* (1977). The pull to be accepted by the community can be very strong and so the process of becoming 'a native' can mean that, as Lareau (1996) found, much of what she observed and noticed was never written down. Field notes tended to be sketchy and unsystematic which she, on reflection, sees as being caused by 'going native'. As she records,

I liked being in the classrooms: I liked the teachers, the children, and the activities - making pictures of clovers for St Patrick's day.... I liked being there the most when I felt accepted by the teachers and children. Thinking about taking notes reminded me that I was a stranger, forced me to observe the situation as an outsider, and prevented me from being accepted and integrated into the classroom (Lareau, 1996: 218-219).

From personal experience it is easy to become so totally immersed that it is to the detriment of the research. Although not obviously the case, it was very easy to be lured off course as the daily working routine became the pilot, with myself, the would-be researcher, being piloted, rather than the opposite. Working in the yard was physically demanding, wading through mud pulling a heavy muck barrow exhausting, riding out on cold, dark and wet winter mornings unpleasant. Bearing all that in mind it is difficult to imagine how such work can become obsessional as well as addictive. The yard, the people and the horses become a safe haven, vacuum-sealed from the demands and obligations of the outside world, so much so that for me my research became a well kept secret. This was my world and one I selfishly did not want to share with others, especially as the setting for research. How could I, being so far in that I was unable and, perhaps, unwilling to find my way out, write something other than a description of a racing yard. I had read the many accounts that warn the

researcher that going native can sometimes mean that researchers completely lose their analytical perspective. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) caution,

The comfortable sense of being 'at home' is a danger signal. From the perspective of the 'marginal' reflexive ethnographer, there can be no question of total commitment, 'surrender' or 'becoming'. There must always remain some part held back, some social and intellectual 'distance.' For it is in the 'space' created by this distance that the analytic work of the ethnographer gets done. Without this distance, without such analytical space, the ethnography can be little more than the autobiographical account of a personal conversation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:115).

At times it was almost impossible to keep this distance, especially when, for example a horse had been seriously injured or the yard was short staffed so that the most important objective for the day was to get through it, making sure all the routine procedures were done. At times like these the work demanded total commitment. However having left full time employment in racing because it was never going to lead to anything by way of a career, particularly for women, I had already distanced myself from the field and knew, deep down, that whilst I loved being part of what was going on and that I did 'feel at home' I had already left 'home'. In order to maintain this distance I had to remind myself how frustrated I used to feel at the limited opportunities that were available within the racing industry. That said it was also difficult for me to reveal the 'secrets' of the racing field to the outsider; I felt I was questioning the doxic values I had once unconditionally accepted, as well as being disloyal to my former work colleagues. This made it difficult to write the thesis.

Fieldwork is something of a peculiar idea and in this study it is exactly that, work in fields (Okely, 2007) physically and contextually. For myself, the way I did the research most closely fits an existentialist methodology, where, in order to gain deep and insightful experience of the lives of others it is necessary to be an insider.

Observation, feelings and experiences can then be drawn upon as primary data. Proponents of existentialist sociology base their beliefs on the fact that people act on the basis of their situated moods and feelings which can be affected by rationality and emotions. Individuals themselves cannot escape the effects of the wider society in which they live and work which is itself pluralistic and complex, divided by power struggles which reflect back onto the individual. Most groups tend to have things that they do not want other groups to know about, especially non-members of that group, a fact that was brought home to me observing sections of the racing industry, and where one front is presented to outsiders, with another reserved for insiders (Adler and Adler, 1987). This was something that I was not aware of until one of my interviewees, Fred explained to me, during an interview how ‘racing folk can be very anti anyone new, who they don’t know, if they’re not racing’ (field notes, Newmarket, 12.08/08). What he was commenting on was the recent appointment by the BRS of a training manager whose role was to enrol stable staff onto a government backed training scheme called ‘Train to gain’. Although she had a racing background in Ireland, she was not known at all in the close-knit racing community of Newmarket and so the reception she received when going into yards was at best frosty, at worst hostile, almost aggressive. Fred, who, in the Newmarket racing field has the symbolic capital that would rival any film star, was appointed as her mentor and gatekeeper, after which going into yards was no longer a problem for her and staff were enrolled without any difficulty. This incident made me aware of the ‘closed’ nature of the racing field and the practices that reproduce this. Members of the field should not betray this trust once they are accepted. The practices of the racing field were both part of something I was part of and what I was researching, sociologically. They reproduced inequalities, particularly of class and gender, but these inequalities are totally taken for granted and not seen as inequalities by those within the field. Crossley (2001a) suggests for Bourdieu practice is

the result of various habitual schemas and dispositions (*habitus*), combined with resources (*capital*), being activated by certain

structured social conditions (field) which they, in turn, belong to and variously reproduce and modify (Crossley, 2001a: 96).

It was these practices which, I gradually came to realise, I wanted to explore. Bourdieu's notion of field is a metaphor for a social site where institutions and people engage in particular activities (Webb et al, 2002). As previously described, the field, as a site for particular narratives and forms of capital, can have the effect of lulling the researcher into a false sense of security, as the researcher is comfortable with the field and its capacity to 'reproduce and modify.' It is important then, to deploy what Bourdieu describes as a reflexive sociology. As an insider and member of the group being studied I found it, at times, very hard to change both my ingrained thought patterns on, for example, my position as a woman in a masculine field, the class relations that exist plus my practical habits. For me this is of particular relevance as it has meant checking personal presumptions, questioning assumed knowledge and taking into account personal circumstances. It also means being aware of how my own positioning influences the research.

On reflection this is something that has been particularly problematic, especially when thinking about the research questions. To be able to 'know' as an ethnographic researcher, I must maintain a position which balances my subjective immersion in the setting with a reflexive approach; it can be done by constantly questioning and redefining the practices that are being presented and accepted as fact by both indentured apprentices, modern apprentices and more importantly myself. As Okely (1992) notes, far more succinctly,

In its fullest sense, reflexivity forces us to think through the consequences of our relations with others, whether it be the conditions of reciprocity, asymmetry or potential exploitation. There

are choices to be made in the field, within relationships and in the final text (Okely, 1992:24).

I have had to choose whether and how to write up my experiences in the field whilst being constantly aware of the fact that, in doing so, I may be changing my relationship with yard members who are my friends as well as work colleagues. Part of me, also, feels aggrieved for being laid off by the trainer with less than a week's notice after working for nearly twelve months when I thought I had been very loyal to him. As mentioned earlier I had reduced my working hours at my other work place in order to work at the yard as a permanent member of the workforce. Difficulties such as this, along with the problems I have personally encountered through being a 'native', are some of the things I have had to weigh up and make choices about when writing up the data.

Thus, the ethnographer as a human instrument, 'is a most sensitive and perceptive data gathering tool' (Fetterman, 1998:31). For myself, as the sole human ethnographic instrument, 'the fabled but slightly oxymoronic participant observer' (Van Maanen, 1995:4) who lives or works with those who are studied for a considerable period of time, being 'a native' has created both advantages and disadvantages in carrying out the research. On balance, however, having a specific autobiography is one of the biggest advantages I could have had and enabled the thesis to become a reality.

My involvement in horseracing allowed me to observe stable staff in action both at the races and in the yard and to compare their experiences to my own biographical experience; I would therefore classify myself as an 'experienced insider.' As Wright Mills notes, 'you must learn to use your life experience in your intellectual work, continually to examine and interpret it' (Wright Mills, 1959:196) even if, as he suggests, 'an educator must begin with what interests the individual most deeply, even if it seems altogether trivial and cheap' (Wright Mills, 1959: 207). This last statement

has other very salient meanings. Throughout the research process, from its early beginnings as scribble on the back of an envelope, to submitting an application form, meeting supervisors for the first time, clearing the upgrade hurdle then on to final completion, I have been in a state of constant bemusement and surprise that anyone else should find the research remotely interesting and worthy of study.

Disadvantages of being a native

As an insider I have had to make myself aware that what I see is different from what someone who is an outsider would see and have tried to be reflexive when considering my representations of what I am observing. I have tried to be aware of Kirsten Hastrup's (1987) analogy, of fieldwork being like looking in a mirror, and seeing myself as well as others, where the researcher (myself), is both subject and object. The ethnographer is a third person character who is a stranger to herself and a friendly face to the locals; this was something that was very difficult to maintain as I struggled to think of myself as a stranger to the research setting as well as to the racing field itself. It was possibly made easier by the fact that I was a woman in a masculine field. Being a woman working in the racing field during the early 1980s I was, in some senses, an outsider because of the positioning of women within it. I constantly asked why do some women race ride, mainly as unpaid amateurs, for the love of it? Why are women seen as being less proficient than men and ridiculed when they ride, but described as being 'good with the horses' (field notes, 22/07/07). These are but a few of the practices I used to, and still do, question but I must admit that I was wrapped up in the doxic values of the field and, like others, saw the 'ladies races' as 'loose horse races'; this is a derogatory term I have accepted (and I myself have ridden in 'ladies races'). It relates to the widely held view that women are not strong enough and tough enough to ride, consequently the horses are in control, the women are but passengers, being taxied around the racecourse by the horses themselves. Reflecting back upon this points to the fact, that I, as a woman was an outsider as well as a native. Although I was in the racing field as part of the workforce I was excluded from certain activities through my sex, and lack of the accumulated cultural capital that was needed to

negotiate the masculine structures of the field. There is also a contradiction inherent here between class dynamics, labour hierarchy and economic capital. This stems from the fact that as a woman I also felt disgruntled, excluded and overlooked as many of the women who rode as unpaid amateurs did not, ironically work as 'lads', so did not always have the experience and expertise that would make them look 'professional' on a horse. Instead they had the economic capital that gave them the opportunity to race ride as a hobby without having to prove they were capable of this within the racing field.

It took me a while to realise why my supervisor would be rendered speechless when I was regaling her with my latest verbal instalment of 'hoofnotes', the fact that I was the 'old bird' the chauvinistic attitudes of many of the male staff as if this were common practice in most places of employment! This was one of the ways that I began to be aware that the working practices and employment relations that I took for granted were in fact quite arbitrary, and in some cases could be deemed as sexual harassment. I used to answer her with a shrug saying, 'that's the way it is, you learn to deal with it' (field notes, 12/05/08). It also made me aware of the problem of being too close to the data and the research itself so I have tried very hard to make the implicit explicit and to question everything; this has been tiring and at times annoying. It has meant that I have to reveal a world with which I am totally familiar and, that I know and is my escape from the vicissitudes of life.

My racing habitus has, therefore, meant that I tend to accept what happens in the racing field as being essentially that – 'the way things are'. While conducting participant observation at the BRS, I worried that I was missing things; the trainees were learning within a specific community of practice and it was practice I was familiar with. It was only after having a conversation with Monica, the Hungarian vet who was over from the Hungarian National Stud for a week, to initially translate for the Hungarian trainees, that I suddenly began to see things through the eyes of an

outsider which she was, rather than seeing through mine, as an insider. Her trainees were absorbing the cultural practices of the racing industry which are reproduced at the BRS. They knew they had to be polite, deferential and courteous to those superior to them and that they had to work hard and be like 'soldiers' (see chapter seven) which is how she described them. This made me question whether what I saw, interpreted and constructed was really what was happening? What I saw was trainees beavering away, being disciplined, working hard, slightly anxious, just getting on and riding, even those who had never ridden before, toughing it out, being strong, being stoical, and embodying all those practices that are needed if you are to survive in racing, especially if you are a woman. Whilst we both saw the same actions her observations were very different from mine. She thought it was hard on them, quite sad, the way they had to work so hard and it made me think, 'where does one person's world end and another begin?' I accepted what I saw as normal working practices for the racing field and found myself saying, 'well, this just prepares them for what's to come, in the real (racing) world'. This made me realise that I needed to be extra vigilant about the routines and procedures I observed, always questioning my assumptions, putting myself in Monica's shoes as an outsider to the racing field. This was very hard and at times, demoralising as I felt that I might be far too close to the fieldwork I had so far completed.

This was also brought home to me when interviewing the older women as they, like me, saw working in racing as vocational, not that well paid but something you did for the love of it. We had accepted that there was a limited career path, especially for a woman. This closeness to the data, as well as raising issues of reflexivity, also raised ethical issues. However, attitudes seem to be changing as the younger female apprentice jockey I interviewed saw working in racing as a short term career which you could do for a few years then go and get a better, well paid job or go to college as the career trajectory for the racing industry is very limited. She realised that as a woman being a jockey was a very difficult career to earn a living from but there were other avenues open to her outside of racing.

Analysis of the data

In order to analyse the data I drew upon the key themes which I had used to frame my semi-structured interview schedules. I used my four research questions when drawing up the interview schedules, especially those relating to learning and the changing nature of work. These two themes are also important in exploring how a habitus is formed through an individual internalising the attitudes and dispositions of a specific field. In turn, they play an integral part in how work routines, authority relations and production processes are taken in through practice.

I initially listened to all the recordings for each group of interviewees whilst reading the transcripts making brief notes of any common topics that were mentioned. For the indentured apprentices size, weight, experience with horses, the unregulated working and living conditions were often talked about, as well as deference and a seemingly unconscious belief that being an indentured apprentice was about survival and making your own fun living and working within an almost closed community. The transcripts were read through again and colour coded according to the topic.

A similar process was used for all the interviews and after listening to and reading the transcripts of interviews with the modern apprentices where they described their lack of privacy, personal space and the 'encompassing tendencies' (Goffman, 1991:15) of living in the BRS hostel I began to realise that, the lives of the indentured and modern apprentices followed a similar pattern, something I had not considered when carrying out the interviews.

When analysing the interviews with stable 'lads' who, unusually, were predominantly women the emphasis on working hard to be accepted in a male-dominated

environment, their explicit love of the horses they were looking after and the resilience they displayed emerged as key themes.

My field notes were recorded in separate notebooks, one for the BRS and one for Conborough. I was quite familiar with both sets as I would often read them through to remind myself of what had been said, by whom and when as a way of reassuring myself that I was recording data that would be useful. When it came time to assimilate the data into some form of coherent whole within the chapters the field notes or 'hoof notes' as I liked to think of them provided ethnographic data for the different sections and themes within the empirical chapters.

Ethical issues

Ethical issues are often thought to arise predominantly with research designs that use qualitative methods of data collection due to the closer relationships between the researcher and the researched (Blaxter et al, 2002:158). All research participants were assured of confidentiality and as a researcher I have adhered to the ethical guidelines set out by the BSA (www.britsoc.org.uk/about/ethic.htm).

Nevertheless, one of my main ethical concerns arose from being an 'insider' within a research setting where I was also a friend, colleague and part of the *esprit de corps* in the yard. Although I was quite open about what I was doing and why I was disappearing off interviewing former indentured apprentices and trainees, I was very aware of the delicate balance that exists between being open and transparent and of betraying other people's trust. As already mentioned I told the other members of staff at the yard what my research was about and why I wanted to interview them, although my academic world was something quite different from their busy racing world and I am unsure how much they absorbed about what I was doing. Moreover being part of the team meant that I was often party to new developments and changes and, in a

similar way to Lawrence Hennigh (1981) I was able to use myself as a key informant, albeit a reluctant one. I realise that I was in a privileged position of being able to do the research at all, having the access that I had and the necessary skills to be able to fully participate in the research setting. This power quite often made me uncomfortable with what I was doing in the field and may explain why I did not want to 'share' my racing world, as it seemed like a betrayal of people whom I have worked with and who are my friends. Nevertheless I tempered these feelings with the hope that a few more people might know a little more about '... the stable lads themselves, the drones in the beehive, toiling away for little recognition or reward' (Gallier, 1988:32).

I am aware that there are problems of confidentiality and that it is possible to work out where the research has been based and who some of the people involved might be. It could be said that doing an ethnographic study puts the researched group into a compromising position in that their daily lives are exposed over a long period of time, but names and places have been changed, so anonymity enables them to deny their involvement with the research.

There were also some benefits to the yard of my being a PhD student. For instance, through my visits to different yards to see trainees and through talking to and observing them I gained valuable insights into the practices and routines followed elsewhere. These were then relayed back when riding out as we discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the working patterns at Conborough and how these could be improved. My knowledge of the BRS and the modern apprenticeship also meant I became the yard 'expert' in matters related to training staff and the procedures that needed to be followed if a trainee was to be employed.

Discussion

The initial idea for this thesis drew upon my autobiography which, in turn, made gaining access, and carrying out the data collection a relatively straightforward operation. However not all of the data collection processes have been that simple as being a 'native insider' within the racing field has meant that many of the practices that I felt were unfair I nevertheless accepted as the way things were, and they had become part of my doxic values. I have had to work hard in order to be able to see these formerly implicit parts of racing's structure as explicit and problematic.

As an ethnographic study the methods used have been those most commonly employed in such research: ethnographic interviews, participant observation and field notes. Each method has its merits and weaknesses but together they help to provide a rich seam of data that can be drawn on and framed by the conceptual framework to produce the four data chapters.

As the fieldwork progressed I realised, albeit slowly, that the research questions themselves needed some fine tuning in order for me to focus more on those areas that I had previously accepted as the natural order of things. I was a working research instrument myself and I initially felt I could answer the research questions before starting the research; the answers implicitly were what I had absorbed as a teenager and later on, when working in the industry. As to me this knowledge was implicit and unremarkable I was missing the fact that attitudes and dispositions such as these need to come from somewhere. They are not culturally and historically separate but are shaped by the power relations which shape practices and relations within the racing field. It was when re-reading my field notes, especially those taken at the BRS when Monica, the Hungarian vet, reflected on the way in which the trainees were treated, that I began to feel the research questions needed some revision. I was looking at habitus and field without realising it. I was observing how the trainees' habitus was developing and I had just accepted it. It was especially after writing the data chapters that it became clear, that I had been questioning whether the learning process was

about developing a gendered racing habitus as well as learning by ‘doing’, although I was not explicitly aware of it at the time. I had written it in my fieldnotes taken at the BRS as a question to reflect upon but had found it difficult to separate the wood from the trees, as at that time I was too far into the wood itself to extricate myself. I was aware however that the topics and issues I had based my research questions around were changing, particularly in relation to gender. I realised that I was also exploring how habitus was gendered and the experience of women in racing. My research questions were therefore changed to reflect the areas that seemed more relevant to the research. They are,

1. How has the learning experience of apprenticeship changed?
2. How has the nature of work in the racing industry changed with the shift from indentured apprenticeship to modern apprenticeship?
3. How is a racing habitus formed and embodied?
4. Can women embody a racing habitus which is gendered masculine?

In what follows I explore these particular questions through an analysis of my data. The following chapter sets the research in context. It focuses on the meta-racing field, tracing its path from the mid-eighteenth to the twenty first century. It draws upon notions of class, gender and power to highlight the way racing has been structured by The Jockey Club which, until 2007, governed British racing and explored the changes and contradictions that structure the racing field.

Chapter Three

Changing class and gender relations in the horseracing industry

Introduction

Horseracing is said to be one of the oldest sports in the world with a known history in the West of over 3000 years (Mangan, 1999). It was a popular pastime with the Greeks and Romans, and in China too during the Han Dynasty (206BC – 220AD). It is known as the ‘Sport of Kings’ but, as will be shown within this chapter, was, and still is, a sport of all classes. This chapter provides a historical and contemporary account of the horseracing industry in order to show how class and gender relations have shaped it and how they have changed in the two centuries since the formation of the Jockey Club. It culminates in a description of the contemporary workforce and how it is structured by class, race and gender.

Developing the racing field

This chapter is divided into three and draws upon social historical texts, and accounts of flat racing in the early twentieth century written by ‘accepted authorities’ (Bland, 1950: xii). More contemporary sources include recent British Horseracing Authority (BHA) reports and data collected at Conborough, the yard where the ethnographic study was carried out. All three sections are about contradiction and change, all elaborate and illuminate how the racing field is structured from a macro to a micro level by class, gender and ‘race’; this latter has become more apparent with an increasing reliance on migrant labour. I start by highlighting the influential role the Jockey Club played in the classed and gendered power relations structuring the racing field and how they have changed historically. Tracing the rise of the Jockey Club, racing’s governing body for the last 250 years, I look at how its influence spread

through its development and enforcement of the rules and regulations of racing and predicated on the claims of inherited rank, status and title (Huggins, 2003). The power of the Jockey Club lasted until 2007 after which the British Horseracing Authority took on the mantle of governance and regulation.

The second section describes the processes whereby young working-class men could potentially achieve fame and success through being a jockey, illustrating at a micro-level the relations of power and class inherent within the racing field. It shows how the physical capital of working-class men could be exchanged for social and symbolic, and to a small extent, cultural capital, a process seen by some as unsettling and intrusive, challenging class divides. I discuss the struggle women had in order to gain recognition in the racing field other than as social members. Looking at class and gender, I illustrate how difficult it was for the 'advance guard' to bring about any changes. These were, first, the aristocratic and upper middle-class women who successfully challenged the Jockey Club in the fight to become legitimate players on the racing field, and second, working-class women in their struggle to be treated equally and fairly as part of racing's workforce.

The third section describes the individuals who, as a collective body, form the backbone of the racing industry, namely the staff that work in racing yards, racing's most important resource, without whom the racehorse could not get onto the racecourse to race. In this section I discuss the various parties who must be involved for this process to happen, from the owner to the jockey to the stable staff, and how each is reliant on the other if the racing industry is to continue. It illustrates how the hierarchy prevalent within the racing field is reproduced within the narrower confines of a racing yard and highlights how this has changed.

The rise and fall of the Jockey Club

I begin by describing the history and role of what was, until recently, the main governing body for racing, the Jockey Club. I examine how and why they were so influential in shaping the lives of what Rebecca Cassidy refers to as ‘racing society’ ... ‘trainers, owners, breeders, bloodstock agents, racing administrators, stallion men, lads, farriers, stud-workers and work-riders who contribute to the production of racing as a sport, industry and betting medium...’(Cassidy, 2002:vi).

The Jockey Club was established around 1750, in Newmarket. There has been an association of Newmarket with horseracing from the fourteenth century with Richard II its first royal patron. In the seventeenth century, Charles II conducted his court from Newmarket during autumn race meetings which consisted predominantly of match⁶ races between the King and members of his court (Rickman, 1950). After the death of Charles II members of the aristocracy and the land owning gentry kept racing alive in Newmarket although, as yet, there was little regulation of the sport. Any disputes could be settled between themselves. It would appear that, in Newmarket, aristocratic and upper class attendance together with royal association led to the formation of a particularly select, self-selected, aristocratic, private club, the Jockey Club, in or before 1752 (Huggins, 2000). Members of the Jockey Club developed their entitlement to power and their collective identity by exclusion, based on class and gender. They were ‘qualified for the job’ by being members of a cultural field whose core values and discourses were embedded within their habitus and were seen as being legitimate and taken for granted as the natural order of things. These ‘doxic attitudes’ would shape the structure, governance and control of racing until 2007.

Originally it is thought that the Jockey Club was not formed to create a ‘prescribed, constituted authority’ to govern racing (Bland, 1950:19). It was more to ensure an

⁶ Race between two horses only which would be run in heats with a final deciding the overall winner.

exclusive meeting place for male aristocratic racehorse owners and those of their class. The Jockey Club gradually became the owner of much of Newmarket Heath which meant that their control over racing and training grew. This was due to the fact that trainers were required to hold a licence, issued by the Jockey Club, to train on the Heath. In 1862 the power of the Jockey Club began to grow through gaining the legal right to 'warn off', that is stop individuals using their property and land in Newmarket if they were deemed by the Jockey Club to be bringing racing into disrepute. If this happened it effectively ended any professional involvement the individual may have had with racing. Such a precedent still exists and can be used today.

Change and contradiction

There had been some form of administration governing the conduct of racing before the Jockey Club existed, but the first effective move to extend the Club's power beyond Newmarket came in 1870, when new rules were introduced and an attempt was made to make sure most of the major racecourses recognised by the Jockey Club would apply them (Vamplew, 1976, Huggins, 2000). This had the effect of disqualifying any horse running at an unrecognised race meeting not governed by Jockey Club rules (Bland, 1950). With the re-casting of the rules in 1890, the Jockey Club achieved complete control of the sport and a new period of racing could be said to have begun (Bland, 1950).

The Jockey Club was, during the mid-nineteenth century, no different from many of the other administrative sporting bodies which were closed, self-perpetuating, aristocratic cliques. Nevertheless it was a man's – and it was all men – social position, not his administrative ability and financial acumen, that determined election to the Jockey Club at the close of the nineteenth century. A wealthy industrialist, after having failed in his second bid to become a member is reputed to have declared that 'to become a member of the Jockey Club you have to be a relative of God – and a close one at that!' (Vamplew, 1976: 130). Thus, new owners, keen to be seen as part

of the racing field could come onto the turf but not be part of the Club (Mortimer, 1958).

In other sports class distinctions were beginning to be less fixed but class could still be used as a means of exclusion. Organisers of sports such as rugby, athletics, cricket, football and golf saw a need to maintain the moral tone and social exclusiveness of their sport, yet there was a reluctance to erect open and explicit social barriers to achieve this. Social divisions remained, although these were at club rather than national level. The middle classes were quite anxious to distance themselves from those working-class players who chose the same forms of exercise as they did and the distinction between professional and amateur became a significant means of excluding the working class from high level competitive fields (Holt, 1992).

The sporting field is, according to Bourdieu (1978), linked to a political philosophy of sport where the concept of amateurism is one element of an aristocratic philosophy of sport as a disinterested practice, a finality without end, a will to win but within the rules. The wider meaning of an amateur described a gentlemen of the upper and middle classes who played sports such as athletics, rowing or cricket which may also have been enjoyed by other classes (Holt, 1992). The distinction between the positions of amateur and professional was therefore originally based on social position; to be an amateur implied class status, affirming courage, will power and a public school education. At the same time, there was no dishonour in making money out of sport as a profession, a situation which was to change as class distinctions were made more overt between the two types of sports 'men'. At a social level Bourdieu (1978) sees the field of sporting practices as a site of struggles where what is at stake is the capacity to impose a definition of the legitimate function of sporting activity, what he refers to as 'the legitimate body and the legitimate use of the body' (Bourdieu, 1978:826). I would argue this can be applied to the distinction between amateurism and professionalism. 'The legitimate body' (the amateur) has no exchange value and

competes because 'he' wants to, has the time and the economic and social capital to do so. The professional, whose 'legitimate use of the body' becomes commodified, has labour power to sell which has an exchange value; 'he' is competing but not as a disinterested player. On the contrary, he needs to win as it is 'his' livelihood and success brings economic rewards. This is counterposed to 'fair play, conceived as an aristocratic disposition utterly opposed to the plebeian pursuit [of winning] at all costs' (Bourdieu, 1978:825). This can be illustrated within the racing field, where it is possible to trace the link between the amateur and economic, social and cultural capital. For instance, racing officials, usually male, and known as 'honorary stewards', who monitored the running of races and the conduct of jockeys at race meetings, used to be either ex-army officers, members of the aristocracy, or from upper-class backgrounds, and gave their time for free. They received little training in applying the 'Rules of Racing'; their class background plus their social and cultural capital were seen as sufficient, and money did not change hands. The difference between amateur and professional jockeys is also a class difference in that it has historically been linked to two different codes of racing; flat and National Hunt (NH) racing. National Hunt racing, where horses jump steeplechase fences and hurdles, has very close ties with fox hunting, once an exclusively upper-class pastime. It suited the heavier (over 11 stone) gentleman amateur who had the time and the money to spend hunting and National Hunt race riding, often owning the horses they rode. However, the weights flat horses were required to carry were lower (7 to 9 stone) than in National Hunt racing. This meant that small and light working-class men who, unlike their aristocratic counterparts, had the physical capital to exchange, had the opportunity to become successful professional jockeys, paid by their upper class-patrons. Although class distinctions were adhered to, the crossing of class boundaries by jockeys caused considerable unease for some of the upper-class patrons of racing, as will be described later in the chapter. The class distinction between the amateur and professional jockey is not as marked as it once was although racing still has its share of wealthy amateurs who race ride for fun, as the rider of the 2011 Grand National and Cheltenham Gold Cup illustrates. As will be shown in chapter five, women tend to ride as amateurs rather than professionals due in part to the doxic values of the racing

field rather than their having the right sort of capitals to do so and this suggests that the amateur – professional distinction may now be gendered and well as classed.

By the late nineteenth century many of the newly formed sporting bodies were made up of upper and middle-class amateurs to whom professionalism was acceptable provided the professionals, who had to play or ride for money, knew their place. An indication of this change is given by the fact that the proportion of title holding members of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) halved in ten years, from 14.7% in 1877 to 6.4% in 1887; at the same time membership rose from 650 in 1863 to over 5,000 in the mid-1880s. Instead of remaining a private club for cricketing aristocrats, Lord's (The MCC's cricket ground) became a sporting and social institution of great importance for all social classes. It would appear that the ex-public schoolboys who formed the new administration wished to create a more open elite rather than one dominated by patronage alone, and it is during this period that the administrative history of sports reflects the wider history of British institutions where there was a widening of opportunity for professional and industrial elites (Holt, 1992).

Nevertheless the Jockey Club described quite aptly by Holt (1992) as a 'fiercely noble preserve' (Holt, 1992:112) would remain exclusively aristocratic until well into the twentieth century.

During the early part of the twentieth century the Jockey Club continued its omnipotent rule over racing whose governance at the time was described as being 'not particularly eventful or progressive in a popular sense' (Rickman,1950:220). The racing and the thoroughbred breeding industry are inextricably linked; a fact recognised by the government during the 1914-1918 war and of some importance for the history of the Jockey Club. Although there was a ban on any race meetings between 1915 and 1918 racing continued in Newmarket as the government recognised 'the national importance of horse breeding', which, in order for it to be maintained, required 'a limited amount of racing' (president of the board of trade, 1918 cited in Rickman, 1950). Despite the Government's recognition of the importance of racing and thoroughbred horse breeding however, there was little financial investment in

racing. As long as racecourse proprietors complied with the rules and regulations of the Jockey Club, the comfort and convenience of the race going public was left to the individual racecourses themselves to take care of. This meant that facilities were usually of a very poor standard. Any money racecourses generated through entry charges to a race meeting was used to bolster the low levels of prize money received by owners of winning horses, so the lack of investment in racecourse facilities continued.

Although after the First World War the need for racecourse amalgamation and investment was seen as a key issue by more progressive members of the Jockey Club, the Club as a body did nothing to try and encourage racecourses owners to make racing more attractive. It was not until 1943 that a Jockey Club appointed committee, the Racing Reorganisation Committee (RRC), outlined five key areas that needed addressing if racing was to maintain its present audience, attract new race goers and improve the finances of the racing industry. The Jockey Club, however, acted on very few of the recommendations. One that did reach fruition was the suggestion that Jockey Club members and racehorse owners would benefit from closer contact, and this led to the formation of the Racehorse Owners Association (ROA) in 1945. Accepted by some, there were others who found this uncomfortable to deal with:

the Association has always been looked at a little askance by some members of the Club, perhaps because the necessity of its existence is all too lively a reminder that ownership now spreads far beyond the original magic circle (Hill, 1988:143).

In the interwar years the Jockey Club could be described as a general racing autocracy that, while very unrepresentative, was looked up to socially. They invested their own money in racing rather than looking for more commercially funded sources of revenue. Members provided their services without fee and it was thought best that

things were left as they were. Still relying heavily on the persistence of deference amongst other social groups and on hierarchical claims of status and birth, the unrepresentative nature of the Jockey Club was challenged in *The Times*, which called for a more representative body of owners, breeders, trainers, course executives, press and bookmakers to be formed, running alongside the Jockey Club; this suggestion received little or no support (Huggins, 2003). That the Jockey Club and its stewards, who set and enforced rules and regulations, were a powerful ruling body was unquestionable. They had the power to settle racing disputes, as well as licences, all without explanation. Disciplinary meetings that involved jockeys who had committed race riding offences were held in secret, and continued to be, until very recently. The Jockey Club represented power and status and change, when it happened, was set by the pace of its slower, more conservative members.

The Jockey Club was still very exclusive and autocratic by nature with a membership hovering around fifty during the late 1940s and 50s. Women were excluded and would not be accepted as members until 1977. The only exception was the Queen who was one of the six honorary members at this time. Class and status were of prime importance during this period and worked against any plans for modernisation that were put forward. Thus the suggestion that training fees should be standardised was met with scorn and likened by Lord Roseberry (a member of the Jockey Club) to 'telling a man what he should pay his butler' (Hill, 1988:150). The position held by the Jockey Club was anachronistic. On the one hand they were the administrative and disciplinary authority for racing, respected globally, yet on the other hand they were an exclusive social club where membership was controlled through class, rank and status. As Rickman, a racing journalist observed in the 1950s:

Notwithstanding the enormous development of horseracing since the Club was formed ... and the sweeping advance of democratic thought, the Jockey Club remains no less exclusive than when it began. From that day, its members have jealously ensured that their successors shall be of their own social pattern, most discriminately

selected from owners and breeders of thoroughbreds and the sons or relatives of past members (Rickman, 1950:18).

This exclusivity of class and gender had remained untouched since the formation of the Jockey Club in the 18th century, a period of 200 years, but change began to occur in the second half of the 20th century. It was during this period that the Jockey Club as an institution came under fire for being out of touch and old fashioned. The criticism came not from the mass of ordinary racegoers but from members of the press. As Christopher Hill (1988), a racing historian, noted,

Suddenly ... the press room was full of Old Etonians whose shared class background, coupled with enough money to tide them over if an aggrieved member of the Jockey Club tried to get them dismissed by their editors, meant they could treat the Club on equal terms (Hill,1988:146).

The racing press were prepared to contradict and challenge those who shared their level of cultural, social and, in some cases, economic capital. All very much part of the same cultural field, they saw the doxic values as questionable which the Jockey Club regarded as inherently true and necessary. The challenging attitude of the press resulted in change because the Jockey Club took notice of them in the same way that they did of others holding the same social capital and class as themselves. The influence of certain members of the press cannot be quantified but being part of the same social field meant that their opinions were more readily accepted. This, in turn, helped to slowly and steadily bring about changes in the attitudes of some of the more progressive members of the Jockey Club.

The working class as racegoers

Although the governance and control of racing was regulated both internally and externally by a particular class, it was the working classes who were the greatest patrons of the races during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Even when racecourses were enclosed towards the end of the nineteenth century and admission charges had to be paid attendance barely dropped. After the First World War, when racing resumed, racecourses were strained by the large crowds, and the activities of race going thieves, pick pockets and gangsters became a national scandal. Members of the Jockey Club saw little of what was going on and were slow to believe what they heard about it. At the same time ordinary racegoers were beginning to realise that they no longer needed to accept the poor conditions on offer to them at racecourses. There were other growing leisure pursuits that they could take up. During the 1920s greyhound racing, run in the evening when the work force was free to attend, became popular, and when Totalisator betting facilities were introduced attendance and betting turnover at the greyhound tracks rose to the detriment of horseracing. During the inter-war years it has been estimated that betting was probably only exceeded by cinema going as the leading leisure spending activity of the working classes (Huggins, 2003). Although betting on the racecourse or having a credit betting account were legal, by the thirties it was widely accepted that the prohibition of cash betting and street bookmakers, which had been introduced in the mid-nineteenth century, was unworkable. An internal Jockey Club report chaired by Lord Ilchester in 1943 showed how the racing industry was struggling financially and needed to find a solution to its woes. Racing did not benefit directly from betting where betting was with bookmakers, who made their profit by offering carefully chosen odds on each horse. This was a situation that was soon to change, but in a way that would challenge and weaken the material basis of class control that the Jockey Club had over racing.

Financial challenges to racing

By the 1950s racing was in a parlous state financially. It was uneconomic and unviable at many levels and was, in many instances, being maintained by those willing to give of their time, effort and money (Huggins, 2003). Each race meeting generated little in the way of income, and the racing authorities, notably the Jockey Club, had their own stands and facilities at major race meetings which gave them little sense or knowledge of the poor facilities available to the paying public. The financial situation of racing led to the Jockey Club, the bookmakers and the government drawing up new regulations concerning the betting industry. The licensed bookmakers who traded at the racecourse were calling for the legalisation of all bookmakers, and especially the illegal, off-course betting shops. Pressure from bookmakers led to the Betting and Gaming Act, 1960, not, for the benefit and modernisation of racing, but to try and stem the corruption that was associated with illegal bookmaking (Hill, 1988). The Act had the effect of making betting shops legal in the high street. The government meanwhile compensated racecourses for an expected fall in attendance at race meetings by the creation, in 1961, of the Horserace Betting Levy Board (HBLB), through the introduction of the Betting Levy Act 1961 (Vamplew, 1976; HBLB, 2011). A non-departmental public body, the HBLB operates in accordance with the provisions of the Betting, Gaming and Lotteries Act 1963 (as amended) to collect a statutory levy from the horseracing business of bookmakers and The Racecourse Betting Control Board (the Tote) which it distributes. It uses the funds to promote technical services, modernise racecourses, advance veterinary science and education, support the breeding of native horses and contribute to prize money (HBLB, 2011). The Levy Board, as it is known, provided a financial prop for racing, rescuing many racecourses from insolvency as well as acquiring and managing racecourses itself.

The Jockey Club had stressed for several years prior to this that bookmakers should contribute financially to the racing industry and made it clear that if there had been no

interest in a levy being introduced on bookmakers then Jockey Club members, who were also members of the House of Lords, would have opposed this lack of interest by continuing to raise the issue of a levy with government. The growing financial involvement of the Levy Board in racing, however, had the effect of weakening the dominance of the Jockey Club.

The Horserace Betting Levy Board (HBLB) and the Jockey Club

The first chairman (sic) of the HBLB, Lord Harding (a former army officer) had the cultural and social capital that meant he ‘spoke the same language’ (Hill, 1988:79) as the members of the Jockey Club. The power and financial control of racing was now split between the HBLB and the Jockey Club and, once the Club had accepted that the HBLB was not simply a collecting agency for themselves, the process was quite straightforward.

The exclusive nature of the Jockey Club, however, was challenged by a man ‘who was quintessentially not one of themselves, Lord Wigg’ (Hill, 1988:98). This class distinction has resonances with what Liddle and Michielsens refer to as ‘not quite our class’ (Liddle and Michielsens, 2007). From a working-class background Wigg became a Labour Member of Parliament before accepting the position, in 1967, of the second ‘chairman’ of the HBLB. Whilst he had risen to the rank of colonel in the army it is said that he ‘disliked the officer class’ and what it represented (Hill, 1988). He was never able to accept the Jockey Club as a ruling body, and thought that it was morally wrong for racing to be run by a private club. His clashes with the Jockey Club can be explained in terms of the power and class differences that existed between the Jockey Club and the HBLB. He compared the Jockey Club to a

well kept veteran motor car, interesting for use on the occasional drive if you have infinite time and patience and willingness to judge the article by its original quality and value (Hill,1988:108),

and thought that the Jockey Club saw the role of the HBLB in terms of, 'the plebeian task of collecting the money. Theirs [The Jockey Club's] is the aristocratic task of spending it' (Hill, 1988:109). The overlap in decision-making powers between the two bodies, coupled with their differences in terms of class, led to conflict, and it was not until the mid 1960s that the Jockey Club began to accept the fact that it needed to modernise its structure. At that time evidence provided in a series of internal reviews stressed the need to widen its membership base. The Benson Report (1968) identified how low prize money was affecting the racing industry overall although contributions received from the HBLB provided much needed financial support. The report suggested that a new authority should be set up which would introduce sweeping changes to the way racing was administered with the Jockey Club retaining overall control. No progress was made towards the establishment of the proposed new authority. However, the organisation of the Jockey Club, its public relations and financial viability came under intense scrutiny a few years later when, in 1972, an independent management consultancy firm highlighted how it was increasingly having to share decision making with the HBLB, as well as having to consult with professional associations, such as the Racehorse Owners Association.

One of the outcomes of the Benson report was that in 1973, at the request of the Joint Racing Board (JRB), a Jockey Club committee, the Committee of Inquiry into the Manpower of the Racing Industry (CIMRI), was set up to investigate the 'manpower' of the racing industry and report back to the JRB. At the same time there was a steady drift of labour away from racing as wages paid by trainers and racehorse breeders were lower than those paid to agricultural workers. The composition of the JRB shows that the Jockey Club now had to share power; it had two co-chairmen, one from the Jockey Club and one from the HBLB. The 'manpower' committee (CIMRI) appointed by the

JRB was made up of four male, Jockey Club members with a male committee secretary plus two female secretaries 'who handled the immense amount of secretarial work so ably' (JRB, 1974:i). The work of the JRB is elaborated upon in more detail later in the chapter.

In 1991 a Home Affairs select committee recommended that racing, until then under the control of the Jockey Club, should be run more commercially. Consequently in 1993, the British Horseracing Board (BHB) was formed to undertake strategic planning, finance, fixtures, training and education, public relations, negotiating the levy contribution from bookmakers and marketing. Unlike the powerless internal Jockey Club committees that preceded it, the BHB was able to take on responsibility for the future direction of racing. Of its eleven male upper and middle-class members, four were from the Jockey Club, two from the Racecourse Association, two from the Racehorse Owners Association and three from the Horseracing Advisory Committee. The Jockey Club retained its mandate as the regulatory body and was in charge of discipline, licensing and security and training facilities in Newmarket. It was still responsible for formulating rules and reinforcing and administering punishment when needed. Some power had shifted towards a more representative body although it was not until 2007 that, after over 250 years in power, the Jockey Club handed over its responsibilities as regulator to a new organisation known as the British Horseracing Authority (BHA), which currently combines all the roles that the BHB and the Jockey Club once had. The board and executive of the BHA comprises of eight directors, and five executives, two of whom are women; only one is a member of the Jockey Club. The Jockey Club still exists as a private club but it is a 'more commercially focused organization, operating with a corporate structure to oversee and co-ordinate the group's enterprises' (The Jockey Club, 2011). In 2009 there were 150 members of the Jockey Club which retains its male-dominated aristocratic emphasis. Twenty are honorary members with eight of these either British royals or sheikhs. Of the remaining 130, 110 (85%) are men and 20 (15%) are women.

It must be asked then, are these new bodies different in terms of class, gender and power? The answer is not a straightforward one. Although the power of the Jockey Club as a regulatory body has been taken away, its members, who are still mainly male, continue to come from the aristocracy or the upper classes. There has been a shift in power towards the BHA whose board and executive are also mainly men but differ in terms of class; they tend to be the wealthy industrialists who at the close of the nineteenth century were unable to become members of racing's ruling elite. Putting this in context then, the balance of power has changed in class terms. Board members of the BHA have been elected for their administrative ability and financial acumen rather than social position and women are a little more visible in positions of power than previously. But, when one looks at the Jockey Club, its stewards and directors, those who are at the helm, making the decisions, are still all men.

This discussion has illustrated the influential part class control played in shaping and reinforcing the attitudes and values that were and are still, to a certain extent, prevalent in the racing field. I have highlighted the part racing played in reinforcing the social norms and values of society and how attitudes were slow to change but eventually had to change for racing to continue. The Jockey Club saw little, if any, reason during the mid-twentieth century to take in members from a 'wider social field', yet this was one of the suggestions put forward by more progressive members to try and bring it more in tune with changing cultural and societal values (Rickman, 1950:30). The Jockey Club, however, did not remain the only player in the racing field. They were joined, in 1961 by the HBLB who provided racing with the financial means to survive through the implementation of a levy on bookmaker's turnover (Vamplew, 1976). The entrance of the HBLB had the effect of weakening the power and dominance of the Jockey Club, as the HBLB were able to use their financial patronage to influence decisions regarding the allocation of prize money, the improvement of safety measures and the reorganisation of the fixture list. The Jockey Club retained their traditional role of regulating racing through the issuing of licences, rules and disciplinary procedures (Vamplew, 1976, Hill, 1988). The class dimensions of the racing field

were changing through the shift in power to non-Jockey Club members; the gendered dimensions however did not change. In 1993 the power of the Jockey Club to govern, manage and control was weakened further with the formation of the BHB whose role was to ‘strive to maintain significant improvements to the finances of the flat and jump horseracing, as an important spectator sport, leisure industry and betting medium...’ (British Horseracing Board Annual Report, 1993:1).

The Jockey Club no longer holds any regulatory power or control but still exists as an exclusive, male-dominated private club whose members’ main interests are racing. They also own and manage, through subsidiary companies, fourteen racecourses and 4,500 acres of land, as well as residential and commercial buildings mainly in and around Newmarket. They have recently taken over the management of the National Stud in Newmarket and are guarantors for the racing charity, Racing Welfare, that provides pastoral care and financial support for stable staff (see chapter two).

So far, most of what has been discussed has involved groups and individuals whose habitus has developed through being part of a specific cultural field, racing. Some have capital in abundance through status, position, class and birthright which, in turn has given them an easy passage into a racing field where they become as one with their surroundings and the attitudes and values that are held within it. For others their entry has been dependent on accumulating capital and power that has a specific exchangeable value and worth. The fact that these individuals are from a different social stratum is not ignored, but what they bring with them is of practical use. Whether the individual in question can engage strategically in the cultural field, that is the racing field, depends on how well they can ‘play the game’ and their ability to pick up on the discourses of the racing field. Where, then, does this leave women and working-class men who hitherto have had very little mention? The focus so far has been the changing class control of racing. I now look at the individuals and groups,

who, whilst not in positions of power, challenged those who were, and who themselves were subject to changes implemented within the field of racing.

Class, gender and horseracing

I begin by looking at the working-class men who provided the racing industry with many of its jockeys. I move on to highlight the struggle upper and middle-class women had with the Jockey Club in their fight to be included as legitimate members of the racing field as racehorse trainers. These 'suitable women' (Ramsden, 1973), as classified by the Jockey Club, were joined a decade later by women jockeys and working-class women whose entry into the racing field in the late 1960s as part of the workforce is described in more detail later in this section.

Working-class jockeys and the racing field

The social status of the jockey is one that has changed over the centuries (Huggins, 2000). During the seventeenth century jockeys were usually the aristocratic owners of horses with some riding grooms being employed to race ride. During the late eighteenth and nineteenth century the occupation of jockey began to change to a more professional one whereby an individual would be paid a fee to ride a horse for a particular owner. These working-class men were still seen by the upper-classes as servants, although well paid ones, wearing their employer's livery when race-riding. Riding fees paid to jockeys were low but the more successful riders were able to supplement their income through presents and retainers given to them by their upper-class patrons. As Vamplew (1976) illustrates:

an ordinary jockey, if these extraordinary characters can ever be so termed, could earn at least £1,000 a year. At this time typical earnings of other skilled workers ranged from thirty five shillings a week to a high of about a pound a day, the latter being obtained, for

example, by iron puddlers sweating their way through a gruelling twelve hour shift (Vamplew, 1976:146).

A successful working-class jockey could acquire economic capital but, as will be highlighted, cultural and social capital were harder to obtain as jockeys were seen by some within the racing field as 'NQOC' (Liddle and Michielsens, 2007).

As racing became more commercialised and prize money rose in the early twentieth century there was a far greater premium to be gained from winning a race, and securing the talents of a top jockey could make the difference between winning and losing. This had the effect of increasing the demand for the services of top class jockeys and since this supply was limited, there were high financial rewards to be had for successful jockeys. Becoming a successful jockey was a step up the class and status hierarchy for working-class indentured apprentices. This does not mean to say that this intrusion of 'uneducated and promoted stable lads' (Runciman, 1889) was seen as compatible with the social order of this period. Rather, there was moral indignation about this 'school of skinny dwarfs whose leaders are paid better than the greatest statesmen in Europe' and disgust that 'the commonest jockey boy in this company of manikins can usually earn more than the average scholar or professional man... (Runciman, 1889, cited in Vamplew, 1976:148).

The arbitrary cultural trajectory whereby jockeys were allowed up the social ladder is difficult to explain. They had developed a racing habitus, through learning on the job, through practice, and had the physical and symbolic capital which meant that their services were in demand. Jockeys, at one level were cult heroes. They were sung about in music halls, their movements followed like that of royalty. They were allowed to mix with the best of society and would, on occasion, be invited to stay as house guests with their aristocratic patrons. Gordon Richards, riding from the 1920s to the 1950s, was the first professional

sportsperson to be given a knighthood. Vamplew (1976) explains the situation that existed in terms of power that favoured the jockey. Perhaps it was simply because,

the supply of men between 7 stone and 8 stone possessed of the needful skill and experience is extremely limited, and people think it diplomatic in consequence to put up with this, that or the other (Richardson, 1901, cited in Vamplew, 1976).

Within certain middle and upper-class circles there was an uneasiness that accompanied being associated with the socially mobile jockey; their position was contradictory in that they were not the 'obedient servants' that professional 'sportsmen' were expected to be (Holt, 1992). They were challenging the social hierarchy built upon deference to their master and the unquestioned and absolute belief in their authority. According to a well-known racehorse trainer, during the 1920s,

Jockeys, more especially the younger ones, are becoming increasingly difficult to deal with, not a few showing a disrespectful independence of a none too pleasant kind. This is the less excusable when it is realized that about twenty times the money is paid to professional horsemen when compared with what they received in [Fred] Archer's day, when a good deal more was expected and obtained from men and boys who could be relied upon (Nevill, 1926:40).

This section has outlined the contradictory attitudes by which working-class, professional jockeys were viewed. Starting out as their master's servant, the professional jockey was to become an occupation in its own right although the rewards that could be gained were not seen by many within the racing field as appropriate for individuals from the working classes. Women from all classes would continue to be

excluded from paid occupations within the racing field until the late twentieth century as the following section shows.

Women in the racing field

Little, as yet, has been written about the wider experience of women in leisure and sport (Huggins, 2000) and, as I have found, it is usually accounts of middle and upper-class women and their struggles to be included as legitimate agents within the racing field that are described. Ostensibly horseracing was not considered a suitable pastime for upper-class women. Aristocratic racehorse owners, keen racegoers in their own right, were required to use male pseudonyms when their horses ran as women were not permitted to be classified as owners. This was relaxed at the end of the First World War and, in 1917, a horse could run under a female owner's name; there was still, however, a very strong conviction that women should not be seen betting on the racecourse.

Women as racehorse trainers

The Jockey Club did not grant trainers' licences to women until 1966 when Florence Nagle and Norah Wilmot were granted trainers' licences after a thirty-six year struggle. Both had the economic, social and cultural capital that enabled them to breed, own and then train horses of their own and those of other members of the upper classes, including the royal family. Norah Wilmot was the younger daughter of Sir Robert Wilmot and had taken over the training of his yard when he retired. It was her father's wish that she should be allowed to take out her trainer's licence but after enquiring, in 1930, whether this would be possible he received a reply to say that it was not the policy of the Jockey Club to grant trainer's licences to women (Ramsden, 1973). The doxic attitude of the Jockey Club seems to have been accepted as inherently true and necessary. As The Hon. Mrs George Lambton, an upper-class 'racing' woman and occasional author explains of Norah Wilmot,

if ever a woman was well qualified to do so[have a trainer's licence] it would be her. A fine rider, with all the knowledge of stable-management acquired from practical experience she is certainly the equal of many men in the profession. But the Jockey Club have always been adamant about this question, and I must say I think rightly so: once the door was open and women allowed into the sacred precincts of the weighing room⁷ on the official footing as trainers, what is to stop them from becoming jockeys too? ... I think it will be a very long time before feminism asserts itself to this extent; in fact, the Turf will remain the last ditch (Lambton, 1950:181).

This is not to say that the author did not see a place for women in racing. They could be of 'the greatest assistance, both in and out of the stable: entries and book-keeping are an important part of the business ...' (Lambton, 1950:182). In other words women had their part to play as long as they stuck to the appropriate gender roles and many upper-class women involved in racing seem to have accepted the discourses that expressed the values of the patriarchal Jockey Club. In so doing they shared in the universalisation of its values and capitals and were committed to what Bourdieu calls 'illusio', that is the logic, values and capitals of the racing field. It was not done to question what to them was the normal order of things, although there were some exceptions.

Norah Wilmot continued to train racehorses, but like a lot of other women she had to train under the name of a man, usually their head lad⁸. Being part of the aristocracy was of little help either as the Duchess of Norfolk trained her own horses with her head lad holding the licence. After seven years of trying, from 1931 to 1938, Norah

⁷ The weighing room is where jockeys get changed and weighed before and after a race.

⁸ The head lad holds a position of authority within a yard. Well respected, often feared, they are one step down from the trainer but of a different class. Their role is similar to that of a foreperson or supervisor.

Wilmot stopped applying for the legitimate right to train. Her campaign however was taken up by Florence Nagle who continued, throughout the fifties and early sixties, to apply for her trainer's licence whilst training in the name of her head lad. When questioning why she could not train officially she was informed that the Jockey Club considered that, 'it would not be in the best interests of racing, for women to be granted trainer's licences' (Ramsden, 1973). Following this rebuttal Mrs Nagle started a year long legal battle in which she sued Sir Randle Fielden and Lord Allendale, as representatives of the Jockey Club, for her right to hold a licence to train. As she pointed out to them, there was no rule forbidding the granting of a trainer's licence to women in England. Women trained in America, Belgium and Scandinavian countries with one of the leading trainers in Belgium being a woman who brought horses over to run at Royal Ascot. Part of Florence Nagle's argument highlighted the fact that many trainers were becoming reliant on 'girl' grooms as part of their work force and as this would increasingly be the case in future why could there be women owners, breeders and stable girls but not trainers?

Mrs Nagle had to take her claim to be a racehorse trainer to the High Court where, after just five minutes it was announced that the stewards of the Jockey Club were prepared to grant a trainer's licence to her providing she expressly acknowledged that the licence was granted 'in the exercise of the Stewards' absolute and unfettered discretion' (Ramsden, 1973). In 1966 the Jockey Club announced they would grant trainer's licences to 'suitable women' (Ramsden, 1973). What constituted a 'suitable woman' was not made explicit but women were entering into a racing field that reproduced the existing social order of patriarchy, paternalism, class and gender. For women to survive and succeed they needed the 'capitals' that mirrored most closely the material needs and beliefs of such a field and so reproduced those attributes which the Jockey Club classed as 'suitable'. From the description given in Caroline Ramsden's (1973) *Ladies in Racing*, 'Miss Auriole Sinclair' may be described as a classic example of a 'suitable woman', whose belief that she could train racehorses was embedded in her habitus. The third 'suitable woman' to be granted a licence, she

was of the right class, that is, she had the economic, social and cultural capitals that legitimated her 'natural' perception of her right to train. She herself could see no problem: 'as a woman trainer in what had hitherto been a man's world, I have experienced no difficulties whatsoever other than the intense irritation of having to train under the name of my head lad' (Martin, 1979:203). She misrecognised the symbolic violence to which she was subjected as something that was natural, 'the way of the world' and at the same time the Jockey Club, by allowing 'suitable women' the right to train, were perpetuating a policy that ensured that the racing field and its practices reflected their values. Nevertheless this 'advance guard' of middle and upper-class women were starting to make small inroads into what was a male-dominated patriarchal enclave. It seems that these women had a sense of entitlement due to class.

Women race riding

Women did not race ride until the 1950s when they rode against men in point-to-points (amateur steeplechases); this was seen as a 'startling innovation' (Smith, 1968) which initially led to a change in the rules confining them to ladies' races (Huggins, 2000). Point-to-point races are an integral part of the hunting field and so some of the first women who rode in them would have had the right social and economic capital which enabled them to do so. The first women's flat race initiated by the Jockey Club was held at Kempton Park in May, 1972, and was part of a 12 race series for 'lady amateurs'. This series was part of a strategy that had been built around the fact that more young women were being employed in racing yards as stable staff and it was thought it would encourage them to stay in racing if there was the opportunity to ride as an amateur, that is, for fun, in a race. Unfortunately many of the women who rode in the series tended to be those who had the economic, cultural and social capital to do so, thereby negating the original thinking behind this series of races.

These 'ladies' races' were brought in during a period when significant legal and organisational changes in gender relations were being introduced, notably the Equal Pay Act, 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975. Figure 3.1 below sets out the chain of events that led to women being able to race ride. It shows how the combination of a labour shortage in racing, and the introduction of equal opportunities legislation in the 1970s led to women entering the workforce as stable staff and, eventually, to a few being able to race ride.

Figure 3.1: Changes in the gendering of the racing field

1960s-1970. A few women were entering racing yards to work as stable staff. **NO** opportunity to race ride professionally.

1970. **Only** men could race ride, be apprentice jockeys. They had professional status.

1970. Labour shortage in racing.

1970. Young women seen as an untapped source of labour. Recruitment of women as part of the work force. Women had no legitimate right to race ride as they could not be apprenticed as jockeys.

1971. Incentive needed to encourage 'girls' to stay in racing. No 'carrot' to entice them.

1972. 'Carrot' in the form of a 12 race series for amateur women. These were 'hijacked' by women with economic and social capital.

1975. Sex Discrimination Act (SDA) 1975. Less favourable treatment on grounds of sex, in relation to e.g. recruitment, training, promotion, provision of benefits, dismissal, not permissible. Male-only indentured apprenticeship no longer legal.

1976. Indentured apprenticeship abolished.

1976. Jockey Club had to issue National Hunt (NH) riders permits to either sex. Women could apply for amateur or professional licences like men.

1976. Women now had the right to race ride but stable 'girls' were, because of the S D A, 1975 reclassified as professionals instead of amateurs as they were being paid for working in a yard. Were seen as now having the same opportunities as a 'lad'.

1976. 'Stable girls' no longer eligible for 'amateur races'. 'Carrot' incentive no longer of use.

1976-1978. Women allowed to ride in Lady Jockeys Association (LJA) races until 1978 to gain experience then had to ride as professionals.

- 1978.** LJA, as a recognised club, could hold races of its own. It would provide an outlet for stable girls to ride but the male Amateur Jockeys Association (AJA) was against it.
- 1978.** All male AJA races had to be open to all.
- 1978.** First woman professional jockey to ride winner on the flat.
- 1978.** First woman to ride a winner over jumps.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the changes that were effected, mainly in the 1970s, with regard to the position of women as jockeys and the acceptance of women as part of the work force. It illustrates a shift in gender within the racing field which was brought about by a combination of factors. One of the more contentious issues was the fact that women wanted to be able to ride in National Hunt races, but this was seen as more dangerous than riding on the flat and there was a lot of opposition from within the racing field and from the Jockey Club. Anne Alcock, a former National Hunt jockey and journalist, provides a detailed description of the struggle women put up to be taken seriously as National Hunt jockeys in her account of the first female National Hunt jockeys. Writing as a woman who was part of the racing field her views were informed by the stereotypical understandings of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ that are reproduced in this field of power. She records how there were some in racing who saw it as too masculine a sport for women, but her view was one that, when it comes to femininity,

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

Her view, whilst supportive of women as jockeys, takes the ‘party line’ that women must remain feminine but she acknowledges that they are subject to symbolic violence

or misrecognition (see Alcock, 1978). She points out that men were uncomfortable with women riding as they thought they were putting themselves into situations that they should not be in. One successful trainer saw it as setting a dangerous precedent allowing women do something which clearly in his eyes, they were not physically able to do.

There will be an uproar when a lady-ridden horse comes into the last at the NH festival at Cheltenham and both are laid out cold. People will demand to know who allowed women into NH racing in the first place. Hurdles need not be too bad but chasing – never! I hate the idea of a women being smashed up. It needn't be in a fall either. In the heat of the moment with the taps switched on, a professional isn't going to politely ask a girl to move over; he'll chop her into the rails smashing her leg up and only stop to think of her sex when it's all over (Alcock, 1978:64).

Despite these views, women are now able to race ride and there are a few who have become successful flat and National Hunt jockeys. I return to this later but now outline the entry of women into the racing field as part of the workforce.

Women as part of the work force

As already discussed, it was during the mid 1960s and early 1970s that the Jockey Club was under pressure to modernise its structure and widen its socially exclusive membership. In 1968, The Benson report commented 'that trainers were unable to charge owners high enough fees for training to enable them to make ends meet without recourse to betting' (JRB, 1974:6). It also pointed out that levels of prize money on

offer to trainers and owners of winning and placed horses was low and that this was one of the reasons for the low wages paid to their staff. It was only in the Newmarket area that a wage agreement had been adopted after negotiations with the Transport and General Workers Union. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, of the 3,600 stable staff in the country only 400 were union members, mainly of the Transport and General Workers Union. As there was no administrative machinery that could ensure that a minimum wage was implemented and conditions of work were addressed, the racing industry was seeing a steady drift of labour away from racing. The Committee of Inquiry into the Manpower of the Racing Industry (CIMRI) was appointed as 'a result of the growing concern throughout the racing industry about the current and future labour position' (JRB, 1974:3). The committee thought it wrong that staff relied on presents (tips from owners) and their share of the 4% mandatory deduction, made from winning prize money, that is distributed within the yard to supplement their wages. Although trainers had established a National Trainers Federation (NTF) which could negotiate wage levels for all its members, stable staff had no equivalent body until 1976 when they formed what was known as the Stable Lads' Association (SLA). Its influence was minimal but it was instrumental in setting up a memorandum of agreement between the NTF and the SLA. The formation of the SLA was one of the immediate outcomes of the Stable Lads' strike of 1975 (see Miller, 2002). Although the most severe shortages of staff were found in Newmarket, where the highest proportion of horses were in training, there was a country-wide shortage of labour that was thought to be caused by an inability to attract and retain suitable stable staff. Faced with a shortage of staff some trainers were beginning to employ 'girls', something the JRB (1974) were aware of.

According to an interviewee from previous research for my Master's dissertation, some women worked in racing yards as part of the work force during the First World War but were replaced once the men returned. Women did, in some instances, ride out but this was invariably because of family connections and having the appropriate economic and cultural capital to do so. It is thought that the first young women to ride

out and ‘do’⁹ their own horses were the two daughters of Sir Robert Wilmot who caused ‘a small sensation’ when they first rode out on Newmarket Heath , ‘in very neat breeches and tweed coats, like a couple of boys’ (Lambton, 1950: 181). The family had moved to Newmarket from the country during the First World War as racing was centralised there bringing their string of racehorses with them.

Historically, working-class women had been typically excluded from racing’s workforce. Entry into the workforce was through the indentured apprenticeship route but this was closed to women. One of the tasks of the Committee of Inquiry into the Manpower of the Racing Industry was to review the whole system of apprenticeship within the racing industry and it is interesting to speculate whether the impending legislation on Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination was seen as an important factor in this. The JRB note in their report that, ‘the development of a theory that women should have equal opportunities to men for progress within racing, is an important factor. Our proposals on apprenticeship envisage that boys and girls should be treated in the same manner, (JRB, 1974:25).

The committee’s proposals were in part met with the establishment of what it referred to as ‘an academic boarding apprentice school to house say 40’ (JRB, 1974:44) which became known as the Apprentice School Charitable Trust, founded in 1981; this is expanded upon in more detail in chapter seven. The committee saw the current indentured apprenticeship system as outdated and in need of modernisation and thought that it should no longer be used as source of cheap labour for trainers. As so few indentured apprentices became jockeys they proposed that, at the end of the period of indenture, young men should become qualified stable ‘men’ and apprentice jockey’s indentures should only be offered to ‘boys’ and ‘girls’ with an apparent ability to become jockeys. The apprenticeship scheme they suggested created two different occupational positions, that of apprentice jockey and that of ‘groom’. ‘Boys’

⁹ Term used to refer to the number of horses an individual looks after or ‘does’.

and 'girls' would enter a trainer's yard and after a probationary period of three months would be offered indentures as a 'groom' for a three year period; this could be cancelled by either party after a year. If after a year the 'boy' or 'girl' were good enough they could be offered an apprentice jockey's riding licence for a further two years. None of these recommendations reached fruition as indentured apprenticeship was abolished in the racing industry in 1976. Two occupational positions were however created out of what used to be one; these were stable 'lad' and apprentice jockey and as we saw in figure 3.1, women were able to enter the workforce as stable 'lads'. This is explored more fully in chapter five.

The discussion thus far has shown the ways in which working-class men and women of all classes, have been incorporated into the racing field. I have highlighted the contradictions that surrounded male working-class jockeys whose riding abilities were sought after but whose social position was seen as problematic. They developed a racing habitus, through practice and working in the racing field, but also challenged some of the attitudes associated with a racing habitus, such as deference and knowing their place; they were able to cross class boundaries through the economic, cultural and symbolic capitals to which they had access. For upper-class women however, having economic, cultural and social capital was of little use if they wanted to do more than just watch their horses race; their gender capital devalued other capitals they held. There was a long, protracted legal battle against the Jockey Club as they strove to become recognised participants in the racing field, as racehorse trainers. Overall the 1970s represent an important shift in the gendering of the racing field, as women gained the right to race ride as amateur and professional jockeys and were being employed as stable 'lads' to bolster the ranks of the work force. I have outlined the contradictions that led to these changes that were brought about by staff shortages, changing legislation and the need to recognise that a formal wage agreement was long overdue. I show the chances women were given through being able to race ride professionally, as well as emphasising the battle that women had to fight in order to widen access. I now move on to describe the people and processes involved in

producing a ‘racing horse’, that is, horse and jockey, and the gender, class and race relations that are involved in this production.

The racing work force

Racehorse training and breeding in the United Kingdom is a relatively small industry, with upwards of 700 yards¹⁰ and studs¹¹ employing just over 7,000 full-time staff (British Horseracing Authority, 2011). The industry is mainly based on small and often rural units where a hundred employees constitute a rare ‘large’ business. Furthermore the industry is heavily reliant on its staff in order to meet its main aim of racing horses, be it Flat racing, National Hunt racing or point-to-pointing. The relatively labour intensive nature of horseracing means it employs a substantial proportion of the total full-time workforce within professional sport in the United Kingdom (Deloitte, 2009). The following figures set out in tables 3.1 and 3.2 give some indication of the size of the workforce in the racing industry.

Table 3.1: Number and percentage of male and female full-time and part-time employees working in the racing industry (2009)

| Male f/t | Male p/t | Male Total | Female f/t | Female p/t | Female Total | Total |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| | | | | | | |

¹⁰ Place where horses are stabled and staff may sometimes live.

¹¹ Where mares and stallions are kept for breeding purposes.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|--------------|-------------|
| 3114 | 952 | 4066 | 1700 | 1278 | 2978 | 7044 |
| 44.2% | 13.5% | 57.7% | 24.1% | 18.1% | 42.3% | 100% |

(Source: BHA Statistics, 2007b; 2011b).

Table 3.1 shows the total and percentage breakdown in the number of male and female staff currently working in racing yards in Britain in 2009. Of these 33% are between the ages of 20 and 29 and, as a group make up the largest number of staff, 10% are between 16 and 19 and 25% over 45. Conditions of employment have gradually improved for stable staff over the last thirty years as there was little in the way of pension provision, accident benefit schemes or a negotiated wage structure before 1976. The work of stable staff is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Table 3.2: Distribution of stable employees by job category

| | 2005 | | 2006 | | 2007 | | 2008 | | 2009 | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Male | Female |
| Assistant Trainer | 308 | 263 | 288 | 274 | 286 | 259 | 276 | 248 | 277 | 249 |
| Head Lad | 214 | 90 | 197 | 94 | 195 | 106 | 217 | 101 | 216 | 103 |
| Travelling Head Lad | 176 | 63 | 169 | 74 | 171 | 91 | 164 | 94 | 167 | 87 |
| Stable Lad/Lass | 1,577 | 1,642 | 1,625 | 1,683 | 1,714 | 1,616 | 1,965 | 1,594 | 1,976 | 1,497 |
| Trainee Stable Lad/Lass | 52 | 85 | 77 | 96 | 66 | 97 | 61 | 88 | 45 | 81 |
| Apprentice/Conditional Jockey | 163 | 22 | 208 | 31 | 160 | 21 | 159 | 27 | 141 | 27 |
| Box Driver | 166 | 24 | 168 | 24 | 174 | 23 | 158 | 32 | 156 | 25 |
| Secretary | 31 | 299 | 30 | 311 | 30 | 304 | 29 | 319 | 31 | 295 |
| Pupil Under Training | 98 | 93 | 98 | 83 | 85 | 91 | 82 | 94 | 68 | 84 |
| Work Rider | 339 | 360 | 391 | 385 | 426 | 437 | 532 | 441 | 617 | 459 |
| Gallopman | 71 | 1 | 71 | 0 | 72 | 2 | 71 | 1 | 64 | 4 |
| Yardman | 330 | 85 | 347 | 101 | 363 | 100 | 343 | 108 | 316 | 94 |
| Feedman | 9 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Heckman | 5 | 10 | 5 | 14 | 7 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Blacksmith | 36 | 1 | 36 | 1 | 36 | 1 | 39 | 1 | 39 | 1 |
| Hostel Employee | 2 | 23 | 2 | 20 | 2 | 20 | 2 | 5 | 16 | 15 |
| Other Duties | 249 | 236 | 276 | 235 | 288 | 260 | 354 | 312 | 362 | 308 |
| TOTAL | 3,826 | 3,300 | 3,997 | 3,432 | 4,082 | 3,442 | 4,487 | 3,481 | 4,507 | 3,346 |

(Source: BHA Statistics, 2011b)

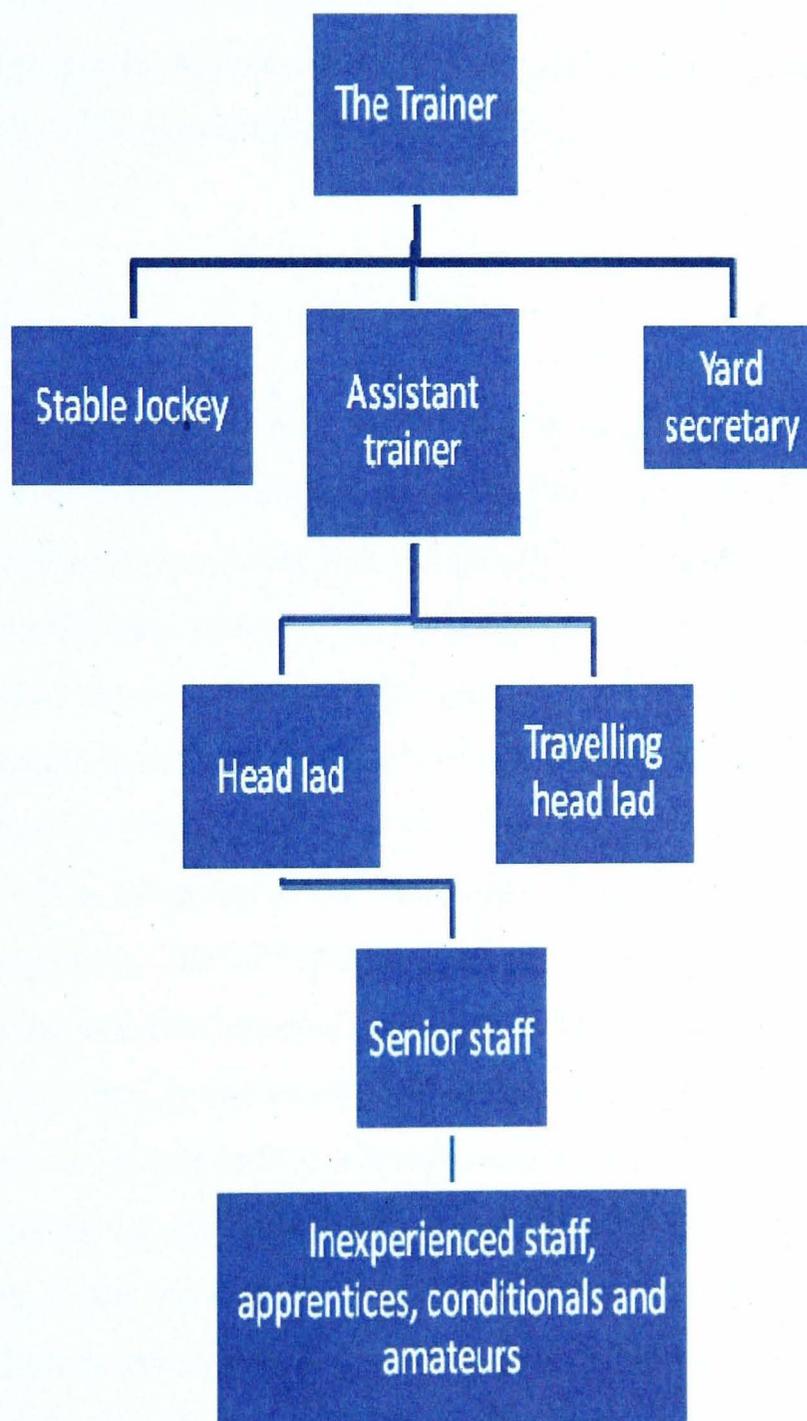
Note: Stable employees (table 3.2) are those who are employed as stable staff and registered with the BHA and as such will hold stable attendants' passes which enable them to enter racecourse stables on race days. As table 3.1 shows there were 7,044 male and female staff recorded by the BHA in 2009. Some of these will not need to hold racecourse attendants' passes hence the discrepancy in numbers between table 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.2, although not an occupational hierarchy gives an indication of the many different positions that can be held in a racing yard. As can be seen it follows a stereotypically gendered pattern with regard to male and female work and still uses masculinised job titles, for instance, 'hackman', 'yard man'. More is said regarding the job categories when I discuss occupational roles in a racing yard.

Employment hierarchy in a racing yard

The main aim of all yards, big and small is to ensure, where possible, that the horses in their care get to the racecourse to compete. It is very easy to take the process involved in racing a horse for granted, but it cannot occur without the owner, the trainer, the jockey and the stable staff, who all play an integral part in the running of the yard. Figure 3.2 illustrates how the employment hierarchy might operate in a typical racing yard.

Figure 3.2: Employment hierarchy in a racing yard



The working relations of a yard operate through patronage, class, gender and more recently through using migrant labour. For instance, the trainer is reliant on the patronage of the owner. Although not part of the labour force the owner will send a horse to a particular trainer on the basis of many criteria, such as training costs, success rates, size of yard and personal recommendation. The reputation of the trainer is important, too, as when the yard starts having winners this attracts new owners. Class also plays a part, as some owners will send horses to a particular trainer because of the trainer's social capital and class background.

The racehorse trainer

At the top of the hierarchy is the trainer or the 'governor' as they are often referred to who is ultimately responsible for where and when horses run. There was a period when trainers were no more than training grooms, 'low-paid servants with few social graces' who would have looked after their master's horses only (Vamplew, 1976:173). As racing started to become more commercialised and travel became easier for both horses and people, the professional racehorse trainer became a recognised occupation and horses began to be trained for owners. Some former jockeys became trainers, as well as some of the offspring of the upper classes who saw the life as a trainer as an attractive occupation. The role of the trainer involves a lot more than just training horses. A trainer must be licensed yearly by the BHA to train, and the yard will be inspected at least once a year by British Horseracing Authority yard inspectors. The trainer will run the racing yard as a business enterprise as well as managing the staff. Trainers often ride out and, whilst they do not always have specific horses to look after, their day to day work involves gallop preparation, mowing grass, fence repairing as well as selecting new bloodstock, entering horses into races to maximise their prospects, running an office, and attending race meetings and bloodstock sales. Usually self employed, some may work as private trainers for wealthy owners. Trainers are in a powerful position as it is they who have the ultimate say as to

whether an individual can apply for their apprentice or conditional jockey's licence. Thus patronage is of prime importance in the process of selecting race riders.

Becoming a trainer has, in recent years, become more regulated in that, as well as a number of years experience of working in racing or training point to pointers, a potential applicant must have an NVQ level 3 in racehorse care and have completed the three mandatory week-long courses on business management, racehorse care and staff management delivered by the BRS and NRC. There are no figures that I have been able to find on how many women hold trainers' licences.

The stable jockey

Below the trainer in the yard hierarchy is the stable jockey. Their position is insecure as they begin their career as stable staff and will sometimes return to being stable staff. This may be because the number of race rides they are getting starts to drop or they suffer a long-term injury through race riding. Being a professional jockey is a precarious profession. If there are no rides to be had, jockeys cannot earn a living unless they ride out or work in a yard as stable staff when they are not riding. The class background of a jockey varies. There are a high proportion of Irish jockeys who come over to Britain in the hope of getting more opportunities of race riding. At present (2011) a professional flat jockey receives £109.10p and a professional National Hunt jockey £148.95 per ride, plus a percentage of the prize money if a horse wins or is placed. The more successful jockeys may remain attached to one specific yard where they will ride all the runners from that yard plus other race rides for other yards. The other option is to become a freelance where the jockey will ride for a variety of trainers.

The yard secretary

The yard secretary has a very important role to play in making sure that the administration of the yard runs efficiently. They will make the entries for horses to run once the trainer has decided where these will be. Entries are done to a deadline so should a secretary forget to make the entries it can have serious repercussions all through the yard. Some secretaries will ride out before starting work and invariably act as gatekeepers for the trainer and an information base for other members of the workforce. Being a yard secretary does not usually involve any manual labour. This position is usually filled by women (table 3.2) from a middle-class background who have the social and cultural capital that makes them feel comfortable conversing with owners.

The assistant trainer

The assistant trainer helps the trainer and the head lad in making sure the yard runs smoothly. There are subtle differences between the position of assistant trainer and head lad. Usually from a middle-class background, the assistant trainer is likely to be young, have ridden as an amateur and want to train in their own right at some stage. They will be gaining experience working in the yard and must be prepared to do everything from looking after horses, working in the office, and entertaining owners to representing the trainer at the races. At present there are more male than female assistant trainers in the racing field.

The 'head lad'

The trainer is supported by the 'head lad' a high percentage of whom are male. It is a position that most incumbents will stay in for most of their life and can be difficult for women if they have childcare responsibilities, as head lads are often required to be on hand over and above the working day. The 'head lad' also has an input in the decision whether a potential apprentice/conditional jockey deserves a chance at race riding.

Their role is not unlike that of a foreperson or a supervisor and they have invariably worked in racing for most if not all of their life, working their way up. Often from a working-class background, they may have race ridden and will be very experienced with racehorses. Some 'head lads' were known to be notoriously hard on their staff but today such behaviour is not usually tolerated. The 'head lad' organises the day-to-day running of the yard and makes sure it runs smoothly and efficiently. They decide who looks after which horses and, with the trainer, organise the 'lot board'¹², which provides information about who is to ride out on exercise for each 'lot'. The head lad is responsible for feeding, and checking and treating minor ailments and injuries. No qualifications are needed apart from a wide range and depth of experience.

The 'travelling head lad'

Working alongside the 'head lad' is the 'travelling head lad' who, as the title implies, takes the horses to the races either in the yard lorry or with a racehorse transporter. The travelling head lad is responsible for the horses' welfare whilst away racing, so needs to be experienced both in travelling horses and in dealing with any injuries the horse may incur when racing. They will arrive at the races two or three hours before the trainer, if the trainer goes at all and therefore have the responsibility of declaring the horse to run and assessing whether the ground is suitable for the horse. Should they decide that the ground or conditions have changed from the official racecourse report and that the horse will not run, there are owners, officials and the trainer to inform; this means their job, at times, can be quite stressful. Being a travelling head lad can mean long hours away from home and on occasion working seven days a week if there are race meetings to go to. As table 3.2 shows, it is predominantly a male occupation and this is probably due in part to the hours that are worked.

Conclusion

¹² The 'lot board' tells staff which horses they are to ride on each exercise session. Each exercise session is called a 'lot'.

This chapter has explored the difficulty of breaking the monopolistic power of the Jockey Club and the class dynamics involved in this struggle, which occurred much later in racing than in other sports. It has described the experience of male jockeys who were never quite accepted because of their working-class background. They were sometimes able to acquire, through their success, economic and symbolic capital but the cultural capital needed for acceptance in the field eluded them. Women trainers, however, were shown to have the economic and cultural capital but not the gender capital. I have drawn attention to the way that the racing field is structured by class and gender. It was ruled by the Jockey Club, a male-dominated, patriarchal, private club. I have also shown how the structures, groups and individuals that make up the racing field have dealt with change and contradiction. Class relations were challenged by working-class jockeys whose abilities, if successful were sought after by trainers and owners alike. The contradiction however was in the fact that, whilst talented jockeys had symbolic and often economic capital earned through race riding, they did not have the cultural and social capital that would allow them an accepted passage across the class divide.

Gender relations were challenged by women with similar capitals as Jockey Club members; the rules of racing had to be changed to accommodate women as trainers as long as they were deemed by the Jockey Club to have the capitals that most resembled theirs, they were 'suitable women'. Legislation forced changes upon the industry which would alter further the sex/gender hierarchy prevalent within both the wider and more localised racing field as women could now be legitimately considered as potential trainee jockeys and not just as stable 'lads'.

These gender and class relations are what I explore in the rest of the thesis, showing how they have changed and how the power relations, practices and the doxic values of the field ensure that women and working-class men remain in subordinate positions

and develop a racing habitus that is made up of the necessary skills, attitudes and dispositions.

The next chapter looks at the work processes involved in turning a young, unbroken thoroughbred horse into a racehorse. The aim is to show how the nature of work has been transformed through a changing division of labour and deskilling, yet the production of a racehorse, ultimately the aim of any racehorse trainer, continues in much the same way. Those involved in the production process may perform different duties and routines from the indentured apprentices who feature later in the thesis, but their aims are still the same – to care for and nurture the horses that are in their care.

Chapter Four

Producing the racehorse

In the last chapter I discussed the class and gender dynamics within the racing field and the ways in which they have changed. I highlighted the power the Jockey Club held and the influence it had over the racing industry until it relinquished its power in 2007 to the BHA. The chapter showed the macro structures of the racing field, ending with a description of the occupational hierarchy typical of a racing yard. In this chapter I look at the micro-practices within a racing yard, drawing upon my own biographical experiences of working in racing and on my ethnographic study of Conborough. I describe the labour processes involved in producing a racehorse, without whom racing could not exist. In order to do this I follow an unbroken, three-year-old thoroughbred gelding through the different stages he must adapt to before he is ready to run. His role, like that of the 'lad' that looks after him, is specific to racing. He follows a work routine which remains relatively unchanged since the days of indentured apprenticeships. The division of labour that forms part of the 'racehorse production line' has however changed considerably.

I then analyse the occupational hierarchy at Conborough and how the production process is organised. I outline the daily and weekly working routine and argue that through working together stable staff develop a collective racing habitus. I emphasise the conscientious and dedicated nature of the people working in this yard, all of whom have a strong affective attachment with the horses in their care. I show there are elements of work disaggregation as well as work intensification. This at times can lead to an underlying tension between staff members and towards the trainer who, it is thought, does not recognise all the hard work the staff are doing. I explore the

physical capital of stable staff which relates to being fit and having plenty of stamina as well as coping with the rigours of working outside.

The final section analyses the power relations that run horizontally and vertically through employment relations at Conborough. It highlights the power hierarchy that exists, from stable jockey to rider outers, and how each has a specific classed, gendered and racialised part to play in the yard routine which is rehearsed six if not seven times a week.

The raw materials – becoming a racehorse

This section outlines the labour and production processes that go into producing a racehorse by following a young horse from when it first comes to the yard.

An unbroken horse, as this horse was, will typically enter the yard as a three or four year old and, as they do not usually have an official, registered racing name they will pick up a 'stable name', based on their parents' or owners' names', a particular characteristic they have, or behaviour they display. 'Smarts' as he became known, came over from Ireland as an unraced, unbroken three year old and, being unbroken, knew nothing of the career he would be following apart from the fact that by virtue of his breeding he was able to gallop more swiftly than most native bred British horses. Smarts came over to the yard in June 2008, travelling by ferry overnight from Dublin, and was dropped off in the early hours of the morning. Initially he was put in one of the wooden stables. Housed in the end stable he was initially kept in isolation, well away from the other horses in the main yard, as a precautionary measure. After a week, as he appeared healthy and bright, he was moved into the main yard. This caused some consternation, with curious looks and the occasional squeal from the other horses, especially his next door neighbours who spent the first hour stretching up to sniff noses with him over the top of the side walls of the stables. The stables run

down each side of a large, rectangular barn with ten on one side and nine on the other. Every stable has an open window at the back so the horses can either take in the view or look over their stable door at the front, towards their neighbour opposite.

When a horse enters a yard unbroken it is akin to a child first going to school and entering a world which is regulated and controlled by those in positions of power. Most horses will have had some interaction with people when they were foals, but the new routines they encounter come as a bit of a shock. For Smarts this was particularly true, as he was very suspicious of everything and everyone and reacted badly to every new encounter. Horses have to learn to accept being tied up, or groomed, shod, and having a bridle and saddle on and a girth around their middle to which many can react against by bucking and plunging. If a young horse has been handled quietly and calmly as a youngster the breaking-in procedure can be quite straightforward. That said, there are some who will always be difficult and wary of what is going on, forgetting that they have ever been ridden when returning to work after their summer break. The breaking-in process consists of a myriad different procedures and routines, and is a potentially dangerous and stressful exercise for both horse and handlers. With patience, and over time a horse will usually accept it, as they will a saddle and girth, and more importantly a rider on their back. Smarts was particularly bad during this part of his education and bucked, plunged and reared once the saddle was on. It was two weeks before he would tolerate someone laying over the front of the saddle. It was a very slow and at times frustrating process persuading him to accept a rider sitting on his back, and nearly every day he would 'have a go', performing all sorts of acrobatics to dislodge the rider. Eventually he accepted a rider reluctantly and was able to be 'ridden away'.

Once ridden away, that is ridden loose, off the lunge, initially in a confined area, Smarts was able to go further afield following a sensible lead horse either hacking¹³ around the roads or doing short trots up the grass gallop and around the all weather loop. The aim, once the horse has been ridden away, and is accepting of the process, is gradually to increase the amount of exercise they have, eventually integrating them into the string itself; this can be an exciting occasion for all the horses and riders the first few times it happens. Once the tempo and intensity of work increases some young horses find it all too much, mentally and physically, and will go off their food or become overly excitable. Smarts found the whole process very difficult and was very wary of anyone new or any new encounter for quite a while; his progress was slow and at times regressive.

Young unbroken horses such as Smarts come in to National Hunt yards in late spring or early summer to be broken in as there is more time available after the end of the main National Hunt season in late April. Many of the horses will be on their summer break, out in the field. Smarts came over from Ireland in May and was broken in during the summer. He started to go out with the full string of up to fifteen horses in October and was introduced to galloping steadily 'upsides' that is, alongside another horse, by the end of October. In racing parlance this is known as 'working' and horses go up the gallop in pairs, so close that the stirrup irons of each rider clink together, 'so you can only fit a cigarette paper between your [stirrup] irons' (field notes). This process gets a young horse accustomed to galloping close by another horse and makes them more competitive. They quickly learn that going upsides equates to faster work and, if not restrained during the earlier part of the exercise will do too much, so over exerting themselves. By November Smarts was becoming quite accustomed to working with other horses and had a regular, experienced, equine work partner that galloped at a similar speed to him over the duration of the gallop.

¹³ Hacking is where the horse is exercised, usually in walk or trot, around the roads or bridle paths. It is a gentle, unstructured form of exercise.

Most competition horses have a specific work pattern and racehorses are no different. The exercise routine fits around the facilities that are available at the yard. Smarts's daily routine is shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Daily routine at Conborough

Monday. Horses can be fresher on a Monday if they have had a day off on Sunday. It is important that they have a long walk and trot to warm up properly. This will last for about 20 minutes and will either be a hack along the road to the village of Conborough and back or, if the weather is bad, the walk and trot will be around the 2.5 furlong (500 yards) circular all-weather loop; one 6 furlong canter (three quarters of a mile) either on the grass/ dirt/all-weather gallop; walk to cool off. Out on exercise for up to an hour and a half. Turned out in the field until 3pm weather permitting.

Tuesday. Work day. This is when the horses will be exercised at a much faster pace. Work days involve the horse being galloped, but at a pace that is suitable to them, and they will be paired up with a horse of similar speed. Horses are never galloped 'off the bridle' that is flat out, as it can be detrimental to their overall physical and mental state and it can make them worry about their work. The first canter will be up the uphill grass gallop (approx 7 furlongs, seven eighths of a mile) in single file. The string will walk back down (see illustration) and then hack canter across to the start of the gallop. Second canter is a single file sharp canter to just less than half way (approx 4 furlongs, half a mile) when the horses will canter 'upsides' (in a pair) and the pace will be increased to the top. This might then be repeated but at a slightly faster pace known as half speed when about half way up the gallop again and the horses are upsides (see illustration). Long walk to cool off for at least 20 mins before going back into the yard. Turned out in the field until 3pm weather permitting.

Wednesday. Walk and trot to warm up around the 2.5 furlong circular all weather loop. Steady canter four times each way with a short walk period in between. Walk for 5 minutes before repeating the exercise. Turned out in the field until 3pm weather permitting.

Thursday. Walk for an hour. One or two very steady canters up the grass gallop, or the exercise will be on 2.5 furlong all weather loop, walking 4 circuits, trotting 4 then walking 2 before cantering 4 circuits steadily. The string will walk down to the 'gap' (half way) on the gallop then canter steadily up as a string in single file. Turned out in the field until 3pm weather permitting. Some horses might school (jump) the hurdles and steeplechase fences if they are due to run and to give them practice.

Friday. Repeat of Tuesday's exercise. Turned out in the field until 3pm weather permitting.

Saturday. Walk and trot around loop. Four canters on each rein. Walk for 15 minutes to the start of the grass gallop. One steady canter up grass gallop. Walk to cool off then in. Turned out in the field until 3pm weather permitting.

Sunday. Day off for all horses except those running the following Monday. When possible all the horses are turned out in the field weather permitting.

Illustration 4.1: Horses walking back down the side of the gallops before cantering back up



Smarts had his first race outing at the end of December 2008 in what is known as a ‘bumper’ race. This is a specific type of race for young NH horses between the ages of 4 and 7 where they race on the flat, usually on the hurdle track of a racecourse with the hurdles removed, so there are no obstacles to negotiate. He finished fourth; this was quite creditable as his nerves got the better of him at the start and he gave a display many rodeo horses would have been proud of before deciding to follow the rest of the field who were already off and racing. Apart from his trip over from Ireland, Smarts had never been off the yard before, so the whole experience was part

of a massive learning curve for him and as he was quite a highly strung individual it was not surprising that he behaved as he did. Most horses will be loaded back onto the horse box no less than an hour after the race after being given time to cool off and stand quietly in the racecourse stables. On returning home their supper and haylage will be waiting for them together with an extra bucket of drinking water to help replace the fluids they have lost racing.

Smarts had an easy week after his debut racecourse appearance to allow his body to recover and his mind to settle back down after its new learning experience. It was at least three weeks before he ran again. This was to give him time to replace his energy stores and settle down mentally.

There is a different exercise routine which is followed after a run. The following morning the horse is led out by his 'lad', who will have checked how much the horse has drunk and if he has eaten up his supper. Rugs will be taken off and put back on and the horse inspected for any rubs, lumps and bumps that might have been picked up racing. If everything is as normal the horse will be led out, in hand, for 20 minutes. He will then be dressed in his outdoor clothing, a turnout rug and hood, and turned out in his individual paddock for the day. The routine for the next day will be the same, and on the third day the horse will be ridden out on walk exercise for an hour. By day four, the horse will be back cantering, but will only do one steady canter having first gone for a long walk and trot to warm up. On day five he will do one canter again and, if the 'lad' feels he is back to his pre-race form, the work routine will revert to that followed before the race.

Smarts continued to run in 'bumper' races during his first season of racing to allow him to gain racecourse experience and mature physically and mentally. Depending on how he takes to being a racehorse he will be roughed off towards the end of March.

This involves gradually reducing his workload and 'hard food' over a three week period so that when he is eventually turned out for twenty four hours a day, he is less fit and less likely to gallop round. Putting on fewer rugs means that his body becomes hardened off and he feels the cold less. A horse as nervous and wary as Smarts will not be given too long a break as it can be difficult to get him to accept being ridden again. He will come back in during July, and the process of becoming a racehorse will begin all over again. He will be taught to jump, starting off trotting over poles on the ground then progressing up to slightly bigger jumps. He will follow an older experienced horse and once the trainer and the rider are happy with his progress he will jump the hurdles which are what he will be jumping in his next race. As the other horses come in from their summer break there will be more to be ridden out and the string will gradually increase. Staff will be returning from their holidays and by the end of August the yard will gradually be gearing up into its established routine ready for the new National Hunt season ahead.

Illustration 4.2: The string coming up the grass gallop



I have outlined the processes that form an integral part of the production of the racehorse, Smarts. The following section adds another layer to the process already described and brings in individuals at Conborough who contributed to making sure that Smarts made it to the racetrack. I will draw upon my own experiences of working in racing, my ethnographic study of Conborough, field notes and interviews. Using a typical working day I will illustrate how staff at this particular yard work together in the racing field where staff share a collective racing habitus that has been shaped by gender, patronage, power and class. The yard provides a good example of how the racing industry has become feminised, a process that began in the late 1960s as outlined in chapter three. It is, however, unusual to have a yard with mostly female staff and with such a depth of experience as was the case at Conborough.

Smarts and his entourage

The bloodstock agent and racehorse owner

Smarts was bought by a bloodstock agent who was based in Ireland and known by the trainer at Conborough. That racing tends to work through networks is illustrated by the fact that the agent was known by many of the staff in the yard having worked and ridden as an amateur jockey at a large National Hunt yard where the trainer and many of the Conborough staff had also worked. The agent had the credentials to be able to trade as what could best be described as a high class horse dealer. Through his social and cultural capital accumulated in Ireland and England he is in a good position to know whether the performance of a potential equine purchase is genuine. This is because the vendors know him, know his background and know that if they want to do another deal with him it is worth their while being honest about the temperament and potential ability of the horse they are selling. Although this particular horse was unbroken, he fitted the bill because of his breeding in that his antecedents had shown plenty of ability running under National Hunt rules. The reputation of Mike, a newly licensed racehorse trainer in 2007, had been enhanced through training winning horses so giving him the symbolic capital which, for new owners, indicated that he had the ability to train. Although not the case in this instance, some owners send horses to a particular trainer because of the trainer's social capital and class background.

The following table briefly outlines the full-time and casual members of staff who worked at the yard during the time that I was there as a part-time member of staff.

Table 4.1: The staff hierarchy at Conborough

| Staff member | Age | Position |
|--------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| Mike | 30 | Trainer |
| Brenda | 30 | Wife of trainer/ yard secretary |
| Ruth | 40 | Head 'lad' |
| Mary | 30 | Travelling Head 'Lad' |
| Milena | 27 | Stable 'Lad' |
| David | 17 | Stable 'Lad'. Amateur Jockey |
| Deborah | 47 | Part - time Stable 'Lad'. |
| Greg | 28 | Yard person |
| Annie | 32 | Rider outer |

When I first started working at the yard there were only two full time 'lads', the head 'lad' Ruth and Sarah, a young Irish woman whom Ruth and I had both worked with before and who subsequently returned to Ireland. There were fifteen racehorses in training in November 2008 but this had grown to twenty seven by March 2009, when I finished the fieldwork. Greg, the Polish yard person and non-rider started work at the yard before either Ruth or I began working there, mucking out, sweeping and doing general repairs. He would only be there for two months during the time I worked there. His employment status is elaborated upon in more detail in chapter seven. During my fieldwork the yard became quite successful in that it was producing winners, so more horses were being sent to be trained, meaning more staff were needed. Mary was taken on as travelling 'head lad' in January 2008 and Milena, from Poland, came in February 2009. David was employed in January 2009 having just completed his modern apprenticeship at another yard; he lived locally and was a 'hard

worker' which is an important characteristic to have in racing. His dad Neil also rode out and was known to us all, having ridden as a jockey and worked for a former employer of three of us. Neil was taken on as a full-time member of staff, as a 'lad', after I had finished my study.

Mike, the racehorse trainer

Mike, the trainer, as in many small businesses, will be found working alongside his staff, performing the same type of work and hours, as was the case in this yard. By 6.30 – 7 a.m. Mike had fed the horses before going off to harrow the gallop, after which he did the 'lot board'. The 'lot board' says what rider outers are in, whether any jockeys are coming in to ride out, what the exercise routine will be and, if it is a 'work' day, which horses will be paired up together. There is no need for any explanation as the staff at Conborough have a specific racing discourse that invests the group with an identity that separates it out, makes it almost exclusive and out of reach of those not part of it, and is where the field and habitus intersect.

The trainer's wife

The trainer's wife, Brenda, plays a vital role in the running of the yard. From a middle-class, equine background she married into the racing field, although she had ridden out in a racing yard before and had ridden with some success in point-to-points. Before giving birth to her first child she used to work full time outside of the yard and would ride out one lot in the morning before going to work. Once her son was born she rode out one or two lots after taking her son to her mother's or to the child minder's. When there were only a few horses in the yard and only two full-time staff she used to make sure the horses' manes were kept neat and tidy as well as cleaning tack and washing rugs. As the yard grew her role changed from one that included, for instance, mucking out, to one that involves the administrative side of running a business, such as invoices, VAT returns and making sure the entries and

declarations that Mike wants to make are completed. Her role became that of a racing secretary as outlined in chapter three. Her decreasing lack of presence in the yard caused some friction as her work could not be visibly seen, this meant she was sometimes labelled as playing the 'trainer's wife'. She was using her new found cultural capital and power to look down upon the staff as mere workers when she had been doing the same as them but a few months before. She 'snipes from inside' (21/02/2009, field notes) having commented when staff left ten minutes early in the evening while saying nothing when they were an hour late finishing morning stables. She interfered in decisions made by the head 'lad' Ruth, such as what rugs a horse may be turned out in, and upset the group dynamics in the yard, sometimes on a daily basis.

Ruth, 'head 'lad'

Ruth's role as head 'lad' is similar to that described in chapter three. Her role was at times quite difficult in that she had to act as an intermediary between the trainer and the other staff, and although she had the position as overseer she had very little power when it came to making decisions. The tasks she performed were varied and ranged from the mundane to the more specialised. She mucked out her five horses in the morning but also had to make sure that some of the smaller, less obvious tasks, such as washing the stable rubbers¹⁴ were completed, which made a huge difference to whether the yard ran smoothly or not.

Mary, 'travelling head lad'

Mary had to make sure that the yard lorry used to transport horses to the races was kept clean and in good working order. She had to ensure that the racing kit was 'put up' the day before a horse ran, and she had a list of equipment to be included, plus any

¹⁴ A stable rubber is like a large tea towel, made of cotton or towelling which goes under the horse's saddle pads to absorb sweat.

extras the horse might run in. She made sure that the colours¹⁵ (or silks as they are also known) were in the 'colours bag' as these are specifically designated designs, chosen by the owner and registered with Weatherbys. It is a very important job, as not only must she get the horses to the races, she has to ensure that all the correct equipment is there for both the horse and jockey to wear.

Milena, 'stable lad'

Milena arrived in February 2009 having worked in a racing yard in Newmarket. Although her English was quite limited when she first came to work in the yard, routines can be learnt quite quickly by observation and demonstration and she fitted in well. She had wide experience working with horses both in Poland and in England and had one of the attributes needed in stable staff in that she was 'hard working'.

David, amateur jockey and stable 'lad'

David, 17, went to the British Racing School for his initial training, then completed his modern apprenticeship in racehorse care in the workplace. He moved from his first employer to Conborough with the view of getting his amateur, then conditional, jockey's professional licence out. David had always wanted to be a jockey, growing up with a father who had ridden and worked in racing. He admits that he,

didn't do well with GSCE's, the best I got was a C. But anyway you don't need them for this job. As long as you can read and write. That's why I did this, because I was no good at school. You've got to do something practical (David, 17, 7/02/09, field notes).

¹⁵ The colours are the jackets the jockey wears. They are also called silks as they were traditionally made from silk which is light.

David, from a working-class background, was looking for an occupation that was attainable for him and that he already had some insight into. By rejecting school work he was rejecting more middle-class occupations. As shown in chapter seven, there were other trainees who reiterated David's words, but they differed from him in so far as they had the cultural trajectories that would allow them to take up middle-class occupations. They had other qualifications such as highly graded 'A' levels, as well as social backgrounds that valued higher education as a step towards an 'indoor', middle class occupation.

His interview suggested that he had a preformed racing habitus which was rooted in his own social, historical and familial background. This had developed through helping his dad, Neil, a former jockey at the yard where Neil worked. He knew the ways in which the hierarchy of a racing yard worked and fitted in at Conborough as if he had been there all his life.

Annie, rider outer

Annie came in for second lot after dropping her five year old daughter off at school. She had previously worked as a 'lad' then a racing secretary. She usually rode out a third lot but her daily involvement with the yard finished once morning stables were over, at approximately 12.30.

Having introduced the core staff working in the yard I now go on to describe the work routines involved in producing a racehorse and the production relations in which Smarts, the racehorse, finds himself.

Morning Stables

Every day begins with morning stables at 6 a.m although most staff turned up a few minutes earlier so that they could get their 'own' mucking out kit of barrow, forks and broom together, change into their work boots and still have time to greet each other and briefly chat about the day ahead.

David, was the 'lad' who, by reason of his employment status, was at the bottom of the hierarchy and had been given Smarts to look after during the horse's first season in training. Being a young, aspiring amateur jockey put David in a transitional position; he had two roles, that of 'stable lad' and 'trainee jockey', so it was important that he showed, through his work in the yard, that he was hard working, keen and respectful. The head 'lad' and trainer were above him in the hierarchy and it was they who decided whether he had earned the right to go and ride out for another trainer where he would have the chance of race riding horses in their yard. This was usually allowed but he often had to ride extra lots by starting earlier before he could leave, and had to be back by 3 p.m. to do evening stables. Some trainee jockeys find this incredibly frustrating as they are ambitious and want to be riding out and schooling, not grooming and mucking out horses. If they want to be given rides they have to temper this ambition and frustration as it is the trainer they work for who holds the power over what they can do.

In the summer David sometimes stayed and did some mowing, as it is an unwritten rule that the amateur and conditional jockeys do any extra tasks in their lunch hour as a way of indicating that they are serious about having rides; they earned them through additional labour. Being an amateur meant that if David rode out for other trainers he did not expect to be paid as he would not be paid for race riding. For David, on a

wage of just over £190 per week, travelling to race meetings and to other training yards was quite a financial drain.

David and Smarts

David was given Smarts to look after. Who looks after, or 'does' which horse is based on an informal hierarchy underpinned by experience, position and status. The horses that individuals 'do' often symbolise the status of that individual within the yard. 'Doing' the horse of what is referred to as a 'good' owner (in terms of economic, social and cultural capital) confers status on the person looking after it. It is seen as an honour to be given such horses to do and increases the symbolic capital of the 'lad' as well as acting as an implicit practical reference should they apply to work anywhere else in racing. It is also a good example of patronage, as a good owner is seen by a 'lad' as one who 'drops' the 'lad' a tip for looking after their horse, either when visiting the yard or after the horse has run, especially if the horse has run well. At Conborough there was less emphasis on who owned the horse and more on who rode the horse out as they would be the one who would be 'doing the horse up' in the afternoon and mucking them out in the morning. Having particular 'lads' doing their own horses also allows the horse's 'lad' to get to know 'their' horse implicitly, down to the way they might move their ears, and is an invaluable horse husbandry measure for observing the horses' well being and general state of mind. Thus, choices were made more for practical, work based reasons rather than as a way of showing favour and recognition. David and Smarts were, however, in a similar position in the yard hierarchy as they both had to prove themselves: David as a competent jockey and hard working 'lad', and Smarts as a competent racehorse.

The early morning routine

David's morning starts with at least an hour's manual labour mucking out, which is one of the more menial, routinised tasks he does, sometimes seven days a week. He

gets his large, deep sided barrow, his straw fork, brush and shavings fork and pulls the barrow briskly to the first horse he 'does'. Time is of the essence and there are no labour saving devices to make the mucking out process easier. Taking out the large, plastic, three gallon water bucket, he carries it to a drain, empties it then carries it back up to the one tap in the middle of the barn, scrubs it out with cold water and fills it before carrying it back and leaving it outside the stable. The buckets, when full, are heavy to carry and there is a particular method of carrying them, letting them swing pendulum – like in time with each stride. Once mastered it saves getting a boot full of water, not pleasant on a cold morning. As the horses are eating their breakfast, and as time is limited, the horses are not tied up when being mucked out. Mucking out involves forking the droppings out to the front of the stable along with any wet straw, known as the litters, then forking it into the barrow using 'a poor man's shovel'. This is a tell tale sign that the 'lad' is adept and skilful with the tools being used. By using the back of the broom, the last few bits of straw and muck can be pushed up against the 'lad's' boot then lifted and deposited in the barrow. There is never enough time to waste on finding a shovel, and there are never any around anyway, so improvisation is a must. Some of the straw, the litter, from around the sides of the stable which form the banks¹⁶ of the bed will be forked into the middle to form the floor of the bed whilst the rest is shaken up to create new banks around the back and adjacent walls to the stable door. If the horse needs more bedding then this is put in and shaken up into the banks, so the older straw or wood shavings are constantly being replaced. David needs to work as fast as he can, as he has another four horses to muck out before 7.30 and needs to pull his barrow the fifty yards over rough terrain to empty it on the ever-growing muck hill. When it is dark this is a very risky process as the muck hill is uneven and the barrows heavy and unstable. There are a couple of head lamps which are shared for traversing the muck hill and on a dark morning they save you from falling into a pot hole or, worse, over the edge, but as was sometimes said, on bright, sunny days, when we were catching our breath after emptying a heavy barrow, 'what other racing yards would have a view like we had from the top of their muck hill'

¹⁶ The banks are formed by the bedding that goes up against the sides of a stable and are about two feet higher than the bedding on the floor.

(05/03/08, field notes). The view over the hills with the local church on the horizon on a fresh spring morning was one that people would pay a fortune for, but not, perhaps when standing on top of a steaming muck hill. The other staff in the yard follow exactly the same routine as David, mucking out their allotted five horses, washing the buckets and feed mangers used for the horses' evening feed and bedding up any that need it. Any that may be 'standing in'¹⁷, that are not being ridden or turned out, have their rugs taken off and put back on and then are given their hay and water. The routines performed in the yard resemble a production line that revolves around working to the clock and is geared towards the all important routine of exercising the horses.

Preparing for first 'lot'

Meanwhile, David, along with the other staff, usually have a quick cup of tea in the tack room before first lot. Before picking up his tack, David gets changed into jodhpurs, riding boots, body protector and crash hat. Working conditions are best described as basic. There is a cold water sink and toilet in the 'wash room', but the pipes freeze in the winter when it is not possible to use the toilet. Staff either use a stable or the trainer's house, not ideal, when things are busy, as the house is a few minutes walk away from the yard. The yard itself and the facilities are rented from a local landowner who lives opposite, but despite requests and pleas he is extremely slow at making sure that the basic needs of both the stable staff and the trainer and his wife are met. The 'wash room' is where the industrial washing machine and tumble drier are kept, and the only saving grace is that when the tumble drier is used the room gets relatively warm. The floor, however, is damp so that it is not really suitable as a changing room. Most of the staff changed into their extra layers of specialised clothing in the tack room whilst drinking their cup of tea at 7.15 a.m. Modesty and shyness were left at the yard entrance, as this was the time when rider outers and

¹⁷ When a horse is not exercised and stays in their stable. This might be because they are injured and must be on the equivalent of bed rest.

occasionally owners coming into the yard were regularly treated to the sight of half clad women and David, happily chattering away, dressed in a selection of long johns, long cycling shorts and tights, standing on towels to keep their feet dry.

Riding out tack will be left outside the tackroom; it is 'put up' in the correct racing style to allow ease of carrying and tacking up and the ability to 'put up' tack is indicative of someone with a racing background. The illustration is of a trainee at the BRS but shows the way racing tack is carried.

Illustration 4.3: Trainee at the BRS carrying her tack in the correct way



The process involves putting the pads, quarter sheet and stable rubber on top of the saddle in a particular order with the bridle laid over the middle of the saddle. When it is time to tack up the horses the saddle can be picked up at the front (the pommel) with the back (the cantle) resting against the rider's hip whilst the other hand will be used to carry the grooming kit bag and for opening the stable door so the tack can be left in the corner ready to put on. Ruth will shout 'ride away'¹⁸ at 7.30 a.m. indicating to everyone that it is time to 'pull out' to exercise the horses. For an outsider to the racing field it can be difficult to grasp what is meant by the different commands and language that are used but as an insider, I was situated in a world where such embodied linguistics form a central part of the collective habitus that all staff members share. Once everyone has 'pulled out' the string, usually led by Mike, will start the exercise planned for first lot which last for an hour or more. Some mornings in the darkest depths of winter, when it was blowing a gale, there was little by way of conversation as we would all ride on automatic pilot, not talking but intuitively knowing what we needed to do when exercising the horses.

It is easy to take this process for granted and it was not until I stopped and tried to think about what I was doing at the bottom of the gallop before cantering up, that it dawned on me that I was not consciously aware of what I needed to do. I just did it, in the same way that a professional cricketer might bat or bowl the ball. Riding a horse that was strong and hard to hold at a sensible pace was, half way up the gallop, the exception, only because my leg and arm muscles would be starting to burn and hurt. This process was the same for us all, we drew on our embodied knowledge and shared a collective racing habitus that we took as the natural order of things. When other experienced non-racing riders came in to ride out, however, they would often struggle to manage even the quietest horse up the gallop. This suggested to me that our habitus, and the embodied knowledge that was part of it, were specific to the field. Our skills were embodied, a learning through doing. We had a 'feel for the game', an

¹⁸ Tells staff that the exercise is about to begin so they 'pull out' of their stables ready to be legged up.

inbuilt intuition in that we knew, for instance, how to bridge our reins, something trainees are first taught at the BRS. How this knowledge is acquired is discussed in more depth in chapter seven.

Once first lot is completed the string walks back to the yard where each horse is 'done up'. This involves removing the saddle and bridle in the stable, then washing or brushing horses off, putting rugs on, giving them their haylage and water, then leaving them until later in the morning. David goes and tacks up his second lot and the whole procedure will be repeated. On returning from second lot, once their horses are 'done up' properly, all the staff will go into 'the office', as it is known, for a cup of tea and a piece of toast in a 20 minute break.

'Breakfast'

The timing of breakfast as it was euphemistically called, ranged from 9 a.m. to 10 30 a.m. and would usually be eaten in the 'office,' a small but well heated Portakabin. Some days we went without a break if first lot had taken longer or people were away racing and there were extra horses to ride. Facilities in the 'office' allowed a snack to be prepared with a kettle, sink unit, fridge, toaster, small microwave, and coffee maker available. Hot water for washing up had to be boiled in the kettle and, during frosty weather, water had to be carried in as the tap and water pipe used to freeze. If any owners are visiting they are taken to the Portakabin for tea or coffee and it was, thanks mainly to Ruth, quite a pleasant room to be in. It was furnished with comfortable chairs, a settee, desk and filing cabinets and the walls were festooned with newspaper articles about the yard as well as photos of winning horses. Ruth always made sure that the dogs did not get on the furniture, as it was the only place for staff who did not go home at lunch time, like herself, to sit in a relatively clean, warm environment. There was a small television in there too, so there was something to watch should she want to. Everyone else drove home as they all lived locally except for Milena, who

lived in an old static caravan by the side of the stables. Brenda tried to improve the interior of it by buying new curtains and providing extra heating when Milena first arrived. Nevertheless it still got damp on the inside and the gas and water pipes froze during a particularly cold spell of weather.

Caravans tend to be quite common accommodation for stable staff and having had to reside in one myself I knew that they are fairly pleasant in summer but absolutely freezing in the winter. The caravan is owned by the landlord and has cooking facilities and a shower. When my fieldwork began, it was occupied by one of the Polish men who were working on the landlord's estate; he was known as the 'telegraph Pole' as he was incredibly tall. Conrad, the Polish builder who also worked for the landlord was named the 'tad Pole' due to his short stature. He married Sarah, the Irish woman who was working in the yard early on in my fieldwork and they have moved to Ireland together.

Finishing off

David may have a third lot to ride out after the 'breakfast' break of about twenty minutes, but before leaving 'the office' Ruth, the head 'lad' makes sure that it is left tidy, with the washing up done and any bread and milk put away in the fridge.

Although chores such as washing and clearing up are menial and the sort of job a junior member of staff usually does, it was the women who always did the washing up and usually made the toast and tea. David would occasionally do this if he was in for 'breakfast' early although this was quite rare. Third lots are often made up of horses who have been on the 'easy' list because they may have recently run, are having a bit of a break, or have suffered some sort of injury. When it is cold or wet it can be hard to find the enthusiasm for a third lot especially when it involves a walk for an hour around the roads.

When David does not have a third lot he leads his new horse, Smarts out for fifteen minutes to stretch his legs and get him used to his new surroundings. David is also 'test pilot' for Smarts in that he will be the one who will have to get on the horse for the first time when he is being broken in. The yard is very traditional in that such roles were always given to the young men who aspire to be jockeys. They seemed to relish the challenge and the worse a horse was the more kudos it gave them, especially if they did not get thrown off and have to be 'legged' back on. Many of the 'girls' who work in the yard have done their bit riding young horses for other employers and they see no reason why they should any longer put themselves in the position where they might get seriously hurt. David, though, loved to remind everyone how 'he always has to ride the bad ones, the new ones, the naughty ones, then when they've settled down, are quiet, he gets jocked off' (11/09/08, field notes). He just got laughed at and reminded that that was his job and to stop being so big headed. If he wanted to get rides he had to show he was keen and 'hard working'. As Mary explained to him,

You want rides, you ride the shite ones. End of. We've all done it and have the scars to prove it (Mary, travelling head 'lad', 15/09/08, field notes).

David's position at the bottom of the pecking order in the yard meant that he had to prove he had the 'bottle', that is, he was brave, fearless and not afraid of riding difficult horses.

Along with the other staff members, Ruth made sure that the routine yard duties were completed before morning stables ended at 12.30 to 1p.m. That said, however, it can be later if there is a load of straw to be unloaded or round haylage bales, weighing at least half a ton, have to be moved. In what is an onerous and strength sapping experience, the bales have to be pushed, rolled and turned, end over end, for fifty yards down the central passageway to the barn where they are kept. Once Ruth was

satisfied that everything was tidy and routine jobs completed, she or Mary fed the horses, either putting each horse's lunch out in the field or feeding them in their stables. Staff were now free to go home, returning at 3 p.m. for evening stables (See Appendix 4).

'Hard work'

All the staff at Conborough shared the belief that they were hard working. What this means in a racing yard is more than being physically strong, it means embodying a certain type of masculinity. This involves being tough, doing everything and not complaining, battling against adversity and even pain. Being hard working also means that the person is diligent and conscientious, knows their horses inside out and can tell when that horse is not their usual self. They can always be relied upon to be there, uncomplaining when morning stables are running on into their lunch hour (quite a regular occurrence at Conborough). They become an integral part of the horse they ride and care for, both on the ground and on the horse's back. Being hard working also refers to class in that stable staff 'know their place'. By this I mean they are deferential to owners, polite, considerate and unquestioning of the work culture. As highlighted earlier in this chapter there is an occupational hierarchy that exists within the racing industry and this yard is no exception. Although all the staff carry out the routine tasks such as mucking out, sweeping the yard and riding out, there is also a specialisation of tasks between different members of staff which is tied to their position in the yard hierarchy.

Reading through my field notes and drawing upon my time spent in racing has made me realise that all of us in the yard had a collective racing habitus. We all used a racing discourse that expresses the values and beliefs of the racing field. By this I mean we were hard working, loyal, polite, unchallenging of authority, deferential and at times subservient. We accepted the working conditions without question and saw

the horses as the most important part of the work process. Our role was to serve the horses, the trainer and the owners. These were the values that trainers expected from indentured apprentices and are inculcated in the modern apprentices during their nine week foundation course at the British Racing School (see chapter seven). Our habitus guided our thoughts, attitudes, feelings and demeanour about what working in racing meant to us within this particular yard. We all performed independent but corresponding actions that were not knowingly thought of but were co-ordinated and we all shared the same doxic values.

David could be described as what the trainer said the yard needed which was ‘a good young lad’, someone who is keen, hard working, deferential and never answers back. There are gender and class dimensions to the idea of a ‘good young lad’. Firstly, there is an assumption that ‘girls’ are interested in working with the horses because of their ‘natural love of horses’ (JRB, 1974:25) rather than because they want to race ride (see chapter five). Young men, however, are assumed to want to race ride and they themselves assume that they will be offered their licence if they work hard; they are ambitious as they have another more exciting career to aim for. The word ‘good’ has other implicit meanings that relate to class and capital within the racing field and, in many cases, it makes the difference between a young aspiring jockey receiving the patronage and support required from his trainer and getting no support. This came up one breakfast time when we were chatting about the people we had worked with who had been successful as jockeys and those who had not. Brenda remembered how her mother was once phoned up by a trainer who Brenda used to ride out for. He was reported as saying:

‘I have a “good” lad, from a “good” family. Would he be able to lodge with you, for a while?’ The lad [Mickie] did and as Brenda’s mother astutely commented, ‘he will be one to watch, then, as Denys [the trainer] will make sure he gets on’. Ruth reiterated the fact that ‘Mickie’s family are “good”, they are all very nice people, pleasant but they have the money, land,’ to which Neil added ‘Yeh, not like

me, never going to make it,[as a jockey], a lad from a council estate in London.’ ‘So,’ as Ruth summed it up, ‘as long as you come from a “good” family in that it is “good” in that sense (of money, land) you would do OK. Doesn’t matter what they are like otherwise’ (2/4/08, field notes).

This does not mean that jockeys are now more middle-class than they once were. Its significance relates to the fact that the trainer who was giving Mickie the chance to race ride had accumulated the cultural and symbolic capital that meant that he was seen as someone who possessed the expertise and knowledge to train winners and produce successful jockeys. Set within a cultural field ordered by a hierarchy based on class, the trainer could determine what constituted capital within that field, how it could be distributed and who possessed the cultural capital that could be commodified in exchange for his support and patronage. Mickie had previously ridden successfully as an amateur National Hunt jockey supported by his family. Interestingly Mandy, a former ‘lad’, observed that when she was working for the same trainer, before he had really established himself in the racing field, most of the young lads whom he employed and who later became established, professional jockeys were from ‘poorer families, more from cities, didn’t have a lot, not the hunting, farming type of families, the ones he took on more recently [in the 1990s]’ (Mandy, 42, former ‘lad’,). At that time, the trainer had not developed the symbolic capital which would later mean that aspiring, middle-class young men would be attracted to his yard as somewhere they might succeed as jockeys. The trainer had not yet developed the cultural capital of value in racing’s cultural field.

While jockeys may come from working or middle-class backgrounds, most of the the yard staff came from more working-class backgrounds if parental occupations are taken into account. There were some exceptions, notably middle-class Brenda who initially helped in the yard, and still rides out, but is finding that much of her time is spent on the administrative aspects of running the yard. Apart from her, all of the women who were working at Conborough either went straight in to a racing or hunting yard on leaving

school at sixteen or did an equine course before working in a racing yard. The trainer at Conborough is fortunate in that his core staff have many years experience working in racing and could turn their hand to anything if it meant that the daily routine was completed.

As I have already said, many of those working in the yard during the fieldwork period had previously been employed by a particular trainer. This had given them the symbolic capital that implied that they were knowledgeable and well trained. As Neil put it,

when I was apprenticed [in Newmarket] I was on 50p a week. [On starting at Napier's] my first wage packet was £30.00. Everyone that was there has got good jobs in the industry. It means something to say you worked for Denys Napier [trainer] (Neil, 52, former jockey and stable 'lad').

The following paragraph highlights the career trajectory of Neil, which was very different from that of Mickie, the 'good lad' from a 'good' family; this contrast illustrates how boundary work operates in the racing field. As a young man Neil had a moderate number of rides as a conditional jockey but was not successful enough to make it into a financially viable career. He worked as a 'paid lad' for a year after relinquishing his licence then left racing for over ten years working as a postman. He found the draw of racing, the buzz, too powerful though, so started riding out again for different local trainers, returning to work full time as Conborough grew in size. Neil has a specific racing habitus that is evident in his attitude and dispositions to women working in the racing field and to people from other, non-professional equine fields. This emerged in conversation and reinforced the boundary that I myself was aware of and that I now realise is associated with a racing habitus. When riding out Neil remarked on the fact that 'some event rider tosser' (24/05/08, field notes) had broken in 'Twiggy' the horse he was riding. In his view the horse had,

‘done nothing but walk, trot and canter all in the same day. Think they are all experts’, and as if that wasn’t enough, he was quite scathing of the fact that I was going to go the local point to point to watch as Neil saw them as, ‘a bunch of lethal amateurs galloping round. They’re dangerous’... I explained I was helping at the start, adjusting tack, tightening girths. His response was, ‘My God, you’ll be busy then as I expect the tack will all be wrong, falling off (Neil, 24/5/08, field notes).

Like Neil I see a distinction between the professional racing field, that is disciplined, well turned out, regulated, ‘done properly’ and where the horses are well mannered and ‘well bred’, when compared to the equine fields of, for example, eventing and riding as a leisure activity. Amateur racing and other equine fields are looked down upon as being ‘hobbies, just playing at it’ (12/02/09, field notes). This viewpoint on my part and that of the staff with whom I was working confirms the doxic values of the racing field to be true and unquestionable.

Boundaries are also evident between those who ‘help out’ and those who are accepted as members of the team. The hierarchy of the yard is reflected in which equipment is used by whom in the same way that there is a hierarchy based on experience and position in the employment structure of the yard. The more senior staff used the more stable, lighter barrows and the newer brooms leaving the younger members and any part-timers, such as myself, the older, less serviceable equipment which was often heavier and inclined to tip over at the wrong moment when full. We had to show, through being able to use the ‘ankle biter’ (ancient muck barrow) and the ‘witch’s broom’ (a nearly bristle less broom), that we had crossed the boundary between ‘helping out’, thereby not being taken seriously, and being accepted.

I now focus on the trainer, Mike in order to illustrate how having the social and symbolic capital accumulated by working for a respected trainer helped him to achieve his goal of becoming a racehorse trainer. Mike's first foray into the world of racing was spent on work experience in the yard of a notable trainer where most of the Conborough employees had previously worked so he had this trainer's reputation to take with him wherever he worked in racing. He comes from a working-class non-racing background, his father a fireman, his mother a housewife, thus entering racing with neither the connections to draw upon nor a knowledge of the industry itself. He decided it was a life he would enjoy so returned as a 'lad' on finishing school at sixteen. He had some success as a conditional jockey before doing a variety of jobs in and out of racing, including successfully training point to pointers. This success and the networks he had built up, as well as having worked and ridden for a well known, well respected trainer gave him the symbolic capital needed to make potential owners believe he had the knowledge and experience to become a National Hunt racehorse trainer.

With the patronage of his small band of owners Mike decided to take out a professional National Hunt licence in 2007 to set up the yard and train racehorses. One of the roles of a trainer is to be able to converse with owners, from varying class backgrounds who are paying them to do their job of work. Trainers tend to have a reputation within racing as being distant and rude and ignoring their owners. Mike was quite accessible to owners, although some were classified as 'high maintenance', ringing constantly at all times of the day and night, expecting their horse to win each time it ran, then being devastated when it did not. An important part of the trainer's job involves relating to owners. They have to be able to socialise with owners while, at the same time, keeping a distance, as the trainer is ultimately responsible for the performance of their horse. Mike had the unenviable task of informing an owner that their horse had injured itself and, as a result, would not be able to run for the remainder of the season. Instead it would need expensive treatment if it was to stand a chance of ever running again. Owners tended to phone quite early in the day as they

knew Mike was up and working and when he was late coming back into the yard after doing the breakfast feed it was often because he had been on the phone. When the yard was first licensed Mike's owners were what are known as 'small' owners. It has been estimated that it costs £16,000 a year (BHA, 2011c) to have a racehorse in training so, for the 'smaller', often working-class, owner with one horse of moderate ability, anything they earned was likely to go directly towards training fees. As the yard grew the type of owner changed with wealthier, middle-class owners having two or more higher ability horses in training, for which they paid considerable amounts replacing, the 'small' owners. The change in the type of owner is perhaps an indication of the accumulation of symbolic capital by the yard and the trainer.

Job insecurity

In other yards where I have worked it was an unwritten rule that all time off had to be between the end of April and the end of July, when we were expected to take five weeks off. We were officially given four weeks holiday but the extra week was made up of five days in lieu of bank holidays, which we worked as normal days. For the rest of this three month period we were meant to find some sort of casual employment until we were summoned back in. Trainers deploy such tactics as it reduces their wage bill and, with fewer horses in training over the summer months, there is a loss of training fees and fewer staff are needed. More importantly, fewer staff mean a lower wage bill to pay so come the end of April staff are commonly laid off, usually on a last in, first out basis. Such practices have recently been challenged at industrial tribunals by the National Association of Stable Staff (NASS). Under new leadership, NASS is beginning to take on the archaic employment practices of some trainers. In a recent interview in the *Racing Post*, Jim Cornelius, the chief executive for NASS, said that

the environment in stables, with trainers and head lads, is feudal...there are some pretty hard people who are aggressive, bullying managers (Cornelius cited in Cobb, 2009:13).

At the yard, Mike expects staff to take their holidays in the quieter months of the year which are typically from April to July. Staff usually comply although since no one at the yard has a written contract of employment that states this as a requirement, it may be difficult to enforce if challenged. I experienced this practice myself and was laid off after eleven months working in the yard; it was a considerable shock to be given two days notice at the end of April. As mentioned earlier, I had reduced my working hours at my other work place in order to become a permanent member of the yard workforce. The employment relations in this yard were backward, to say the least, and rider outers would be finished with a day's notice or a text that morning to say 'don't bother today, don't need you'. The trainer tried unsuccessfully to lay off, without notice, the other part-time staff member, Lindy, who helped out three afternoons a week and weekends. This caused a period of tension, bad feeling and arguments which Ruth had to try and diffuse. Lindy had not worked in racing before and had a managerial background. Her habitus was different in that she could see such practices were unfair, arbitrary and not legal and was therefore able to challenge them.

Power

Within this section I want to explore the power relations that run horizontally and vertically through employment relations at Conborough. The field of power that is in operation is shaped by the economic, cultural, symbolic and physical capital that in turn shape class and gender relations and practices.

Although they are not directly involved in the working practices within the yard, owners have a significant amount of power in the form of economic and symbolic capital which, at times, leads to resentment and resistance from the staff and occasionally the trainer. One owner in particular was exceptionally wealthy and when it was known that he was to visit, staff were instructed to make sure his horses were

tidy, had enough bedding and their rugs were clean; this will usually have been done as a matter of course by the staff as part of their working day. When, however, it is after 12 p.m. and staff are finishing off the last few tasks involved in morning stables and wanting to go home, suddenly to be told that more needs doing causes a general resentment to set in. This tends to be aimed at the trainer for a couple of reasons; first, because of his lack of regard for their working time and second, because they got little recognition for going the extra mile, which was a regular occurrence. The trainer would sometimes upset the staff through his lack of attention to some of the 'smaller' owners whose horses were not as important to him as those of the wealthier owners. As a researcher I was able to observe that some of the 'smaller' owners were left to fend for themselves when visiting the yard and it was Ruth who would show them their horse, make them a drink and explain where the horse was to be exercised; the horse was judged by the trainer as lacking in symbolic and possibly economic capital; he saw neither the horse nor its owners as being important and this was evident in the way he behaved towards them.

At the beginning of my fieldwork the trainer used to muck out two horses himself when there were extra horses in. This was appreciated by us all and his being involved in doing the 'dirty jobs', like mucking out, increased his standing and the level of respect he was given by the other staff. Although he was the 'boss' holding all the power, in this situation it was being diffused along more vertical lines. As the yard grew and there were more horses in training he worked on the yard less as working out the lot board and the daily exercise routine took him longer. He was only really present when feeding and riding out. This created tensions and a feeling of subordination on the part of the staff as he appeared to 'be running with the hare as well as hunting with the hounds'. During a period of extremely cold weather the veneer of harmony and team spirit that existed between the workers and the boss was severely tested. Working under difficult, freezing conditions and struggling to get horses exercised, Mike and his wife went to the local pub for breakfast with an owner after first lot. The staff carried on with second lot but felt powerless and inconsequential. This was not because they had not been invited to go but more because the trainer was able to leave them struggling

without recognising the effort they were putting in to get everything finished. It reinforced the feeling of 'them' and 'us', the asymmetry of power that exists between advantaged and subordinate groups and was associated with a lack of recognition and respect from the trainer for his staff and for what they were doing in difficult working conditions.

There is also a power difference between the professional jockeys who ride out, the permanent staff, casual staff and rider outers. The Conborough stable jockey had the most power after the trainer and any advice he gave was listened to as he was race riding regularly so could get a feel for each horse when she raced. He did no mucking out or manual labour but just rode. The stable jockey usually rode out on 'work' days which allowed him to get 'a feel' for the horse being ridden; he gained an idea of how a horse gallops and whether, for instance, it is strong or lazy. He was also in on schooling days. There is a certain procedure to a schooling morning when the horses are jumped over hurdles and steeplechase fences. After warming up the horses and riders will 'take a turn', that is walk around in a big circle fairly close to where the schooling fences are. Each horse is called into the centre and the riders are changed, the jockey gets on and the rider is legged up onto the horse the jockey has left, walking her round to cool off. Typically it is only those with licences who are allowed to school even if other staff have had experience of schooling. There is a gender division of labour to this process, as all licence holders were male whereas all the non-licensed staff were female. This is discussed in chapter five. David got the opportunity to school and was lucky in that the stable jockey acted as a mentor for him, telling him what he was doing wrong and how he could improve.

Ruth made sure that the stable jockey's horse was ready for him to ride when he came in; this was a matter of expediency and wanting to pull out on time, but it also reflects the jockey's position and status. Rider outers, however, are not given that privilege as, although their role within the yard is important and necessary in order to get the horses exercised, they are secondary to the horses themselves. That said, it is possible, in some yards, to earn almost as

much for riding out as younger staff members earn for working a 40-hour week, a fact that full time staff can feel disgruntled by.

Rider outers can be classified slightly differently when it comes to assessing how the field of power operates as a configuration of capital. Many of them had symbolic capital as they had worked for well known trainers; they also had social capital which meant that they were known by the full-time staff and the trainer through networks that characterise the racing field. Within the yard, however, unless they were in regularly and had been allotted their own tack, they had to wait until the full-time staff had taken their tack and any extra equipment needed before Ruth would help them find a set of tack for themselves. Their symbolic and social capital helped them to find work as a rider outer, but once in the yard their status was lower than that of full-time staff.

Although the stable jockey and other professional jockeys come in to ride out twice or three times a week they were also situated higher up in the hierarchy than the rider outers. The conditional and amateur jockeys that ride out are not given this status. They are at the start of their careers as jockeys and need to prove that they have the ability to make it. The only way they can do this is through race riding so, like David, they will ride out for as many trainers as possible hoping to pick up race rides. They are reliant on the patronage of the owners and trainers, chance and sometimes contradiction. Get a lucky break on some good horses and everyone will want you riding for them. Get a bad injury and be out for a while and no one will remember you, despite your previous successes. Race-riding is a high-risk occupation.

Working in a racing yard can be a physically hard and, at times a dirty job and the horses will be exercised whatever the weather, come rain, shine, sleet or snow. In my experience trainers tend to forget that their staff need thanking occasionally, that they too get cold and tired and they like to feel valued. This is not to say that the staff were not appreciated and, in the trainers' blog, written by his wife (as him), staff did occasionally get a mention. Generally

though, trainers have worked in yards themselves, so reproduce what they have internalised which is that the role of stable staff is to work unceasingly and with little recognition of the fact. One of the key findings of the *Stable and Stud Staff Commission*, (2004) was that staff felt there was a lack of respect and recognition inherent within the industry. This is part of the culture of the racing field and can be seen at Conborough. It manifested itself in small ways, such as rarely getting a thank you when a horse wins, staff having to bring in their own tea and coffee because Brenda always forgot to get some for the 'office' and Brenda complaining about the heater in the portakabin being left on when no one was in there after breakfast when she was not the one who had to sit in there for lunch when the heater had been switched off.

Relations between staff could sometimes be quite strained at times. Ruth sometimes insisted that all the tasks that were part of morning stables were finished, even when things were running late and the other staff were wanting to get off home. Even Milena, who lived on site in a caravan, would, on occasion disappear off into her accommodation when it got past 1 p.m. and morning stables were not finished. It is perhaps indicative that as a woman, used to working in an industry where, because of your sex, you have to be seen to be hard working and conscientious, and 'prove' yourself, Ruth wanted these jobs done even though it was late. Non-routine tasks, such as unloading straw out of normal working hours, also caused dissent amongst the staff who aimed their grievances at Ruth. These resentments usually blew over, quite quickly but at times there was a simmering undercurrent of dissent at the fact that morning stables were never completed by 12-12.30 p.m. During my fieldwork there was a team meeting with the trainer to try and iron out some of the problems of finishing late. When it came to it, however, the main complainants kept quiet although Ruth was able to get the main points across. Needless to say nothing much came of it and the daily routine continued to change and run over time at the drop of a hat.

The less experienced and younger staff were lower down the yard hierarchy and the power they could exercise was limited in scope and transitory in nature; it shifted minute by minute depending on who and what they were dealing with. If one 'lad' was riding a horse that

another 'lad' 'did' and their experience was similar, the horse's 'lad' had authority while the horse was being tacked up, making sure that the other 'lad' had on the correct equipment, that they looked after the horse when on exercise and 'did the horse up' to a satisfactory standard when back in the yard. If it was the stable jockey or a more experienced member of staff the balance of power shifted and the younger member of staff, for instance David, 'helped', for example, fetching the boots, the breast-girth or any other specialist kit that was needed.

Conclusion

Starting with the raw material, Smarts, this chapter has described the processes that are involved in producing a racehorse, beginning with a raw, unbroken thoroughbred who, after being broken and educated into the routines of Conborough, emerges as an equine athlete ready to run on a racecourse.

The production of a racehorse takes place within a particular set of employment relations, structured by class and gender, which reflects in microcosm the gender and class structure of the wider racing field. In this yard, most of the staff are women, they come from working-class backgrounds and do a manually orientated job of work. The trainer, a man whilst from a working-class background, now has a middle-class occupation and he is in a position of power and authority over the stable staff. Much of the work is hard, physical labour that women do alongside men. The women are expected to hold their own in a male-dominated workplace yet are limited in their aspirations by taken-for-granted assumptions that young men will have a greater aptitude to race ride.

Power relations ran horizontally and vertically through the employment relations at Conborough. After the trainer, the stable jockey held a considerable amount of power and his opinion was respected by the trainer, even if the staff thought he was wrong. Amongst the staff, Ruth had some power to influence how the working day went and could add extra tasks if she felt anyone was showing signs of dissent. This rarely happened, but when it did, it did

not make for a pleasant working environment. The members of staff with the least amount of power were the youngest, specifically David who, because he had his amateur licence was dependent on the patronage of owners and trainers to advance his racing career.

I have suggested that the staff had a collective racing habitus in that they were hard working, conscientious and cared passionately about their horses but at times felt powerless and lacking in control over their working day, their sense of self and their working identity. The majority of the full-time staff were women and because of the nature of the work they were doing embodied a type of masculinity that involved being strong, physically and mentally tough, having plenty of stamina, showing no pain and battling on against any adversity.

The next chapter develops this point in more detail, analysing the practices that women engage in which produce a racing habitus that embodies toughness, resilience, stamina and 'being a lad' in order to be accepted in a field that is gendered masculine. It explores how women have had to negotiate their working identities as part of a male-dominated racing field in their struggle to become 'one of the lads'.

Chapter Five

Women in racing

In the last chapter I highlighted the micro-processes at Conborough that were involved in the production of a racehorse, showing how a racehorse 'production line' is reliant on its staff to produce a fit, highly trained racehorse. Conborough was unusual in that most of the staff were women. In this chapter I am focusing on their experiences as well as drawing on interviews conducted with women who entered the racing field at different times since the 1970s.

Given that the racing field is gendered masculine as a field of power, it is not surprising that the male-dominated sport of racing is difficult for women to navigate. In the 1970s, due initially to a labour shortage, women were entering a field that operated within a particular ideology that reproduced the existing social order of patriarchy, paternalism, class and gender. For women to survive and succeed they needed a habitus that mirrored most closely the material needs and beliefs of the racing field. In this chapter I want to explore how their female bodies and embodied gender were seen as an impediment to their ability both to pull their weight in the industry more generally and, in particular, to race ride and how, in order to begin to be accepted, they had had to develop an embodied racing habitus; they had to act like a 'lad' and not be 'girly girls' if they were to be accepted as one of the workforce.

This chapter asks what impact the emergence of female employees has had on the horseracing industry and how is it that particular classed and gendered identities enabled some women to gain entry to 'masculine' occupations while most continue to be excluded? The first section examines how women, as part of the workforce, learn

to accept as normal the gendered structure of the racing field and how, in turn, these practices become embodied in their work and within their working lives. The second section highlights the path that some women followed and the 'hurdles' they had to overcome in order to be able to race ride. For some, having the social, economic and cultural capital meant that this process was relatively straightforward compared to the women who did not have these advantages. The exchange value of the physical capital possessed by potential female apprentice jockeys through their being small and light has been devalued in relation to physical strength, allegedly possessed by men; yet this distinction has itself been questioned. The contradictions inherent within the racing field are drawn out regarding a gendered habitus; that women are expected to pull their weight with men as stable 'lads' yet when it comes to race riding their bodies are not seen as being suitable. The third section discusses how, following the feminisation of its workforce the racing industry is becoming increasingly reliant on migrant labour. Work practices have undergone a process of deskilling together with a fragmentation of the skills indentured apprentices were once taught.

Entering a masculine field

This section describes and analyses the way in which women developed dispositions and attitudes in order to be taken seriously as stable staff, how their doxic values were reproduced through their understanding of the racing field, and the values and discourses that have shaped their relations and practices in the racing field. As we have seen, women began working as stable staff in the mid-twentieth century when the racing industry was faced with a shortage of male labour; women's suitability for this work was couched in terms of their 'natural love of horses' (JRB, 1974:25). This assumption can be found in the report presented to the Joint Racing Board, by the Committee of Inquiry into the Manpower of the Racing Industry.

An important development in the manpower position of the industry over the last few years has been the increase in the number of girls coming into stables and this is likely to continue as a result of the introduction of apprenticeship for girls. The growth of the Pony Club

and riding generally has ensured that there is a large pool of girls who have mastered the basic arts of riding and grooming a horse. Combine this ability with the *natural love of horses* which girls have and it is clear that for them working with horses is frequently a more attractive proposition than secretarial and shop work ... (JRB, 1974:25, my emphasis).

Many of the women interviewed said that they had indeed gone into racing for the horses. Sue, a former racing 'lad' who went to work in a yard in the North in the mid 1960s, explained how,

Girls went into racing for one thing. They didn't go in for a career. Although lads went in for apprenticeships to be a jockey but the girls didn't go into racing years ago to be jockeys because you couldn't be jockeys. It was the horses (Sue, 69, former 'lad')¹⁹.

This alleged affinity with horses meant that women's entry into the ranks of the 'lads' was on a different basis from their male counterparts. They were in racing because of their gendered aptitude rather than being seen as suitable material for race riding; they were therefore differentiated from the lads on the basis of gender and their equestrian skills were not recognised. Furthermore their difference from the lads was seen in terms of them not being strong and tough enough to be able to do what had hitherto been a man's job. In other words their female bodies and feminine gender precluded them from being accepted as equals in the male-dominated world of racing and they had to be tough, hard workers, necessary attributes to develop, in order to prove themselves.

¹⁹ The identifiers include the interviewee's pseudonym, age and racing experience.

Many of the interviewees found it very hard to articulate exactly what it was that first attracted them to racing and kept them in it for quite a number of years. Mandy had always loved horses, she worked for people with a racing background who had suggested that she work in racing as the wages were better, relatively speaking, than in an eventing²⁰ yard and the work was often better organised. For her, working in racing was,

An addiction. And it's a way of life and now that I've changed what I'm doing over the last couple of years it's given me time to think about it all, it's the buzz, but now I have a good job where I'm earning good money. It's because of the horses and I've done, I haven't really bothered about earning money, 'cause I thought, well, it's what I want to do, you know. I love horses, they're an addiction, way of life, but yeah, I would certainly have no regrets going into racing, and I would do it all over again and it's such a good way of life even though it's hard work and everything (Mandy, 42, former 'lad').

Ruth, the 'head lad' at Conborough, was drawn to racing by the involvement and close working relationship a 'lad' can have with 'their' horse and did not mention going into racing with the primary aim of race racing. She thereby accepted the doxic values of the Jockey Club and those in the wider racing field, that women were there to make sure the horses made it to the race track.

I loved show jumping, I thought there was too many people involved with racehorses, you know, the owner, trainer, the lad, the jockey and I thought you didn't get to do as much with the horse... but it's totally the opposite way round isn't it? Because when you're the lad you can do all the work, right up to the day he runs (Ruth, 40, 'head lad').

²⁰ Eventing is another type of classed and gendered equine sport where the participants are mainly women.

Dawn, 19, a young apprentice jockey, reiterated what Mandy said although her view of racing was tempered by the fact that she 'earned buttons but it was the buzz although I want to get a job as how many jockeys make it'. Dawn's attitude was different from Mandy's in that, although she had already been given race rides, she saw the racing industry as having little to offer by way of a career unless you became a travelling head lad or head lad. She is from a different generation from the other interviewees quoted here, being born in 1990 and having done 'A' levels; she had other opportunities within the world of work and would be prepared to go to college or study if she felt she was not getting anywhere in racing.

According to some of the interviewees women's entry into the ranks of the lads during the late 1960s initially caused some resentment. As 'girls' were not able to 'serve their time' as indentured apprentices they were not permitted to race ride but they were often employed under the same terms and conditions as a 'board and wage man'. This meant that they were entitled to a higher wage than indentured apprentices and their board was paid; an indentured apprentice had to have 'served his time' before he was entitled to the same remuneration. This was a situation which grumbled on for many years until the abolition of the indentured system in 1976. The view of some of the women who were the first to enter what one author refers to as 'the close knit, feudal province of the male' (Blunt, 1977:39) was that they had to prove themselves by being conscientious, hard working and tough, to show they were equal to if not better than a 'lad.' As Margaret, 64 and a former 'lad' explained, 'whilst there weren't many girls they had to be good girls, you had to be'. The implications of such a statement need unravelling as, to an outsider, women's working roles in the yard were the same as the 'lads' in that they were expected to ride the same horses and do the same tasks and did not expect any different treatment or working conditions. There were other implicit factors at play though as women were seen as taking over what had previously been male only positions; they were upsetting both the occupational hierarchy and the

gender order so had to be seen to be as strong, tough and able as the 'lads'. Margaret, who still rides out, recalls overhearing

a couple of apprentices talking one day saying, 'bloody girls in racing, they can't jump up, they can't do this', which never entered my head you see ... and I thought, I've never tried to jump up,²¹ so I spent the next couple of days, evening stables, getting on my horse, so when I suddenly had to do it outside [it] was quite a plus and I went up about seven steps in the lads' eyes. Yeah, that made a big difference ... and I enjoyed riding the silly ones which was another plus (Margaret, 64, former 'lad').

Margaret and her other colleagues were working in racing during the early 1970s and so it is easier to understand, perhaps, why they were seen as upsetting established working patterns and challenging the established gender regime within the industry. Working class women with their different body shape from their male counterparts were recent additions to the workforce and stood out physically, too. However, as the following quote from a woman currently working as a 'lad' indicates, little has changed. Women must still demonstrate that they are able to perform as well as the 'lads' if they are to survive and be accepted within the racing field. Mary, travelling head 'lad' at Conborough, said,

'Cause you think, well if they can do that, I can do that and that's the thing, if they can get on that and ride that, I can ride that, and if they can push that, lift that bale of straw, I can lift that bale of straw, and I – I've always been a bit like that, at a young age as well, just ... trying to keep up with them. I think ... if you're a girly girl in the racing industry I don't think – well it's not for you anyway if you're a girly-girl, ... it's a man's world isn't it? And it's a pretty tough life isn't it?' (Mary, 30, 'travelling head lad'.)

²¹ Getting on the horse by vaulting on from the ground without using a stirrup iron or getting a leg up.

A male-dominated environment is still clearly prevalent in some yards but what is different now is that some young women are not prepared to work in a field that they find hostile and challenging and where their roles are limited by their gender. They do not expect it to be as male dominated and difficult. Mary had noticed how quite a few of the young women she had worked with and who had not long been in the industry disappeared and left completely.

I think some of the ones that came to Bullers are still there but, where have the others gone ... some get put off, yeah they do, they get frightened, the lads are horrible to them, bullied almost, and kids won't stand it, being sort of, harassed, or sexually harassed these days, you know why should they, and they leave and do other things and it seems such a waste, but it is like everything though, if you think like with, with the yards with schooling 'Oh we don't let girls school', like at Bullers. It was always the lads, and the girls would take the horses backwards and forwards ... and given the chance we can do it as well as they can ... (Mary, 30, 'travelling head lad).

In other words those that are 'still there' were able to take the harassment and stood up for themselves. They were learning how to become 'lads', developing a disposition, a habitus, that suited a male dominated environment.

In the 1970s, changing attitudes together with a lack of available male staff meant that trainers were having to employ girls; in addition many of them had wives or partners who were riding in the recently introduced series of 'ladies' races' on horses which their male partners trained. There were some advantages to employing 'girls', as Fred, a former head lad and indentured apprentice elaborated upon. 'Girls' were more reliable and conscientious staff members, attributes Fred wished the male 'lads' would show more of.

But over, since the years now, like this day and age, I do like, you know the jobs I've had, I do like the girls best. Yeah, yeah but I do, yeah, but as, as, as stable people and looking after the horses, they're more reliable. You know what I mean? That's how they are, ... and you'd see them, actually you'd see them, just before you went home at dinner, you'd see the girl, they'd go back and top the horse's water up and change its rug if they thought it was too warm or, straighten its rug or give it a bit more hay, you know, you wouldn't see the lads, they're off down the pub (Fred, 67, former 'head lad' and indentured apprentice).

Nevertheless women had to perform in a way that did not make them unduly visible to the 'lads' as any who were adjudged to be not 'pulling their weight' were subjected to various rituals which were not unlike the initiation rituals that indentured apprentices describe, in chapter six. Mandy described her experience in a yard that, in the late 1970s, was known to me and generally spoken about as a male bastion within the racing field.

And then there was the three of us and then I think, the Guv'nor [trainer] probably started realising that girls were not too bad, you know, that we're not too, too bad as riders and we did our horses up better than the lads, or in those days the lads just had to do them as well as we did. And then more girls did start coming, we had about four more come, like in one season which was a huge thing really. They all got a lot of stick, you just used to have to be really careful. I used to just try and sort of keep quiet and didn't really dare say anything because I, I suppose I could see how they could be if you're not careful. And any of the girls that didn't pull their weight got put in the trough or had mice, mice tied in their hat or thought they were a bit special they used to, you know, they would get clayed up. I think they weren't really being horrible to me though but it wasn't really funny though they thought it was (Mandy, 42, former 'lad').

‘Claying up’ involved putting a sticky pungent clay based substance usually on a women’s breasts. Young men would have it plastered on their genitalia as will be discussed in chapter six. Due to its nature it is difficult to remove. It is used on horses’ legs to draw out any bruising.

There were some trainers who had a reputation for not employing women on the grounds that they were simply not strong and tough enough to cope with the work. They were seen as lacking in physical capital, with such qualities as fitness, toughness, strength and stamina being seen as mandatory for staff but which women lacked. It is seen as ‘natural’ by some male ‘lads’ that ‘some girls’ are weak. Neil for instance, ‘Blows his own trumpet, bit big headed, like he was on about the girls at Peter’s, won’t ride some, the bad ones, he rides them, thinks girls are weaker, can’t ride the strong ones’ (Conborough, 25/2/08, field notes). This symbolic violence exercised on women is something that they accept as normal within the racing field as they have become conditioned into this way of thinking.

A gendered habitus

The racing field is informed by stereotypical understandings of ‘masculinity’ where those with such a habitus feel comfortable. This is not to say that there are not different masculinities that are visible. Masculinity for the stable ‘lad’ would involve being strong, fit, light in weight, stoical, and able to work hard as seen in chapter four. It would also involve attributes like those expressed by Neil. The flat jockey embodies a different masculinity and was likened, in conversation during fieldwork to a male ballet dancer. Like a ballet dancer they need to be fit, extremely lithe, light, and have good balance but their heterosexuality is sometimes questioned. The National Hunt jockey embodies a masculinity that is characterised as brave, fearless, extremely tough, able to ride through pain, fit but light and supple and unquestionably heterosexual. In my experience flat jockeys tend to be looked upon in a slightly derisory way by those within the National Hunt field. They are referred to as ‘flat crappers’ or ‘wimps’, ‘gutless’ and not as brave and tough as their National Hunt

counterparts, who embody a different form of masculinity which is more associated with strength and risk taking. There are therefore different forms of embodied masculinity within the racing field.

The habitus is shaped by practices within the racing field but is also dependent on the actions and dispositions of individuals for its existence. Each individual's habitus will be partly similar but they are 'strands in a collective history for Bourdieu' (Crossley, 2001:94). The individual habitus tends therefore to take on many group specific characteristics and,

Since the history of the individual is never anything other than a certain specification of the collective history of his group or class, each individual system of dispositions may be seen as a structural variant of all the other group or class habitus, expressing the difference between trajectories and positions inside or outside the class. 'Personal' style, the particular stamp marking all the products of the same habitus, whether practices or work, is never more than a deviation in relation to the style of a period or class... (Bourdieu, 1977:86).

For example, the habitus acquired in the racing field, by the racing workforce and the racing establishment working in it, incorporated particular views of women. They were assumed to occupy a subordinate position, being physically weaker and not as tough or strong as men, and they were resented for taking up positions that could have been given to 'lads'. At Conborough the female staff all agreed with this but accepted that in racing such attitudes are hard to overcome. As a result they became resigned to comments from some of the male rider outers, particularly Neil whose entrenched attitudes and masculinity were challenged when a 'bird' (27/3/08, field notes) rode a horse he thought only he could ride as it was strong. He was therefore quite taken aback and

... surprised that Brenda had ridden Chippy who was strong. Ruth thought that, in this day and age, you would have thought that male chauvinist pigs like Neil would have learnt their lesson that things don't work like that any more (27/3/08, field notes).

Thus, the habitus underlies the structuring of all subsequent experiences such as the assimilation of the messages regarding women in the racing industry and so continues, structuring and restructuring, and although attitudes to women are changing their 'weakness' is still assumed. The contradictions that underpin such attitudes are brought about by Sarah, a 'lad' that,

Yeah, what really gets to me is the fact that we, us girls, are expected to do all the hard jobs, pull heavy barrows, move bales, muck out, you name it, we do it yet when it comes to race riding we are not considered. Not strong enough *pulling a face as if to say, incredulously, we couldn't possibly ride* (22/3/08, field notes).

Dawn, a young apprentice jockey riding at present reiterated this point indignantly

the lads are chauvinist pigs. The older ones say it's a man's sport. Women shouldn't come into it, they have wrecked it (Dawn, 19, apprentice jockey).

Women in racing have therefore developed a habitus that is subjected to symbolic violence whereby they are treated as inferior and limited in their social mobility and aspirations. Within the racing field female bodies are 'imprisoned' to a degree by the workings of the habitus. This is accepted as 'the natural order of things'.

Near enough and all I, all I ever wanted to do was to be able to do every aspect of my job and do it well, I knew that I'd, I don't know where I got it from but I just knew that if you were girl you weren't gonna go far (Ruth, 40, 'head lad').

Although attitudes towards women race riding are gradually changing and women are now an accepted though subordinate part of the workforce, they have developed a work identity that is predicated on the notion of being hard working, strong, tough and not acting 'like a girl'. Women could be described as being caught up in the illusion of racing, which embraces the logic, values and capital of the racing field. Thus, as Tina saw it, to be able to work, 'In racing, I'd just say, and it's, very bad face but, 'get some balls about you' (Tina, 37, former apprentice jockey and 'lad'), that is, be assertive, strong and tough and neither embody nor perform the stereotypical femininity that is expected of 'normal' feminine, heterosexual women. Shelley found that being a woman working in a busy point to point yard was not,

particularly a problem because I was always one of the lads, if that makes sense.... I was always happy to get on anything, and get on with it, so no, I didn't particularly (Shelley, 32, former 'lad').

Her acceptance of the orthodoxy of the field was unquestioned as she had developed a habitus and disposition which engaged with the way in which the racing field was structured. Her use of the word 'lad' in describing herself is an implicit part of her linguistic habitus and is part of the discourse that characterises the racing field.

Mary elaborates on this point, having previously worked for a woman who has a reputation in the racing field for being a 'hard woman' in that she is tough and has learnt to stand up for herself.

I suppose with Angie being a jockey for so long as well and she's a tough cookie, a real tough cookie. When she used to ride she used to scare a lot of the men when she was shouting at them 'get out the fucking way' so, oh, yeah, she's scary, so you've gotta be like a bloody bloke these days (Mary, 30, travelling head 'lad').

Physical capital

Very few women become successful jockeys and one of the many explanations for this is that they lack the physical strength that is supposedly needed when 'riding a finish' as the race nears its climax. This is something that women who have worked in racing tend to accept. When riding, at the end of the race a jockey is expected to 'push a horse out'. This is when they will crouch down low in the saddle and move their whole body especially their arms in time with the stride of the horse. It can look as if they are rowing a boat extremely fast and encourages the horse to keep galloping to the winning post. Tina, a former apprentice held doxic values that made her see this as a reason why there are so few successful women jockeys. Women's bodily hexis does not quite match that of their male contemporaries.

But, I think really it's the strength of pushing out and I really, even now, I think that's just, no matter how super fit you are, I mean you look at the girls now riding, you know, Hayley and erm, you know, lots of the others, you know Hayley, a real strong rider, pushes out really strong but, she has had to work so hard at that, she really has, you know, perfecting that technique and I think, lads do find that easier, the pushing out bit and, ... I think it's just about an inch out, for the girls,

but the girls have to work a little bit harder at that. It's like, you know, girls riding fillies and lads riding fillies, girls can, get more out of a filly or, more out of even a colt sometimes, just by their horsemanship skills and the way they approach things, and I think, yeah, I think definitely the pushing out bit is, you know, it is, it is a, just that little bit (Tina, 42, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

This quote is interesting in that there is an accepted view in racing that fillies (young immature female horses) behave better for women riders than for men. Fillies are seen as physically weaker, more temperamental, feisty, having attitude and being changeable in nature, attributes women are also said to have. Most colts (young immature male horses) are seen as strong, dominant and needing a firm hand. Women riders are categorised as being quieter and more patient than men so suit fillies as they do not upset them as much as they do not try to aggravate and bully them. The fact that women might be better horse people in these situations tends to be overlooked.

There are some who refute the view that women do not have enough physical strength to 'push a horse out' and who challenge the notion of women being weaker and not as effective as riders. One of the interviewees cited a certain male racehorse trainer who,

Made a quote once to the press, somebody had said to him, 'Why do you only have girls ride for you? Girls aren't strong enough, de, da, de, da, de', and he said, 'Strength is nothing to do with it because if, if strength, if you had to be strong to ride a winner, Willie Schumaker [American jockey] would never have made it, and he rode four thousand winners and he was seven stone wet through' (Julie, 42, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

What this quote illustrates is the opposite to the view expressed by Tina. Success on the racecourse is not about strength and men being 'naturally' physically stronger than

women, it is more about technique, being in rhythm with the horse, and ultimately, the ability and fitness of the horse herself.

These doxic attitudes regarding strength and ability are not just confined to Britain. In Australia, in a recent on-line article from AllWomanSport.com (2011), Briony Dunn, an apprentice jockey, was well aware of the challenges she must face being a woman 'in what is still a male-dominated industry' (Lycett, 2011). In an interview about her career she describes how,

It is frustrating some of the time because you know you're on an equal level or sometimes even better than some of the male jockeys. But people still think males are stronger (Lycett, 2011).

What then were women learning? What sort of work identity were they developing? Working in a masculine racing field they were learning that to survive in racing you had to be tough, resilient, hard working and think,

No, sod you, I'm gonna do this and that's it. It's more, it was more being stubborn, and saying, I'm not gonna let you bastards beat me down, I'm gonna do it, not so much, not so much now but you have gotta have a bit of, you know, bite back. You know, you've got to, not swear and curse and, and, and be horrible to each other but just stand your corner, say, you know, if they start ribbing into you say, 'excuse me', you know, 'I'm paid to do my job, you're paid to do yours', that kind of, you've gotta, I think now, you have got to stand your ground more and you just got on with it, but yeah, I think, even now, girls have just gotta be a bit more oomphie (Tina, 42, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

And in many senses they have to develop a masculine work identity as Shelley succinctly put it: 'But you have got to be a bit laddish, and just get on with it' Shelley, 33, former 'lad) and Tina, 'I think it's still a male dominated sport, you know, although you can have, two lads and ten girls in a yard, it's still male-dominated really' (Tina, 42, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

Work culture

Part of being 'one of the lads' was practising an embodied masculinity. Despite this, however, women's bodies differentiated them from their male peers and were the subject of much verbal abuse. Such abuse served to emphasise the incompatibility of female bodies with race riding. Tina can remember the abuse that she and the other four young women used to get riding out on Newmarket Heath.

oh, you split arse, and if you can ride that horse you can ride me, the usual sexual and derogatory comments, you know, if you can't hold that love, get underneath me (Tina, 42, former apprentice jockey and former 'lad').

Language as social practice, especially that of everyday talk is, as Tom Delph-Janiurek suggests, a way through which 'separate and collective notions of gendered and sexualised identities are routinely and continually constructed, ascribed and may be resisted/contested' (Delph-Janiurek, 2001) and linguistic acts are implicated at the centre of the (re)constitution of gendered bodies (Butler, 1990, 1993). This in turn helps to illustrate how power, in the field of racing operates linguistically, through embodied and verbal interactional behaviours which are linked to the (re)constitution of shared meanings concerning gender. Such verbal interactional performances reproduce patterns of domination, subjugation and subordination and consist of stereotypical verbal performances of gender shaped around masculine heterosexual

norms. To an outsider, with little knowledge of yard terminology, the term, 'that's a bird's ride', 'a bird horse' would probably mean very little, they are used to indicate that the horse is a safe, sensible ride, not too strong and will not usually do anything too silly. For the insider however, it reinforces the corporeal understanding that women's bodies are weaker, less capable and competent than men's so they will only be safe riding the quieter horses, something one young female apprentice found hard to accept.

It's in people's heads that, that lads are stronger, aggressive. If you get on with it, it's ok, but I found that hard (Dawn, 19, apprentice jockey).

Such is the illusion that the racing field has that there were occasions in the yard under study where there was a misrecognition, a retrospective symbolic violence exercised upon Brenda as when she was told, by an owner, that his horse 'was a man's ride' as the horse was strong and ungainly. This was despite the fact she had ridden and won twice on the horse previously, when point-to-pointing. This symbolic violence is a way of keeping 'girls' in their place and adds credence to the paternalistic attitude that is widespread in racing that women need looking after and protecting so giving a 'girl' 'a bird's ride' is a chivalrous gesture. The use of the term 'girl' is itself implicated in this process.

As we have seen in chapter three, the racing field is similar to boxing in that it has its own rules and regulations but it is also differentiated by class and gender. It is predominantly white and used to be one of the routes by which small, working-class boys could use their physical size as capital to become a jockey. Racing bodies are always classed and gendered bodies and the dominant culture is masculine.

Advertisements for racing staff have to conform to equal opportunities legislation but, as the following quote highlights,

it's all, it's all, look, it's Head, it's Head Lad. It's quite sexist almost, but you think, it's very rare you say, 'Head Girl', they always say, 'Head Lad, Travelling Head Lad' You very rarely hear it ... they're always, and they're always advertising, if you look, it's always, Head Lad, Travelling Head Lad, Head Groom', you know it's never it's never gi-, you know, 'Travelling Head Lass wanted (Mary,30, 'travelling head 'lad').

The racing field still uses masculine titles for its staff and it was only in 2008 that the Stable Lads' Association changed its name to the National Association of Stable Staff so as to be more representative of those who work in racing. This gendered language is an indication of the masculinist culture of the racing field.

This section has shown how women acquire a gendered habitus that involves developing an embodied masculinity. Women often have the physical capital needed to race ride but its exchange value is lessened as they are seen as being weaker than men; it is devalued by gender. The focus of my analysis thus far has been on women as part of the labour force and the attitudes and dispositions they have embodied in order to be seen as one of the 'lads'. The following section discusses and analyses women as jockeys.

Women as jockeys

Until 1976 entry into the racing workforce was governed by male-only indentured apprenticeship. Very few women at the time were employed in racing, a situation that persisted to at least the 1970s, and it has been estimated that women only amounted to 10% of the existing work force during this period (JRB, 1974) (see chapter three). This was changed in the 1970s as more young women began to be employed in racing, an employment trend that was not confined solely to the racing industry or to the UK. It was a pattern that was occurring globally, with women entering the paid labour force in increasing numbers with (at that time) more permanent employment being the norm (Jenson, 1988). The JRB report (1974) noted this influx of women into the workforce was likely to continue. Anne Alcock, in her journalistic account of women's struggle to be allowed to race ride, points out that, 'The Jockey Club nurtured the girls and followed a policy which encouraged them to work in racing stables when labour was increasingly hard to find' (Alcock, 1978:50). By the 1990s the pattern of employment in racing had changed with fewer full-time, qualified, experienced staff available. The gap was filled by the recruitment of part-time staff, a high percentage of whom were female and later, migrant labour.

As we have seen, the first series of races for women held during the 1973 flat season was only open to female amateur riders and was introduced to give women who worked as 'lads' the opportunity to gain experience race riding and to act as an incentive aimed at recruiting women into the workforce. The same process was already in place for male apprentice jockeys who started off their riding career in what were known as 'boys' races', that is, inexperienced male apprentices rode experienced racehorses that were suitable for novice riders. It was thought that if women were given professional status too early they would lack experience 'and it is lack of experience which can cause accidents' (JRB, 1974:25). It was further decided that although women were likely to apply for professional licences they should be 'watched very closely in their races in 1974 to see that they have sufficient race riding ability to be considered for a full licence' (JRB, 1974:26). Such a paternalistic attitude

by the Jockey Club could be viewed as completely correct in that they were only protecting the women from their 'natural bodily weaknesses'; however it disguised ongoing discrimination against women who aspire to race ride.

There are significant differences between amateurs and professionals who race ride and this is an important factor in explaining women's entry into the amateur ranks rather than those of the professional. As we have seen, riding as an amateur carries with it the implication that the individual has adequate time and financial resources to indulge in such practices, they are doing it for the love of the sport, their own well being and because they can. They are not gaining financially from doing this as it is their hobby. So how was it that these female pioneers of the pigskin,²² the 'jockettes', as they were known, developed a sense of entitlement and were able, eventually, to be recognised as legitimate? How did they see themselves as qualified to race ride and how did they convince others of this?

These particular women, the first 'jockettes' had the economic, cultural and social capital that enabled them to achieve the goal of race riding as was discussed in chapter three. But how were stable 'girls' to get the opportunity to race ride given that they had little in the way of legitimate capital or distinction that would let them overcome the historically informed and culturally ingrained hurdles in their way? As the father of a young girl who was one of the first women 'lads' to ride out on Newmarket Heath explained to me,

The jockette races were a good idea. They were to encourage girls into racing but girls who 'did their two' never got to ride. There was a shortage of lads you see, it was to encourage the girls. But slowly the trainers' wives took over and they never got a look in (Retired Stable manager, 71, Newmarket racecourse).

²² Racing saddles were often made of pigskin due to its hard-wearing but lighter properties than cow hide.

The Jockey Club, by giving professional licences ‘by invitation’ rather than application were able to regulate who, in their view, had the right credentials to become a professional jockey. Initially the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) worked against working-class women who were working as ‘lads’ being able to race ride. This was because they were being paid for their labour, so were deemed professional, and the first ‘ladies’ races were for amateur jockeys only. Thus those from racing backgrounds who had the experience and the economic and social capital always had a head start over those entering the racing without these. This situation led trainer’s daughter, Diana Bissell, who in 1978 was the Lady Jockeys’ Association ‘chairman’ (sic) to give prospective women jockeys the following advice:

At this time it is best to enter [racing as part of the work force] as a trainer’s secretary which means one is still an amateur. If one proceeds as a stable girl (which means one is being paid for exercising and grooming horses) one automatically enters a different field and loses one’s amateur status (Martin, 1979:207).

This is itself a contradiction as the idea behind the series of races was to encourage working-class women to work as stable staff in a masculine, male dominated occupation by giving them the opportunity to race ride. Instead the race series gave women with the economic, cultural and symbolic capital derived from family connections the opportunity to ride. The rules have since been changed to allow ‘stable girls’ to ride as amateurs and, as the following tables show, riding as an amateur is the most popular form of race riding for women. These figures indicate the difficulties women face in entering a field that is gendered masculine and where women’s exclusion is legitimated by the dispositions and attitudes that govern it. As we can see, the proportion of amateur jockeys who were women was 68% in 2009. This compares with figures of 1% for professional National Hunt jockeys and 7% for professional flat jockeys. Race riding as a profession is still heavily dominated by men. Moreover, amateur races are viewed by many who work in racing as a training ground, somewhere to have a ride where ‘if you cock up, no one notices and if they do, they just say, “oh well it’s an amateur, you kind of expect them to do things wrong” (04/03/08, field notes). As Neil

quite uncharitably pointed out one day at the yard, 'that R D rode a winner. Her Dad buys her the horses. She just has to steer them. Was the usual. Horse was all over the place. She's not that good really' (04/03/10, field notes). This scorn for amateur races may relate both to its gender composition and to its class association (see chapter one).

Table 5.1: Amateur Jockeys

| Year | Male No | % | Female No | % | Total | % |
|-------------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 1989 | 13 | 32.5 | 27 | 67.5 | 40 | 100 |
| 1994 | 23 | 23.7 | 74 | 76.3 | 97 | 100 |
| 1999 | 37 | 35.2 | 105 | 73.2 | 132 | 100 |
| 2004 | 24 | 29.3 | 110 | 67.1 | 134 | 100 |
| 2009 | 22 | 31.9 | 47 | 68.1 | 69 | 100 |

Table 5.2: Professional Apprentice Jockeys

| Year | Male No | % | Female No | % | Total | % |
|-------------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 1989 | 178 | 81.7 | 59 | 18.3 | 237 | 100 |
| 1994 | 106 | 71.6 | 49 | 28.4 | 155 | 100 |
| 1999 | 90 | 74.4 | 31 | 25.6 | 121 | 100 |
| 2004 | 102 | 73.9 | 36 | 26.1 | 138 | 100 |
| 2009 | 94 | 76.4 | 29 | 23.5 | 123 | 100 |

Table 5.3: Conditional National Hunt Jockeys

| Year | Male No | % | Female No | % | Total | % |
|-------------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 1989 | 245 | 92.8 | 19 | 7.2 | 264 | 100 |
| 1994 | 155 | 95.7 | 7 | 4.3 | 162 | 100 |
| 1999 | 99 | 96.1 | 4 | 3.9 | 103 | 100 |
| 2004 | 117 | 95.7 | 5 | 4.3 | 122 | 100 |
| 2009 | 92 | 97.8 | 2 | 2.2 | 94 | 100 |

Table 5.4: Professional Flat Jockeys

| Year | Male No | % | Female No | % | Total | % |
|-------------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 1989 | 115 | 98.3 | 2 | 1.7 | 117 | 100 |
| 1994 | 104 | 93.7 | 7 | 6.3 | 111 | 100 |
| 1999 | 100 | 96.2 | 4 | 3.8 | 104 | 100 |
| 2004 | 112 | 94.9 | 6 | 5.1 | 118 | 100 |
| 2009 | 109 | 93.2 | 8 | 6.8 | 117 | 100 |

(Source.BHA, 2009a)

Table 5.5: Professional National Hunt Jockeys

| Year | Male no | % | Female no | % | Total | % |
|------|---------|------|-----------|-----|-------|-----|
| 1989 | 136 | 93.8 | 9 | 6.2 | 145 | 100 |
| 1994 | 117 | 92.9 | 9 | 7.1 | 126 | 100 |
| 1999 | 88 | 95.7 | 4 | 4.3 | 92 | 100 |
| 2004 | 78 | 98.7 | 1 | 1.3 | 79 | 100 |
| 2009 | 88 | 99.8 | 1 | 1.1 | 89 | 100 |

(Source.BHA, 2009a)

Note: the data that was collected for these tables was incomplete for some years, hence the 1989 start and the five year gradients.

Developments in the 1970s meant that 'girls' have, ostensibly, been legitimate members of the racing field from that time and, in 1975, they were allowed to apply for apprentice²³ licences on the Flat²⁴ in the same way as young men (for more detail see chapter three) This altered the balance slightly in favour of working-class women working as stable staff as, to be able to ride on the flat they needed the necessary physical capital, that is they needed to be small and light. Despite these developments, as tables 5.1 to 5.5 indicate, gender inequalities in race riding still persist. Although there has been a slight increase in the proportion of women professional flat and apprentice jockeys since 1989, they still constitute just under 25% of apprentice jockeys and less than 10% of professional jockeys. In National Hunt racing,

²³ A young inexperienced professional trainee jockey on the flat.

²⁴ Racing that takes place on racetracks where there are no jumps to negotiate.

considered potentially more risky, the participation of women as conditional and professional jockeys is even lower, the reasons for which will be discussed later in the chapter.

The tables illustrate the contradictions outlined in the first section of this chapter: that women do the same work in a yard as men, embodying a gendered habitus, yet when it comes to race riding the proportion of female to male apprentices has stayed relatively constant since 1994. An apprentice jockey often still works full time as a 'lad' for the trainer they are apprenticed to, so does not have to rely only on their riding fees for an income. For a woman to become a professional jockey, especially a National Hunt jockey, she must be confident she will receive enough rides to be able to make race riding a financially viable occupation. Although it is difficult to compare like for like, in Australia, in the State of Victoria 17% of those holding flat jockey licences are women which, in comparison to Britain's 6.8%, is high. However Australian women only receive 10% of the race rides, often being overlooked in favour of male jockeys for the more high-profile races and horses (Lycett, 2011). It has not been possible to work out what the equivalent figure would be in Britain, but from looking at the racecards in the newspapers the situation would appear to be the same, in that only a small proportion of women are receiving rides. The only category that is different is that of the amateur, where women can ride as a 'hobby' and still hold down other employment, be it in racing or another occupation. Some women will work as a 'lad' and keep their own horse at the yard where they work, running it under the trainer's name in amateur races.

Equality of opportunity?

Those who talk of equality of opportunity forget that social games—the economic game, but also the cultural games (the religious field, the judicial field, the philosophical field, etc.) are not 'fair games'. Without being, strictly speaking, rigged, the competition resembles a

handicap race that has lasted for generations or games in which each player has the positive or negative score of all those who have preceded him. That is the accumulated scores of all his ancestors (Bourdieu, 2000:214).

In this section I focus on how women's second class status and inability to become professional jockeys can be explained. Through being in a position of power the Jockey Club was able to designate what its members classed as capital which was reproduced in terms that Bourdieu would have described as misrecognition, symbolic violence, *illusio* and universalisation. The 'capital' that was available in the form of resources, symbolic goods and symbolic power depended on the economic, social and physical worth of the individual and what was available in the field itself. The power available to an individual was dependant on her position within the field, and the amount of capital she possessed. There was a struggle within the field for position, status and power, relative to the defining capital in the field. As Moi (1991) points out, 'the right to speak, legitimacy is invested in those agents recognised by the field as powerful possessors of capital' (Moi, 1991:1022) so for women in the racing field their lack of capital and the symbolic violence exercised upon them meant that they were battling against the misrecognition that they had for many decades accepted as the 'natural order of things'. In order to succeed they needed access to the capitals that were valued in the field, which, as we have seen, were devalued by their gender. Thus, the 'competition' to achieve equal riding opportunities and recognition of their skills as accomplished horse women in the field did 'resemble(s) a handicap race that has lasted for generations' (Bourdieu, 2000:214).

Many of the interviewees had always wanted to have a ride, 'just one, say I've done it' but most of them, as recorded earlier, were not given the opportunity to school²⁵ a horse due to their lack of economic, social and symbolic capitals. Ruth did not have the right cultural and social capital so,

²⁵ To school is to jump a horse over jumps.

Unless you were the trainer's daughter, trainer's wife or you were going out with somebody, or a well connected background, you did not get to school. And when I was at Wrigleys [trainer], the only girls who were ever allowed to do any schooling of any type were his daughters, and you weren't even considered and at that time that's when I was, I wanted to be able to prove that, I could, I was up for it then, 'cause you are when you're that age. I would have loved to have been able to school and as time goes on you just think, what am I following this 'cause, you're not going to get anywhere [here] but when I went racing and you talked to people, then you realise, well, actually, it's not just me, it's racing. I think that's why I work hard because that's the only way I could prove I could do anything (Ruth, 40, head 'lad').

Mary did not have enough economic capital herself and lacked the cultural, social and symbolic capitals that might have given her the chance of a ride.

Yeah, I did, yeah, I would have loved to [race ride] when I was sixteen, seventeen there's nothing I wanted more than to, you know, get on, and ride, but for one I never really had a horse, never had the money. At that age you get paid next to nothing and that's when you want to do it the most is when you're sixteen, seventeen, a lot of people are lucky, they've got the family, family background or friends of the family that give them a spin²⁶ (Mary, 30, travelling head 'lad').

Situations such as these are still common although there are some yards where young women get the opportunity to do all the tasks associated with working and riding out as well as race riding. Patronage plays an important part in a woman's occupational status in the racing field.

²⁶ Having a 'spin' means having a ride in a race.

And that was one good thing about Marnies[trainer], the girls were treated equally, we were allowed to school, go hunting, teach horses to jump and if you were feeling brave and you wanna get on that horse that's just been broken in, you'd get on, as long as you're confident...don't if you have any doubt don't get on it (Mary, 30, travelling head 'lad').

Patronage of the trainer and owner played an important part in the careers of some of the first women apprentices who went into the racing field as 'lads'.

The head lad and me were walking back in from the paddocks chatting and he asked me, 'what do you want to get out of life and what did I want to get out of racing'? My reply was, 'Oh, you know, I just want to enjoy doing what I'm doing', and then, and I was quite shocked, 'Well, do you know, have you never thought about being an apprentice?' I replied by saying, 'No, I'd never be good enough to do that, but I'd, it'd be nice maybe one day to have a ride' so, that, that was sort of, that was kind of unheard of in those days, you know, the trainer giving girls the chance (Julie, 42, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

Yards differ in the chances they give to women and it is still the case that the patronage of the trainer can make the difference between becoming an apprentice jockey or not. Trainees fill out what are known as their 'dream sheets' at the BRS in their seventh week of training, indicating what area and what type of yard they would like to work in. Their instructors know which are 'good' yards for women if they want to be considered for an apprenticeship. As Shelley, former 'lad' and now NVQ assessor for the BRS who is in close contact with new entrants to racing, advised,

I think it's a case of just avoiding those yards where you feel there is an underlying discrimination, or you've heard there is, avoid them like the plague ... and if you're prepared to move ... and if you feel that you are discriminated against, don't put up with it. And it's perhaps no good trying to change the yard from within but certainly don't stay (Shelley, 32, former 'lad').

Women still need however to consider the words of Bourdieu, 'that social games...but also cultural games... are not fair games' (Bourdieu, 2000: 214) especially when it

comes to being given the opportunity to race ride, something young men take for granted. Women must show they are keen, fit and ready for the chance when it is given to them. Shelley offered the following advice to any potential female apprentice,

and if there are two apprentices in a yard, one's male, and one female, you damn well make sure you're as fit and as strong as he is, and that you can push one out at the end of a race as well as he can, because that's what's going to depend whether you get the ride again (Shelley, 32, former 'lad').

The majority of the interviewees thought that the racing field had changed. Heather said:

There are so much more opportunities now, for good girls and you can go anywhere in the world and get a job in racing. I would have loved to have gone to America and done track work²⁷ but you just, it just wasn't available [in the late 1970s] (Heather, 47, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

Although things may be improving for women in that there are more opportunities and some trainers who will give them a chance to race ride, opportunity is still weighted in favour of men. Ruth left racing for a while to work at Royal Mail where attitudes were in sharp contrast to those she had previously encountered. She was surprised at the way she was treated and it was only when she returned to work in racing that she realised how unequal it was.

²⁷ Racehorses in the USA are trained on the race track so are ridden by 'track riders' who exercise the horses daily.

You've been expected to hold your own just like anybody else, so that's the way I look at it really. You do the hay, you do the bale carting and you're doing it ... and I can see like in Royal Mail, 'you're not lifting that, are you alright with that? and I, [think], why not?', but, in racing you're just kind of expected to. See that's where you're alright being equals. Why are you alright being equals there? When you're not? Riding ability. They can't, they can't pick and choose where you're equal and where you're not. You're alright for your strengths, take your barrows out, but why aren't you strong enough to ride that horse? I think it's been a very male dominated [job], why it's been so male dominated and it's just taken so long to change, it was a male dominated area for such a long time (Ruth, 40, 'head lad').

Risk

One of the reasons advanced for women not being exposed to the rigours of race riding echoes Ruth's experiences at the Royal Mail and is in contradiction with women's ability to work as 'lads', undertaking hard, physical labour. It relates to the idea that women may be more at risk of physical injury than men, especially in National Hunt racing where the chances of being hurt are greater.

Historically, men's discomfort with women riding and the paternalistic nature of the racing field became evident as women began to challenge dominant ideas of what was appropriate for them and what women's bodies were capable of doing. One of the women told me about a trainer who will only have male 'lads' riding out; he 'girls' this trainer employs are ground staff, caring for the horses in the yard. She said,

And it's a male trainer, and he has a wife and he's got girls that do pony racing and things like that and, so I'm not sure if it's 'cause he doesn't wanna be picking broken girls up or, you know, is he, 'cause, there are some men that worry about injuring females and, it's a Welsh yard and it's a hard yard, as well ... and so I'm not sure of his reasons for it, whether he thinks we can't do the job or are a bit softer ... (Shelley, 32, former 'lad').

Her comments show that injuries to women are viewed differently from those to men as something to be avoided at all costs. Similar attitudes to the possibility of injury were seen when women were first allowed to ride as professional National Hunt jockeys. As I have already suggested, National Hunt jockeys embody a specific masculinity which is characterised by mental and physical toughness, strength and stamina. The horses themselves tend to be bigger than in other types of racing and there is more risk of injury and accident with horses falling and bodies being broken. When women were first allowed to ride as professional National Hunt jockeys the accepted view of many in racing was that women needed protecting from these dangers and that they should therefore not be riding as their bodies were not strong enough to withstand any falls they might have. Injury was also thought to be potentially more severe for female bodies. Former jockey, Bob Champion, saw National Hunt racing as being too tough for women as they were not competitive enough and their bodies were the wrong shape. In his view, chest first falls could hurt a woman more than they would hurt a man (see also Pink, 1996). Other trainers saw women's riding style - what one referred to as the 'fanny crouch, legs back, bottoms up, all bust and backside' - as a reason, along with their smaller bodies, why women should not be riding. Such views were both paternalistic and patronising (indeed they could more accurately be seen as paternalistic sexism) (Pink, 1996:52) furthermore they ignored the fact that women had already been riding in mixed races in point-to-points. Ann Alcock, who herself rode in steeplechases, points out the inconsistencies of these views,

the hurly burly, rough and tumble cut-throat business of professional jockeys racing for a living is a vastly different affair from amateur point to point riders racing for fun. That women on the point to point scene could be totally ruthless, giving as good as they got in the few mixed races allowed as well as in ladies' races, was not really discussed then, though it had been in the past (Alcock, 1978:16).

Notions of risk, paternalism and chivalry together with the idea that women were more fragile than men were themes that emerged when talking about working in racing yards. Fred, former indentured apprentice and head lad, saw it as his responsibility to make sure that the 'girls' were looked after.

You think you're mamby pamby but you're not, and you don't tell the girl, you know, you say, 'you're just gonna ride on this, see what you think of it, you know, it's a bit, seems a bit quiet' ... oh I have seen a few accidents, yeah, like that, and you think, you don't wanna see it, so you think to yourself, maybe the girl, in her forties with a couple of kids, they shouldn't be going round a yard barrowing shit to a dung hill with a fork, I just think, I think they should be mums if you know what I mean and, and if they had another skill, of some kind, they could say, 'right, I've had a good life in racing, I've done this, I've enjoyed me horses, but it's time, maybe I want to be, get a job in a dress shop or something', you know, a hairdressers or something, if they've got a trade to do it. Lads, they're gonna do it, that, rough, they're gonna be on a building site, slab layer or whatever, you know. (Fred, 67, former 'head lad', indentured apprentice).

There is a paternalism inherent within Fred's comments about it being better for women to follow stereotypical occupations which are 'safer' for them and involve less exposure to risk and rough working conditions.

The following section highlights the way in which the feminisation of racing's workforce has been followed by a process of deskilling, and increasing reliance on migrant labour. I focus first on processes of deskilling.

Deskilling and migrant labour

I have referred to the custom of each lad looking after two horses, known in racing terminology as ‘doing your two’. This practice has, as shown in chapter four, given way to a different division of labour and is no longer used as a standard measurement of work in the Memorandum of Agreement between the National Trainers Federation and The National Association of Stable Staff, (2010). The following extract is from the memorandum and acknowledges the changing pattern of labour.

Because of the changing circumstances in the way racing stables are run, it has not been possible to agree on a mandatory horse/lad/lass ratio. This Agreement recommends a ratio of one member of staff to three horses (NASS, 2011, Memorandum of Agreement, 2010, 6:46).

This change is indicative of a process of de-skilling and increasing specialisation of tasks that is taking place. Filby (1987) noted this in his study of the ‘racing lad’ and it is also commented on by modern and indentured apprentices in this study and is evident in working practices at Conborough. ‘Yard people’ are now employed who will muck out, put the hay round for horses out on exercise, sweep and tidy the yard, so completing the less skilled tasks that are involved with morning stables. These are tasks that can be done by someone with little or no knowledge of horses and are increasingly done by migrant workers whose lack of English or experience with horses is not a problem in getting the morning yard duties completed. Seven of the eight modern apprentices who were interviewed at their workplace mentioned they had ‘foreigners’ working in the yard from ‘everywhere’, and, apart from the language barriers that existed, they were accepted as part of the yard workforce.

Where Vicki worked they,

Have about eight Indians or so. They are hardworking usually, calm, placid, get on with it ... and they understand English, most of them really well and yeah, they’re really, they are like really nice to work with actually, really nice (Vicki, 18, modern apprentice).

The role of 'yard people' is vital to the smooth running of the yard as it means that fewer full-time staff are needed and, as seen in chapter four, other part-time staff and 'rider outers' can be employed, often on a casual basis simply to ride out. Trainers used to try and make sure that the 'lads' rode the two horses that they looked after, but the change in working practices means trainers are reliant on rider outers who come in on a daily basis. They are the ones who ensure that the 'important' part of training the racehorses, that is getting them fit to race, can be done. The yard work that is also essential to the production of a racehorse is thereby devalued and deskilled. Rider outers are paid a set amount per lot thereby reducing the overall wage bill as there is less in full-time wages to be paid out.

The trainer's main aim, as we have seen, is to produce racehorses that are fit and healthy in order to race. Procedures such as 'looking round' still take place in some yards but at Conborough this did not happen and as other tasks that were once deemed important such as mucking out have been devalued in terms of the time spent on them and the importance attached to them, the workers who carry out these tasks tend not to be valued. Greg, from Poland was employed at Conborough and did the yard duties, namely mucking out, cleaning and re-filling the water buckets, putting the hay in after exercise and sweeping the yard. He was a general labourer in Poland but had come over to Britain as, at the time, there was little in the way of work for him at home. His English was very poor but once he had been shown what he had to do he was quite competent at his job and he soon learnt how to put a headcollar on to lead a horse out of its stable. As more horses came in to be trained at Conborough a different routine was introduced whereby the male and female 'lads' mucked out their 'five' from 6 to 7.15 in the morning so there was no longer a position for Greg. He went back to Poland for two weeks to see his wife and small daughter in the summer when the yard was quieter only to learn that he need not return - through a text. His belongings were posted back a few months later. This indicates that employment and labour relations are still quite unregulated in the racing industry with people being laid off with no notice.

It may be thought that language would be a problem but most interviewees found that it was possible to make themselves understood, as Georgia, a modern apprentice explained.

If there's no-one, but a foreigner around who doesn't really understand you then try and find someone, [but] usually anyone will understand you. I mean I asked one of the foreigners the other day and I didn't realise it was him, as I thought it was someone else and I said, oh do you know if you've got, do you know where the tape is for the bandages? and he turned round and I looked at him, I thought, oh it's a foreigner he won't understand me, he went, 'bandages'? I went, [using sign language] no sort of, I sort of went, tape for the bandages. [He said] 'oh yeah I've got some for you' kind of thing. He does, they do understand, they are helpful (Georgia, 18, modern apprentice).

It is part of the culture of the racing field to refer to migrant labour as 'foreigners' and highlights that the field is 'raced' as well as classed and gendered; I return to this below.

An increase in the use of migrant labour is associated with the introduction of different working patterns and processes of deskilling. It was always expected that a 'lad' would take 'his' horse racing. Now this is not necessary as an unskilled, often migrant worker might be sent to lead the horse up whilst the travelling head lad will oversee the process of getting the horses ready to race. This can, in some cases, cause antagonism as Matt explained,

What I can't deal with is ... we've got a lad there, Gunder, and he went racing yesterday and he can't even put a bridle on, and it's ridiculous, cause he went racing with Larry [travelling head lad], and Larry had to do everything, apart from lead the horse up, he can't even put a bridle on, it shouldn't be allowed I think if they

can't speak English they shouldn't go racing anyway ... we, we have got one, one owner that refuses to let an Indian do, look after his horses (Matt, 17, modern apprentice).

This points to the underlying tensions surrounding the use of migrant labour and racism is sometimes evident in how 'lads' talk about migrant workers when they say things like 'taking up English jobs'. Generally, the interviewees did not say that working alongside migrant workers was a problem, although Matt's comments suggest otherwise. The contradictions inherent expressed here demonstrate that resentment about unskilled labour being used instead of skilled labour comes out in a racist way of talking. Migrant workers are usually at the bottom of the employment hierarchy because of a labour shortage, but, despite this, they are often resented. The situation at Conborough where the Polish woman, Milena, was employed was completely different as she was immediately accepted as one of the staff and Shelley, an NVQ assessor said:

I do think there are more younger trainers coming through, I would hope, to think certainly, there are less bullies ... the yards I go to they really don't care, they just want the job done properly and they don't care what colour you are, what size you are, as long as you're the right weight for the horse and you can do the job (Shelley, 32, former 'lad' and NVQ assessor).

The changing nature of work and task specialisation does not contribute towards job satisfaction. Matt works in a yard where migrant workers are employed to muck out but he found the work

not boring but it's not as challenging as I thought it would be, but now, we're standing around for near enough an hour a day. We're actually standing around, waiting to pull out, cause we don't muck out so, erm, between each lot we're waiting for everyone to come

in [from exercise], everyone to get tacked up, so we're, standing there for about five minutes before, five or ten minutes before each lot, and there's waiting to feed and stuff, so we actually stand around for quite a while in the day, it gets a bit boring (Matt, 17, modern apprentice).

Other yards organise the daily working routine based around the use of migrant labour as the core members of staff. Renowned as 'hard workers' it is said by some in the industry,

That's why a lot of foreign staff are coming over here, because they were finding that they were more willing to work, than our English staff were, like, ' ooh, its 12 o'clock, I'm going home' (Shelley, 32, former 'lad').

It is said anecdotally that migrant workers have replaced indentured apprentices as cheap labour, since trainers pay them as close to the minimum wage set out for stable staff as they can, then deduct a high percentage for their accommodation, which is often in a caravan with few facilities. As one interviewee told me:

... all live in that Portacabin, four of them. Employs them so he doesn't have to pay them as much (Vicki, 18, modern apprentice).

At Conborough a young 24 year old Polish woman, Milena was employed as a full time 'lad' and she lived in a caravan on the yard. The caravan was quite basic but it annoyed the other staff who grumbled about the fact that she got the same wage as them yet unlike them had to pay nothing towards her rent and electricity.

Vicki was quite surprised when she first started at her new yard as there was no mucking out to do, something she had always done before.

there's eight Indians who do it...there's, erm, there's about forty five, (horses) but these, there's about six of them that start in the morning and they muck out about three each and then the two just carry on (Vicki, 18, modern apprentice).

The yard men in this case, started at 7 a.m. and then, once the mucking out was finished, they would sweep the yards and put horses on the horse walker. This specific yard employed other staff as rider outers who rode however many lots they were given, with jockeys in on schooling or work days plus some of the migrant workers who rode out and who also worked full time and did evening stables. The re-organisation of work has permeated the once regimented routine of evening stables where

...it was always four till about six, even though you did three horses, cause you spent proper, you know, half an hour on each horse, and you mucked out, you strapped over you did everything, and then half an hour to feed them and sweep up and then go (Heather, 42, former apprentice jockey and stable 'lad').

Now, in the yard where Matt was employed,

[We] just skip round in the evening. I mean first we've got to put the horses on the walker as well, so it's actually quite a rush in the afternoons, plus, at the moment we're doing seven in the afternoons, doing seven, and one of the other young lads has gone back home for a month, so we've got all of his horses, so we all

have spares, so it's, some afternoons you have seven to do (Matt, 17, modern apprentice).

This indicates a work intensification as well as de-skilling. Heather, a former apprentice in the late 1970s, who now rides out for a local trainer has observed that, since she first started working in racing,

... the dynamics of racing's changed, like you don't muck out anymore and you just ride out and so it's just changed, yeah, we had our three and that was it (Heather, 46, former apprentice now 'rider-outer').

The increase in the number of horses attended to by one person means that some of the tasks that were once carried out, such as strapping a horse which is the equivalent to a massage in a human, or dressing them over, having a complete make-over, are very rarely done as there is not the time available. Vicki pointed out that in their yard it was mainly migrant workers who did the work in an evening,

They probably ... they all work, including [in this case] the rider outers, so they must do about eight each, but they don't have to brush them, so, they get them in, put out the feed and put the rugs on (Vicki, 18, modern apprentice).

As Braverman (1974) theorised, the gradual change in the nature of work has meant that many workers have come to possess a narrower range of skills and technical aptitudes with a lower level of knowledge, whereas a smaller percentage perform more specialised tasks and have a wider depth of knowledge. Trainers found themselves having to adapt their labour processes rather quickly once a national minimum wage

for stable staff was brought in and they no longer had a source of cheap labour in indentured apprentices. The traditional role of the 'racing lad' has been disaggregated through the processes of specialisation and fragmentation. There are those who will find some areas of knowledge closed off to them as work reorganisation changes the occupational nature and identity of the stable 'lad'. There used to be a recognition by the trainer of the craft element of looking after a horse well, which, although subjective and difficult to measure, was associated with a high degree of job satisfaction, as Mandy testifies.

People are doing it more just for the wages at the end of the week now I think, whereas before it, I mean, when I was at Nevill's it made your week, you stand the horses up ... most evenings, if she [the trainer] was about and if she'd come in and looked at your horse and say, 'that looks well' that would make your week (Mandy, 42, former 'lad').

Tina reiterated what Mandy had said in thinking there seemed to be a general lowering of standards which made employees who had been in racing for a considerable length of time feel that the occupation was being undermined, especially the more skilled elements of the work.

I find that, you know, some of the people who are in racing, I think, why are you in racing? You know, what are you getting? I drive through the town [Newmarket] ... even if I ride out and I see someone riding and I think, what are you doing on a horse? Why is someone employing you? I don't understand, you know, I see lads riding out and I think, what idiot has put you on a horse, let alone employ you? I'm thinking, you know, there, there were standards, you had to be able to ride, and I see so many people who, clearly cannot ride and should not be ... and [standards] have dropped way down there. I don't know whether it's to do with wages, I don't know, hours, I really don't know why but, the trainers have got 'lapy daysical'. It's good to have a happy yard but you've still got to have standards (Tina, 42, former apprentice jockey and 'lad').

This section has illustrated the changes that have occurred in the nature of work within the racing industry. Although in some yards lads may still only 'do' three horses each, there have been a gradual disaggregation of work, and an increasing division of labour that meant less experienced staff can be employed to do the menial, unskilled work. Fragmentation and specialisation have meant a changing role for the composite role of the stable 'lad'. Migrant labour has gradually been introduced into racing yards, and this corresponds with the changing patterns of work. I found migrant workers performed unskilled, menial work, although some also rode out as was the case at Conborough.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the gendered power relations that operate in the racing field, which like the military and political fields is gendered masculine (Liddle and Michielsens, 2007, Cohn, 2000). Prior to the 1970s, it was very difficult for women to enter the field as trainers, jockeys and stable staff. And it was only through staff shortages and equalities legislation that women really gained a foothold.

I have argued that, in order to become accepted within the masculine racing field women had to embody a racing habitus. Toughness, fitness, assertiveness, strength and stamina are all characteristics which are regarded as mandatory in order to be able to work in racing, and any woman (man) who is unable to embody these is singled out as being different and out of place. The working identities that women develop involve behaving like a 'lad' and not being 'girly girls' in order to be accepted. Women's working bodies embody masculine attributes, they engage in manual work as stable staff, they take risks, as jockeys and are in authority over men as trainers, elements that are associated culturally with different types of masculinities.

The success of the few women jockeys has been achieved by relentless hard work and self discipline, together with the patronage of trainers and owners, something that all jockeys, whatever their gender, have to have in order to be able to race ride. Women's initiation into the racing field involves a process of developing elements of a masculine habitus and, for those who have the opportunity to race ride, their struggle for legitimacy is hampered by their female bodies which are seen as weak, the wrong shape and prone to being easily broken. They have bodily parts such as breasts which could be injured, men also have vulnerable genitalia but this is never mentioned as a reason to exclude them from race riding. This point has also been made in relation to bull fighting (Pink, 1996) and illustrates the way in which references to bodily and sexual difference are used as a means of legitimising women's exclusion from the risks associated with race riding.

There are still very few women who ride as professional National Hunt jockeys, but like their counterparts in flat racing, they have the necessary physical capital in that they are usually lighter than their male colleagues. Weight is crucial and as Australian apprentice, Briony Dunn said, 'Your body is your business and, if you're heavy, you're not making runs'. She acknowledges that there is immense pressure on jockeys to maintain a low body weight so she must be very strict with her diet. Although many women in the racing field have the physical capital to race ride, their gender capital works against them. They have had to develop a habitus which embodies elements of masculinity, accepts the doxic values of the field, is wrapped up in the *illusio* of racing and can withstand the symbolic violence it is subjected to. Their gender capital however devalues their physical capital, making women's bodies unsuitable for race riding.

This chapter has highlighted the path women have followed since their recruitment into the work force of the racing industry. It has shown how women have been in a subordinate position in the racing field, which is itself governed by chance and contradictions. Chance is strongly linked to patronage but can to a certain extent be manipulated if a young, female, stable 'lad' is careful which yards she works in. She needs to choose a yard which does not reproduce and embody the doxic values of the racing field and, to resist the symbolic violence that shapes gender relations in the racing field. It is here that the contradictions arise. On one hand women embody elements of masculinity, have the necessary physical capital and develop a racing habitus but, on the other, they have not been considered as suitable apprentice jockeys in the way that young men are.

It has shown how the racing industry turned to women to supplement its shrinking male workforce, which is now becoming increasingly reliant on migrant labour. There has been a change in work practices, illustrated by a process of deskilling together with a fragmentation of the skills indentured apprentices were once taught.

The following chapter focuses on what was once the only occupational route into the racing industry, indentured apprenticeship. It traces the path that young, working-class 'boys' followed after being signed up by their master, the trainer, emerging, after a number of years, as 'board and wage' men. Used as cheap labour, indentured apprentices were at the bottom of the labour hierarchy and were treated accordingly. Being an apprentice however, did not mean the 'boy' would be given race rides as this was dependent on the patronage of the trainer, the 'boys' weight as well as ability. The chapter looks at the processes by which a habitus is formed and embodied in relation to class and focuses on the way indentured apprentices learnt to be competent stable men and to embody their place in the class hierarchy.

Chapter Six

‘Sitting by Nellie’ – learning through practice

In the last chapter I discussed some of the changes that have taken place within the racing field with regard to gender relations and the way in which women develop a racing habitus that is embodied and shaped by the doxic values and symbolic violence of the racing field. The next two chapters are also about change. This chapter is about changes relating to class and the way in which young indentured apprentices learnt their place in the class hierarchy as well as the skills and knowledge required if they were to become ‘board and wage men’ and for some, who were good enough, apprentice jockeys. Both chapters focus on the changes that have taken place in the way that stable staff are trained and how they learn what is required of them if they are to work in racing. The aim of both chapters is to explore how indentured and modern apprenticeship can be understood in terms of acquiring a gendered, classed and embodied racing habitus as well as learning the skills required to work as a stable ‘lad’. This process is set within the changes and continuities seen in the nature of work with the shift from indentured to modern apprenticeship.

In both chapters I highlight the way in which apprentices learn within a community of practice which is gendered and argue that some of the procedures they are subject to resonate with those outlined by Goffman in *Asylums* (1991). Although indentured and modern apprentices are not recruited involuntarily and are not stigmatised by those outside the racing field, I show that being an indentured and modern apprentice involved a certain degree of role stripping in that both are presented with the role of apprentice appropriate to the racing field. They learn to inhabit this role in the same way that they learn practical skills which become embodied within a specific set of social relations. Through these processes apprentices learn not only the skills they need but also their place in the pecking order; skills are embedded in classed and

gendered relations of power, and the racing habitus absorbs these relations so that they become natural and unexceptionable, therefore invisible and unremarkable.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one provides an introduction to indentured apprenticeship in the racing industry which, like apprenticeship in general, entailed learning a craft or trade and assimilating the cultural practices of a particular occupational field.

The second section describes the process of occupational enrolment and entry, explaining why small, young 'boys' were attracted to becoming a horseracing apprentice. The emphasis here is on the word 'small' and its link to having the physical capital is brought out.

The third section discusses the way a young 'boy' learns what is required of an indentured apprentice and, at the same time, learns their place in the class and gender hierarchy, and in so doing, develops a classed (and gendered) habitus that becomes embodied. It discusses the path a young boy sets out on, learning how to be deferential and subservient. The working and living conditions that indentured apprentices endured were all part of developing and embodying a particular form of masculinity. The value of a good indentured apprentice to his master, the trainer, is highlighted within this section and the symbolic violence indentured apprentices were subjected to is brought out.

Finally, section four outlines the type of training and the methods by which skills were learnt. Examples, such as the apprentices' interaction with the horses and learning to ride, show how skills become embodied through practice, through watching, and doing

which in the racing field take place in the context of deference, respect for authority, class and power.

The chapter argues that embodied knowledge is related to habitus. Indentured apprentices learn how the class relations that structure the racing field are also part of the daily work routine and working practices. The chapter illustrates how these young 'boys' learn to accept the doxic values of the field and the symbolic violence that was exercised upon them in relation to the hegemonic upper-class values of the racing field.

What follows is a 'story' that has been constructed from a variety of sources. It focuses on the experiences of former indentured apprentices using interviews with men, including my uncle, who were indentured up to fifty years ago. Some of what is included seems very familiar to me as tales of my uncle's time as an indentured apprentice were recounted by my family when I was growing up. Other sources include an internal Jockey Club report to the Joint Racing Board (1974) and autobiographies of former jockeys indentured from the 1920s to the 1960s. From this material I endeavour to paint a picture of life as an indentured apprentice in order to show the way in which individuals develop a sense of self and engage in the practices of the racing field. Harry Carr, a successful jockey in the 1950s and early 1960s, describes this process in his autobiography.

I learned a lot besides how to ride in my three years' apprenticeship. The strict discipline of the yard, the long hours, the frequent tickings off, the falls, the dark cold mornings of winter ... the bitter winds that seemed to cut you in two as the string filed at first light across the Low Moor, the friendships with other boys in the stables, and the occasional inevitable quarrels and fights, all had their share in shaping my character and outlook (Carr, 1966:32).

Table 6.1 introduces the indentured apprentices who were interviewed; their ages ranged from 80 down to 56.

Table 6.1: Former indentured apprentices interviewed

| Name | Age and period | Time served | Race ridden | Type of licence held | Weight on entry |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| John | 79 1940s | 5 yrs (national service) | Yes | N.H. Flat | 5st |
| Solly | 69 1950s | 5 yrs (national service) | Yes | N.H. Flat | 4st 9lbs |
| Arthur | 72 1950s | 5 yrs (national service) | Yes | Flat | 4st 6lbs |
| Fred | 67 1950s | 5 +2 yrs (national service) | Yes | Flat | 4st 7lbs |
| Dick | 67 1950s | 5 yrs (national service) | Yes | N.H. Flat | 4st 9lbs |

| | | | | | |
|---------|-------------|--------------------------------|-----|--------------|--------------|
| Duncan | 56 1970s | 3 yrs | Yes | N.H. Flat | 6 st 6lbs |
| Patrick | 70 1950s | 5 yrs | No | None | Not known |
| Titch | 68 1950s | 5 yrs (national service) | Yes | Flat | 4st 2lbs |
| Charlie | 68 1950s | 5 yrs (national service) | No | None | Not known |
| Don | 69 1950s | 5 yrs (national service) | No | None | Not known |
| Vic | 57 1970s | 5yrs | No | None | Not known |

Table 6.

As we can see eight had breaks in their apprenticeship to do national service, which was viewed as a 'complete waste of time' (Arthur, 72, IA), after which some return to their original 'guvnor' to finish their apprenticeship. Seven of them had race rides and three, John, Solly and Dick, were relatively successful in that they became 'journeymen' professional jockeys, earning a modest living from race riding. The others who race rode had no more than five rides each over the period when indentured.

An outline of indentured apprenticeship in the racing industry

The important point to remember here is that indentured apprenticeship merged two different occupations, that of the stable 'lad' and that of the apprentice jockey, and being an indentured apprentice did not guarantee the young 'boy' a career as a jockey, or even one ride in a race.

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when the indentured system of apprenticeship was first introduced into racing, but what is apparent is the fact that it was highly gendered as indentured apprenticeships were only for young boys, effectively excluding girls. The Jockey Club introduced a system of licensing in 1879 for all jockeys. Appendix 1 contains a copy of indenture documents from 1892 for a young boy who was to be apprenticed for six years to 'Racehorse trainers' at Manton, Wiltshire, so it is evident that some formal arrangements were in place at that time. Apprentice was a term synonymous with that of 'stable man' and many of the early jockeys who rode were no more than their master's groom. The Committee of Inquiry into The Manpower of The Racing Industry (1974) refer to the fact that,

In 1973 there were some 800 apprentices, of whom 477 held licences to ride, and of these 386 had one or two rides in the season. The reason for apprentices not becoming

jockeys are many, for example, it may be that the boy will have become too heavy, but a great number never have the basic abilities to race ride (JRB, 1974:17).

Those interviewed recall being informed on the morning of, or the day before, the race that they were to be given a ride, which perhaps suggests that the apprentice had very little in the way of rights. They were at the bottom of the labour hierarchy. They were 'little boys to be seen and not heard' (Carr, 1966:30). Some yards established a reputation for producing high quality apprentices for race riding who would graduate to professional jockey status, others had a reputation for producing highly skilled and knowledgeable stable men. The trainers' main aim, it seems, was to produce hard working and conscientious 'stable men' who could care for the horses the trainer had in his care. Apprenticeship therefore was not about producing jockeys, *per se*, it was more to do with learning a craft and ensuring that the trainer had a supply of suitably skilled, male, cheap labour. For the racing apprentice the race riding was an extra. He first had to learn his craft and prove that he was capable of riding. Apprenticeship symbolised the hallmark of occupational entry and, despite its highly glamorous connotations, it initially involved little more than the fulfilment of menial tasks and personal subservience. These were facts that were recognised by the Joint Racing Board who, in 1974, appointed a committee 'to enquire into and receive evidence on the pay and conditions of service of the labour and management force employed full and part time within the racing industry' (JRB, 1974:1).

The committee's research highlighted the fact that,

Although abuses of apprentice indentures have in certain cases made emotive reading in the national press, we do not consider that serious abuse by trainers is widespread. On the other hand there is evidence that the apprentice system has become outdated and is in urgent need of modernisation. It ought not to be regarded as a source of cheap labour. A scheme of indentured apprenticeship by its very nature implies that an apprentice is being trained in a skill. In view of the fact that so few apprentices become jockeys it seems to us that boys should not be recruited to the industry on the basis that they will be

trained to become jockeys, but that at the end of their period of indentures , they will be qualified stable men (JRB, 1974:18).

The following section discusses the way in which a young ‘boy’ after being signed over to his master, the trainer, begins to learn the attitudes and dispositions he will need in order to complete his indentured apprenticeship in the racing industry. It looks at this process from a class perspective and draws out the importance of physical capital needed for the indentured apprentice, first, to be allowed entry and then to be given race rides. It also shows the process of role stripping that these young ‘boys’ were subjected to once signed over to their employer. They become dispossessed of their previous life and start to assimilate the new role expectations of being an indentured apprentice. Their self-determination, autonomy of movement, and privacy are controlled by their employer, the trainer, and personal appearance is monitored, for instance, as interviewees recalled, hair had to be short and boots polished.

Occupational enrolment and entry

Almost without exception, the recruits for racing yards were from working class backgrounds, both rural and urban, and had a minimum of formal education, often with little or no knowledge of horses. As one interviewee pointed out,

I had a pony, but, when you go in as an apprentice and you’ve had a pony you’re six months ahead of the other kids. Some of them come in and they’d never seen a horse (John, 79, IA).

For some their small stature and light weight provided them with a means to escape ‘going down the pit because I could see what it was like for me dad and me brother’ (Vic, 57, IA), whereas for others knowing someone who worked in racing might be a means of finding them employment. For Arthur it was a chance remark that made him think of being an apprentice.

I was a small lad, one of eleven, and I used to work on the farm and someone said 'you want to go to Newmarket as a jockey'. And that stuck in my head. And when I had finished school, that's what I did. Fifteen, 1950 ... 4 stone 6 lbs (Arthur 72, IA).

Thus, whilst fulfilling the basic labour needs of the industry these fragmented and *ad hoc* methods of recruitment lacked any real foresight or structure, omissions which would characterise employment relations in the racing industry for many years. Informal procedures of recruitment were evident with young men entering the racing industry on leaving school at 14. Patrick, a former indentured apprentice in Ireland, explained how, on finishing school, he literally ran away from home to work in a local racing yard. He admits he did not have a clue (about horses).

The only thing I used to do where I was born - used to have the hunt meetings and I used to chase the hunt [on his bike], the only thing I had to do with horses and I [had] never got on one. No (Patrick, 70, IA).

His entry into racing came about by telling 'a pack of lies' to his future employer who offered him a job as an indentured apprentice.

There was only me dad alive, me mam had passed away. And there was a big family of us, 10 or 11. And I went to this chap who trained 14 mile away, in Collone. Meself and me mate got on our bikes this Sunday afternoon and rode the 14 miles to Collone. Got there late in the afternoon and we had a chat with the man [trainer] and he says, 'Well, what are you going to do lads?' He says 'start whenever you like', so we says, 'right we'll come back next week and we'll be starting next week' (Patrick, 70, IA).

Trainers also advertised in local and national papers targeting large industrial cities or, as appears to be the case from the interviews, relied on word of mouth. Solly, 4 feet 9 inches at 14 and weighing 4stone 9lbs, went to work for a trainer who was looking for a local lad who could also ride. As Solly explained,

We went to see him [the trainer] and he said, ‘can you ride?’ so the old man [Solly’s father] said, ‘well he’s got, he’s had ponies for the last ten years like, he’s had ponies since he was four’. The trainer then wanted to know how strong I was and the old man was a bit indignant ‘Well I don’t know how strong he is do I? You know he’s never ridden [in races] he’s only ridden ponies. Well do you want him then?’ so old Sid, [the trainer] said ‘yeah send him, yeah I’ll have him’, to which the old man asked ‘what’s he worth?’ ‘thirty bob a week (one pound fifty)’ said Sid and then the old man said, ‘oh that’ll do, yeah, so you can give that to your mother’ (Solly, 69, IA).

Whilst in some occupations apprenticeship was a method the unions used to control entry into the workforce (Cockburn, 1991), in racing it was the trainers who were able to decide whom they were willing to sign up, and they had a steady supply of potential employees. In his biography, Philip Welsh, a former apprentice, describes the scene in Epsom during the 1940s at weekends.

Every Saturday and Sunday fathers and their young boys knocked at every trainer’s door in Epsom trying to get their lads in a stable. We knew that there were plenty more where we came from and so did the trainers (Welsh, 1979:57).

Physical capital

There seem to have been no formal stipulations as to who might be taken on as an apprentice. Gerald Armstrong, racehorse trainer in the 1950s and 60s whose yard has a reputation as a 'riding' yard that produced many successful jockeys, saw 'the secret of having good apprentices is to take on boys not more than 5 foot 7 inches and not more than fourteen years old. They must start light' (Duval,1980:22). The requirement for a small stature and light body weight advantaged 'boys' coming from mainly working class backgrounds where there was a shortage of food when they were children. All the former indentured apprentices who were interviewed were, without exception, taken on as apprentices and indentured to their master from varying lengths of time ranging from three to seven years; they were also extremely light.

There were some trainers who used to make a point of meeting a 'boy's' parents, not out of any altruistic concern for the parents who were leaving their son in his care , but because they wanted to guess from the parents' physique whether their son was likely to remain small enough to become a jockey (Huggins, 2000). Physical capital therefore was of far greater importance than social, economic or cultural capital and as long as the apprentice could develop a 'feel for the game' a racing habitus, they might be given race rides. For some apprentices as they matured, maintaining what was seen as an acceptable weight of six stone was a struggle. This was especially so in flat yards where the horses tend to be younger and less physically mature than in National Hunt yards and such low body weight is more critical. John, who was apprenticed to a trainer in Epsom, when race riding spent nearly every day in the public Turkish baths in order to lose fluid, thereby keeping his weight down. He said,

I had to waste for a month to do eight stone ten. I was a bit heavy
(John, 79, IA).

At the age of fifteen he had two rides on the flat after being indentured for a year; he had benefited from his previous riding experience, having had a pony at home. It was because of his weight rather than his riding ability that his master transferred his

indentures to another trainer who trained National Hunt horses where John's weight was acceptable. Of the interviewees, Solly, Dick and Duncan also struggled with keeping their weight down and therefore rode as National Hunt jockeys where horses carry higher weights. Patrick, originally apprenticed to a trainer in Ireland, told a similar story. At eighteen he was about 5ft 9, and 9 stone. His employer told him that he had found him

a good job in Newmarket with Gavin Miller. He's a good man. And he has some good horses, but, I'll tell you now, you'll never make it on the flat, you're not going to keep your weight down (Patrick, 70, IA).

His new trainer reiterated this:

'You're never going to make it on the flat. You're going to be too heavy, you're a big boned fella, you're going to be growing' ... I did a bit of schooling [over the jumps] for Gavin, that sort of thing (Patrick, 70, IA).

In the case of both young men no-one wondered whether they wanted to go to another yard, their lack of self determination and autonomy was an implicit and accepted part of being an indentured apprentice. John was lucky as he moved slightly closer to his parental home in Warwickshire, but for Patrick it was the first time he had ever left Ireland or been out of contact with his family. Initially he thought,

Oh Jesus, what a lovely place. The foals and mares in the paddocks (by the railway). I settled in on the Sunday and suddenly I had a wee tear. A week had gone and I was starting to get homesick, I really was. I wanted to go home, back home (Patrick, 70, IA).

Once a young boy's indentures had been signed, usually by the parent or guardian and the trainer, the 'boy' became the property of the trainer whom they had to obey. The following section elaborates on this in more detail.

Being owned

As Fred, a former indentured apprentice explained,

You were literally signed over to your Master, and it said, in the indentures, name of master,... name of father and I mean, it says there, sign on the red seal (Fred, 67, IA).

Apprenticeship documents stipulated the length of service, the wages to be paid and 'all other necessities' that would be covered (Apprenticeship Indenture, 1946). It is interesting to note from copies obtained of indentures written in 1892 and 1946 (Appendix 1 and 2) that in the older document it states that the apprentice will be trained in 'the art, trade or business of a racehorse trainer', whereas in the later copy 'jockey' has been added. Most indentures appear to have been written to suit the needs of the trainer, 'the master', and as the JRB report of 1974 noted:

There is no standard form of indentures in the industry. We have examined a number of indenture documents and apart from the fact that the drafting of many seems to have altered little since the turn of the century, there is little uniformity in what the boy is being apprenticed for: some mention the art of jockeyship, others the skill of a training groom (JRB, 1974:17).

In some cases the apprenticeship deeds were drawn up and sent by the trainer's solicitor to the parents or guardian to sign in front of a witness, then returned for the trainer and apprentice to sign (see Appendix One and Two). The documents themselves were binding and added to the power trainers had over their apprentices, with stories being recounted by interviewees of boys being dragged back by the police after running away. There was an unwritten agreement amongst the trainers that apprentices would find themselves unable to get an indentured apprenticeship

elsewhere if they left before completing their time with their 'master', even if their working conditions were horrendous. Fred, a former indentured apprentice thought it 'cruel' the way the trainers were able to treat them.

You couldn't go, 'I don't want to be a jockey'. If you'd got a kid, that, by the time he was sixteen or seventeen and he'd gone up to about nine stone or something like that and he was never gonna be a jockey, right, they couldn't cancel that, you still had to carry on being an apprentice till, I think it was five years, right, and you used to say, 'well I ain't gonna be a jockey, I've never had a ride, I'm never gonna have one'. No, you've gotta be apprenticed, and if you didn't do the five years apprenticeship you was blacklisted, so, I'm glad they've changed that (Fred, 67, IA).

There would appear to have been an informal arrangement between trainers whereby they could, in some instances offer to buy a promising apprentice from their original 'master', if the apprentice had shown an aptitude for race riding. Fred explained how, when riding for his 'master' Edward Cope, there was an offer made for his indentures and therefore him.

I remember riding a horse called Amos and again I was told to stop it [not win], finish fourth, right, and when I was in the paddock, Bobby Wheeler [another trainer] he, he come over ... and he said (to Edward) ... 'I'll give you five hundred quid for his indentures'. They could sell you. Now you couldn't break your contract but a trainer could sell you to another one. You know they could sign you over, as long as you came on your apprenticeship, you could go to as many as you like, if, if they'd let you go. I remember Edward said, 'no, no, I ain't gonna sell him', and Bobby just said, (I was stood in the paddock with them), 'well you're really ruining his career because he's stopping all your horses, cause you ain't letting him win'. I even said to Edward why don't you let me go? and he said, 'just keep quiet, you're staying where you are, cause you're more valuable', and Bobby Wheeler said, 'well the offer's there if you want it, five hundred quid'. Never did go (Fred, 67, IA).

What this quote illustrates is how indentured apprentices were at the bottom of the hierarchy in a yard, a position evident in their lack of power. Some of the reluctance on the part of Fred's 'master' to 'sell' him arose from the fact that a talented apprentice was a very valuable asset for him to 'own' as they could be used to ride a horse when it was to be 'stopped'. This is where a horse is put into a position in the race where it was difficult for them to win. Onlookers and racing officials watching the race and noticing it was an apprentice riding would assume that the 'boy' had, through lack of experience, made an error of judgement and that the horse may also lack ability. It would have the effect of making the horse's starting price, that is, its betting odds, higher as bookmakers would offer more potentially lucrative odds next time the horse ran as they would not think it had much chance of winning. The trainer, meanwhile, would employ an experienced professional jockey to ride the horse the next time it ran, then gamble on the bigger odds with the aim of winning a lot of money in the process. It did not do the apprentice's reputation any good and some would end up associated with gambling trainers thus damaging their career and their chances for success. Fred was so useful to his trainer that he had his apprenticeship extended for two years, his 'guv'nor' realising 'how priceless an asset a high-class apprentice can be to a trainer' (Carr,1966:31).

Being indentured to a racehorse trainer meant that the apprentice had to live a life of servitude while serving their time and, like David (chapter four) were seen as being at the bottom of the yard hierarchy with regard to most things. Deference and subservience were expected and apprentices, as Arthur (72, IA) explained, had to quickly learn that they must always touch their cap to owners and their trainer, who was always to be called 'sir', and his wife, 'madam'. Apprentices were invariably referred to as 'boy' or by their surname, a practice that carried on even after they had finished their apprenticeship in some yards and which became almost second nature to them.

Whilst it was the master's responsibility in most cases to provide clothing as set out in the indenture documents, most interviewees mentioned how they had always to seek permission before buying new clothes and were sent with a list, to the shops, where the trainer had an account. Vic, (57, IA) was provided with a suit, a pair of jodphurs, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of boots and a cap which had to last the year. This appears quite generous compared to what some of the other interviewees said.

They paid your board and lodgings and they were supposed to clothe you but they didn't, you had, if you were lucky, you got a pair of jodphurs. I got a pair of breeches out of them, I had to go to London, to a tailor, got measured ... but that was the only clothes I got but you managed (John, 79, IA).

The account thus far suggests that when young 'boys' entered a trainer's yard it was not unlike entering a total institution (Goffman, 1991). As indentured apprentices they underwent a role stripping procedure (Goffman, 1991:24-27) and became the property of the trainer. Recruitment strategies were informal with the most important attribute of a 'boy' being that he was small and light. Having the right physical capital was important in that it could provide a working-class 'boy' with an apprenticeship in the racing industry although, for the interviewees, none of whom became successful jockeys, its exchange value was not realised.

The next section shows the ways in which paternalistic attitudes and class relations structured the racing field and, at a micro-level, employment relations in racing yards. It discusses the poor working conditions indentured apprentices were subjected to and continues to illustrate how little in the way of autonomy or privacy these young 'boys' had. It shows how being an indentured apprentice was a transition from boy to man, starting with some of the initiation ceremonies the interviewees were subjected to and to which they subjected others.

Initiation ceremonies

It is interesting to note the change in language when referring to apprentices as ‘boys’ who, on serving their time, will become ‘board and wage men’; there is an implicit assumption that they have undergone what van Gennep has conceptualised as a ‘rite de passage’ (van Gennep, 1960: vii). Legally bound into their new occupation, apprentices in some yards were socialised into their new role through initiation ceremonies that varied in their nature and physicality. Although not directly relating to masculinity, some of these tasks were more about ridicule and were used to make the new apprentices know their place in the yard hierarchy.

Interviewees recall being sent to the farrier to borrow his glass hammer to knock a nail in or despatched up to the hay loft for a ‘long wait’ [weight]. Other rituals that were talked about were more physical in nature and would involve the new apprentice being stripped off then clayed up, usually around their genitals, with a clay based paste, used on the horses’ legs, that was very difficult to wash off. They would then either be put in a haynet and hung up on a hook somewhere until evening stables started or tied to a tree. Other versions of this were even more messy as it involved the use of stockholm tar, a black, very pungent sticky substance that can, when warm, blister the skin and is impossible to remove, especially when the poor, unfortunate recipient has been rolled in shavings, sand, hay or straw afterwards then trussed up and left. Although none of the interviewees mentioned the following practice it was one that I witnessed at a yard I once worked at. A young ‘lad’ was seen as being ‘cocky’ by the older ‘lads’, that is undeferential and answering back to his peers, so he was buried up to his neck in the muck hill after first being clayed up then having his arms and feet tied together. Many of these practices, from the interviewees’ accounts, seem to have happened in larger yards where there were more apprentices and where there was a tradition of initiation. Any apprentices with experience of horses, such as John and Solly seem to have been exempted from these processes although they subjected others to them. Whether these ritualistic accounts of humiliation are completely true or not is difficult to say as the processes of initiation have become mythologised within racing history with most

'lads' (and that includes women) having a story to tell about the practices they have witnessed.

Apprentices were subjected to other trials, quite often by more senior staff, as a way of establishing the staff's power and position; self-abnegation and subservience were the norm in these situations. Patrick had a lucky escape on his first evening and can remember walking into the yard with his case, having biked the fourteen miles from home, to arrive just when the horses were being fed. He was quickly identified by the Head lad as 'the young lad that's coming as the young apprentice', and in no time at all the head lad set him to work by telling him, 'Don't stand there like a dummy, you better start on off on the right foot' with which Patrick was handed a heavy bucket full of food and told, in no uncertain terms, to 'get down there and feed that mare'. As he recounts:

So I thinks, I'll do that. So I struggle down there with this heavy bucket of mash and see this mare, in the box, and she's hunching and hopping and coming to the door. And her head came out, looking over, gnashing her teeth with her teeth showing. And it still didn't dawn on me. And I was just about to go in that box with me bucket of mash and I heard a voice, 'Hey, young fella'. It was A.P [his 'master' and the trainer] shouting from the kitchen. And he comes dashing out and he says', 'What the hell d'you think you're doing?' I was going to feed this mare. 'No, you're bloody well not, who gave you this?' And off he goes to the feed house and the head lad got a right bollocking. And there's no doubt about it, if I'd gone in, she'd have kicked me. And that was old Sheila's Cottage and she was savage. For her little foal. The head man was such a bastard, he was testing me out (Patrick, 70, IA).

It would have been of little use for Patrick to have said that he could not do it as the head lad's word was sacrosanct. As Harry Carr records, in his autobiography, '... heaven help the lad who was foolish enough to answer back to the head lad. A cuff across the ear and perhaps a couple of hours' extra fatigues round the yard were the

medicine' (Carr,1966:30). Young 'boys' therefore soon learnt the authority relations that were part of the field of power that shaped class relations and the hierarchial nature of their new occupation. They would begin to form attitudes and dispositions that would, as they became more proficient, experienced and practised, become an embodied part of their racing habitus.

The low occupational status of the apprentice on entering racing meant that young boys had to prove their worth and earn their passage to the next rung of the ladder, that of a boardwage man or paid lad, the very name of which carries its own symbolic capital within the orthodoxy of the racing field. The apprentice had to show that they were 'man' enough to tolerate the initiation rituals, and their position at the bottom of the hierarchy, by coming through the experience with new values, new accomplishments and a new self image. They learnt to assimilate the doxa of the racing field. Duncan, a former indentured apprentice reflected on his apprenticeship at the beginning of the 1970s.

An apprentice in those days, was you know, you got all the dirty jobs,... do extra work and, because you were an apprentice, it was like a label stuck on your head, it's so the apprentice can do the manky jobs, and, and we can kick him when he doesn't and, and bully him and, until the next apprentice came, you know, the next smallest one, it was a case of, a lot of abuse and bullying to a certain extent (Duncan, 56, IA).

Most of the men interviewed look back on their apprenticeship with some enjoyment and a sense of pride 'with no regrets'. 'There was hard times and good times, but I loved it. I'd do the same thing all over again. Oh my God, I would' (Patrick,70, IA).

Indentured apprenticeship revolved around becoming a man and performing a form of masculinity that involves toughness, strength and risk taking.

For Dick,

Apprenticeship gave me strength to stand up for myself and do other things. I have never suffered fools gladly and racing certainly toughened me up as a person for the future. When I finished apprenticeship I felt grown up and could deal with things easier (Dick, 67, IA).

What has been illustrated here is that the indentured apprentice was at the bottom of the yard hierarchy and through undergoing initiation rituals and learning to behave appropriately, began to develop a classed and embodied habitus. They made the transition from boy to man within specific employment relations and experienced an organisational socialisation not dissimilar to that of a total institution.

I now focus on the experiences of indentured apprentices who race rode and how they were used as cheap labour by their employer. As we have seen, indentured apprentices had little in the way of employment rights but were a valuable source of labour power to their employer, the trainer. I also describe the living conditions indentured apprentices endured showing how they were part of the doxic values of the racing field and reproduced the class, power and authority relations that structure it.

Cheap labour

Indentured apprentices were a source of cheap labour for their employer and they were required to do all the menial jobs that the 'board and wage' men, who had served their time, did not, which reinforced the position of 'boys' at the bottom of the 'heap', subservient to everyone else. Accepting this position was part of what apprentices had to learn and can be seen as part of the symbolic violence that was embedded within the class relations of the racing field. It reinforced the fact that they had to behave in a certain way, that is be deferential, tough, and accepting of their lot, and just get on with whatever they were given to do. Having apprentices was a way by which trainers could augment their turnover for the year. Owners paid training fees to trainers but these payments were not regulated by the Jockey Club therefore it was left to trainers to set a rate that would cover their costs but not be so high that owners might be tempted to move their horses to a cheaper trainer. A trainer's main source of income was from training fees, and although there was the possibility of additional income through the prize money which a horse might accrue from either winning or being placed in a race, this could not be guaranteed. Anecdotally trainers were said to have calculated their labour costs in terms of the number of staff employed, which would have included 'board and wage' men and apprentices, the number of horses in training and the number of horses a 'lad' did, which, traditionally, was two. Employees did one horse for themselves, that is their wages, half for the horses, that is the stabling costs, and half for the employer (Filby, 1987). Thus, apprentices were valuable to their employer as they were paid a pittance and, in addition, money could be made from their labour when they rode; I look at these in turn.

Whereas 'board and wage' men were not expected to do extra hours other than those that structured the albeit unregulated working day, apprentices could be super exploited through working long hours with very little time off at weekends or for holidays. As Arthur recalled, he arrived at the yard on a Sunday and was put straight to work, 'doing all the brasses on the [stable] doors. That was my first job that was, every Sunday' (Arthur, 72, IA). Arthur was one of sixteen apprentices in a yard of fifty horses; they were lucky in that, once morning stables had finished at 12 p.m. they were only expected to stay behind to tidy up. This gave them the opportunity to

supplement their meagre wages by cleaning the tack of the 'board and wage' men. However Arthur never had a weekend off in his five-year apprenticeship and was given one week's holiday every year.

As shown in chapter three, jockeys receive a fee from the owner for riding, but when apprentices ride, their 'master' is entitled to keep half of the fee for themselves and, in practice, often retained the other half, supposedly in safe keeping for the apprentice once he had served his time. Fred explained what a valuable asset he was as he was riding nearly every day, often for his trainer, who reputedly owned shares in the horses Fred rode. This may help to explain why his trainer did not want to 'sell' him as previously discussed.

Like I said it was, it wasn't very good, you never got paid [for race riding]. Never. The, the riding fees, you was lucky to get'em, because, like, like as now, if you're, if you're an apprentice and you're riding for a trainer you know [indentured to] you only get half fee. 'Cause you know, the owner pays the other half to the trainer, so if you've got a good apprentice the trainer can make a lot of money, and the rides you had ... when you got your money ... you used to get two pound fifty, right, and there was twenty five pence took out for the valet²⁸, right, and when you collected your money at the end of the year [Edward Cope, the trainer] then had to match it, but you realised you never got any because of course, he [Edward Cope] used to say, 'I owned half share in that, so you rode one for a pound, I own three quarters share in that, that was somebody else's colours. I own nine-tenth ...' 'I rode one for about a shilling, really' ... and because of how it was, you daren't go up to an owner and say, does Mr Cope own half of your horse? You, you wouldn't, you wouldn't dream of it because you know, because you'd think he'd go and tell Mr Cope ... so you'd land up without any rides at all. So, basically, you never got any riding fees for the horse that you rode anyway, you'd come home with nothing, it was really, you know, it was sad, sad (Fred, 67, IA).

²⁸ The valet helps prepare the jockey's tack and colours in between races.

Fred's story was repeated by some of the other interviewees who had ridden as indentured apprentices. In the mid 1950s, Dick was paid £3. 10 shillings²⁹ a week on starting as an apprentice, of which £3. 00s went to his landlady leaving him 10 shillings a week; this went up to £1. 00s for the remainder of his five year apprenticeship. He had forty rides on the flat in total, riding for three seasons (three years) before becoming a National Hunt jockey.

When I left James Sillet he kept all my riding fees and presents from owners. He had wanted me to stay with him to be his travelling head lad but I left to pursue riding as a National Hunt jockey. To come away from apprenticeship with nothing to show for it was a bitter pill. Even a letter to the Jockey Club did no good. He could do as he did if he so wished (Dick, 67, IA).

Originally from Ireland, Patrick (70, IA) served four years of his apprenticeship in Ireland where his trainer combined farming with training. This meant that once the horses had all been ridden out, usually around 11 a.m. they would be picking stones out of the peat canter track that they used to exercise the horses. They would stop for a quick break at 12 p.m. then would be back out working as farm labourers until it was time to do evening stables.

Come 4 p.m. it used to be stable time. So we'd do evening stables, but we were never overburdened with horses, two and three each at the most. Then we'd have our tea. Be time with him [the trainer] in the house and his wife. They did the cooking for you. All home cooking. They sat at the same table as us. After tea you'd think you'd be finished? No! Especially in the spring and summer. And we had turnips and hoeing and all that. He'd send us out in the fields up to 9 p.m. Then we'd go in the house, for our tea, maybe a bun or two, something like that, and then we'd go to bed (Patrick,70, IA).

²⁹ These amounts are prior to decimalisation of the currency which was pounds, shillings and pence; 10 shillings is 50 pence.

What Fred, Vic and Patrick are illustrating is the authority relations they were expected to accept during their time as indentured apprentices. They had very few rights as employees and were expected to do whatever was asked of them. The fact that indentured apprentices were cheap labour is underlined by the conditions in which they lived which illustrate their acceptance of the values of the racing field and the lowly position they held within it.

Living conditions

The daily routine was, from what interviewees – especially those who did National Service – recalled, not dissimilar to the army in its discipline, routines and drills. Their living area had to be left tidy and the room clean with any belongings hung up in the small wardrobe each apprentice had in his ‘space’ by the bed, which had to be made every day. For some it was difficult to keep what clothes they had from being eaten by the mice or moths. John described what happened to some of his.

The mice! It was all bloody holes, I had a brand new jumper mother sent me, and I went to put it on one day. I picked it up and all the bloody little curls fell out of it and there was holes, they’d eaten holes all in it...and then we used to call it the pole cat, ‘there he goes again’, we could hear this, bang, bang, bang,...they used to say there was a pole cat up there, I never saw it, I only heard it...it was over the mess (John, 79, IA).

Accommodation was often provided in the loft areas over the stables where it was not uncommon to be woken by the head lad at 6.00 a.m. ‘banging on a dustbin lid with a stick’ (Vic, 57, IA) when apprentices would carry out their various yard duties before riding out first lot. Class and power relations were maintained through a hierarchy with regard to living arrangements and accommodation, with apprentices usually

living in separate accommodation from the 'board and wage' men, especially in the bigger yards. John remembers his first accommodation over the stables.

There was, I think, there was 59 stables in the one yard, and then there was, on one side, there was the mess for the lads, in the corner was the feed house and up above was the, looking out over a field, was the billiard room, well there was no billiard table in there, but, the apprentices all lived in there, one big room along there, they all had to share one big room, and I was, when I had me 'dentures transferred I went in with the [paid] lads [on the other side of the yard] (John, 79, IA).

Others lived out in lodgings, the standard of which varied enormously from what interviewees told me. Meals, too, were provided either in a hostel at the yard itself or by the landlady, but as John remembered of his lodgings,

One of the lads in the yard, his wife had a bungalow. I had a room with just a bed in it. She couldn't cook, all she could cook was chips, and you were lucky if you had three chips for breakfast in between bread and butter. No wonder he was thin he was, the old boy was, Davies his name was. She was a buxom fat wench, come from up north I think (John, 79, IA).

Frank fared slightly better, starting his apprenticeship in Ireland, for a trainer who 'lived in a castle with 100 bedrooms'.

We ate up at the castle and we was waited on by service, you know the upstairs, downstairs. We was living with the kitchen people, they used to have the little Irish maids with the black dresses and the white aprons on and I had two years with them and the food was great (Frank, 67, IA).

While his mealtimes might have been good his accommodation was very basic, living over the stables,

You wouldn't have the conditions now, it was like a converted hay barn above the stables, one room, dormitory like, wooden floorboards, a single bed like army barracks and a little wardrobe and a table in the middle where we could sit down (Fred, 67, IA.).

Most of the interviewees' accommodation rarely had any heating, with hot water a luxury, available only on a Wednesday and a Saturday, when the boiler was lit to heat the water used to cook the barley and linseed for the horses' evening meal. John recalled how cold it used to get, recounting how one of the older lads had false teeth which regularly froze in the water overnight.

Just a single bed and some drawers, no heating at all, and ... 1947 was the hardest winter we've had for years, and we, this chap used to have false teeth, he used to put them in a, in a jug on the windowsill, he couldn't get them out with a knife (John, 79, IA).

These false teeth were sometimes used to this 'lad's' advantage at meal times in the yard hostel.

And the same man that got his false teeth in the ice, in the winter, oh ah, he used to put them in his pudding to stop anybody else from eating it. 'Cause, you went to the half door, where the kitchen was, you went to the half door and you were given a plate of dinner and your pudding, at the same time, so you put them on the table, and some lads were quicker eaters than others, and the ones that eat it quick would grab yours and eat yours, so he said, 'I'll stop the buggers eating mine', and he put his teeth in it (John, 79, IA).

Thus far I have shown that, young 'boys' passed through a 'rite de passage' as they served out their apprenticeship to become as 'board and wage men' at the end of their time. During this period they learnt that their place was at the bottom of the class hierarchy, their working and living conditions being part of the 'role-stripping' process that helped to develop and embody a classed and gendered habitus. They were a valuable asset to their employers as they were cheap labour and the apprentices whose

talents were in demand for race riding could be used as an additional source of income for a less than scrupulous 'master'.

Learning in a 'community of practice'

This section discusses the ways by which a young indentured apprentice learnt the skills needed to become a proficient, knowledgeable stable man and, when given the opportunity, an apprentice jockey. It highlights how young 'boys' were taught to care for the horses they looked after. These practices of work and learning were themselves shaped by the racing field through the class, gender and power relations, inherent within it, which the indentured apprentices were absorbing and internalising. Their doxic attitude meant that they showed a bodily and unconscious submission to conditions that were quite arbitrary and contingent. The indentured apprentices learnt through 'doing', working in a community of practice where participation was at first peripheral but increased in engagement and complexity (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Michael Seth-Smith, (1980) author of the biography of former leading jockey Gordon Richards, describes the way in which Gordon Richards himself learnt by watching and copying the style of other successful jockeys, such as Steve Donoghue.

He would shout out on the [Epsom] downs 'now watch me' before cantering away in his beautiful, inimitable style ... he [Steve] could not put into words his instinctive appreciation of how to ride a headstrong colt with reins which in his hands became no more than silken threads, and thought the only way of helping embryo-jockeys was to persuade them to watch and copy (Seth-Smith, 1980:29).

Thus, practical skills were learnt through watching, doing, and doing things wrong, eventually becoming an unconscious action, embodied in the way that is specific to the racing field, such as riding with short stirrups.

Former indentured apprentices told me that, on arrival at the racing yard a fledgling apprentice would be assigned to a 'board and wage' man. These were former indentured apprentices who had served their time but had stayed on in employment with their trainer, working for set, albeit low wages and with their accommodation provided. For the 'board and wage' man conditions of employment were slightly easier than for an apprentice, and they were regarded within the wider racing field, as skilled and knowledgeable horsemen, the backbone of a yard.

As in many other workplace settings, the role of the 'board and wage' men was to instruct and teach the indentured apprentice the ways and routines of the yard as they had once been shown within what can best be described as a 'community of practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The amount of time a 'boy' would be left with what was basically a mentor seems to have varied depending on the yard and the 'boy's' experience. Interviewees recall that the learning process began, for them, with being given two, possibly older, horses to look after, or they would start off doing the trainer's hack³⁰ for a week whilst shadowing their mentor until they had picked up the routine. After a week at the maximum most 'boys' were expected to have picked up the daily routine and be able to work in the yard independently. Their working day would be spent servicing the needs of their two equines as if the horses belonged to them, as well as carrying out any other tasks the trainer and the head lad might want doing. They would have been set to work on their first morning helping one of the 'board and wage' men muck out, clean water buckets and refill them, whilst taking in the different processes and routines as, by the following week, they would be given their own horse to 'do', so they needed to learn quickly. Indentured apprentices, as Fred and Arthur recalled, were quite often the first in the yard in the mornings as they had to help the head lad by opening and closing stable doors as he gave the horses

³⁰ Horse used by the trainer to ride out with the racehorse so the trainer could stand and watch the horses canter past him. The trainer's hack is often a retired racehorse that is sensible and quiet and does not mind standing still.

their breakfast. Other tasks included topping up water buckets before they were taken out to be scrubbed and re-filled. This was an onerous task, as quite often buckets were made of wood like small beer barrels and were nearly impossible to carry to the horse's stable when full of water. They probably weighed nearly as much as the apprentices themselves. Arthur found the best way to carry them when full was to swing the bucket in an arc of 180 degrees around his body, using the centrifugal force created by the bucket to move it to outside the stable door. Getting the rhythm wrong, however, would result in a boot full of water and a big bruise on the shin. Bucket carrying thus became embodied, and I can testify to the technique that needs to be learnt in order to make the task a little less difficult and back breaking.

John did not find the routine too disorientating to start with. The first thing he remembers being shown was how to tie a horse up and put rugs on and off before graduating to tacking a horse up with saddle, bridle, and, when the weather was cold, a quarter sheet which had to sit over the horse's hind quarters with the edges resting just past the horse's hip bones.

You stopped with the paid lad, probably for a few days, you knew how to tie one up for a start, how to put a head collar on and once you'd been shown how to muck out you were left to do it on your own and then, after a week, the lad would go and have a look, see how much [muck] you'd left in. They'd give em, [an apprentice] not a two year old, an old horse for a start, for a week, to get used to the animal, how to put the head collar on, how to take the rugs off and a lot of em didn't know that, and you'd hear a commotion and he'd took, undone the front [rug strap] and hadn't done the back [rug strap] and took it off and it's a wonder half the kids hadn't got killed but when they'd done it once they soon learnt. The Head Lad used to keep an eye on them, that's what his job was I suppose (John, 79, IA).

Thus, learning was mainly 'by doing,' through practice, getting it wrong before getting it right, being thrown in the deep end and expected to swim. As Patrick explained of his trainer in a yard where he was one of seven indentured apprentices,

He wasn't a good teacher, you had to do your own learning. You learnt yourself. He was a bloody hard type to work for. He was always willing to give you some of his best advice but didn't have the time of day to spend time with you (Patrick, 70, IA).

The working day was similar to that described in chapter four and is geared around the well being of the racehorses. However, from what my interviewees told me, an indentured apprentices' working day never stopped and appears to have been completely unregulated. Whilst 'board and wage men' would have a couple of hours free in the afternoon the 'boys' were put to work. Evening stables started at 3.30 p.m.-4 p.m. lasting until 5.30 p.m.-6 p.m. or when the horses were 'dressed over', later, as this was a process that took at least three quarters of an hour per horse, Fred recounts, the horses 'knew' that their 'boys' were there to be taken advantage of.

We used to have a horse, Royal Dukeson, a grey horse, and [being short] I used to have to stand on a bucket to brush him, right, on his quarters. The horse had got used to me because when I put the bucket down by his back legs to start brushing him, he used to step over to the other side of box, and if I got him up against the wall, he'd start pushing me so that I'd fall off the bucket so I had to keep moving the bucket backwards, backwards, and, he knew. It was only like when I got older I used to think, that's just taking the piss out of me, keep pushing me off the bucket (Fred, 67, IA).

For many of the interviewees evening stables often finished as late as 7 p.m. if the trainer was 'looking round' with owners and the head lad. This process reinforced the class divide that existed between the trainer and the stable staff, emphasising authority relations and the subservient and deferential nature of a 'lad'. Not unlike a kit inspection in the army, the drill was that the trainer, together with the head lad, looked over every horse to make sure they had been 'dressed over', that is groomed, thoroughly. The 'boy' who 'did' the horse was expected to stand at the horse's head

with the horse standing across the box so the trainer could look the horse over, assessing their condition and feeling their legs for any lumps or bumps, enquiring only about the well being of the horse and her health. The grooming kit had to be laid out for inspection on a clean stable rubber, (not unlike a large white tea towel) on a neat square of straw in the corner of the box together with a handful of grass picked ready for the trainer to feed to the horse. The scurf that came out of the curry comb used to clean the brushes after grooming had to be left in a pile by the door for the trainer to see. Known as the 'knockings' this was expected to be quite substantial but the more experienced 'boys' were crafty and kept a concoction which could include fine paint flakes, soot, talcum powder and scurf in a matchbox. This was used to supplement the scurfy evidence on show by their grooming kit, making it look a considerable amount and indicating to the trainer that they had been working hard. The indentured apprentices' day would still not be done as they would have to wash feed buckets after the horses' evening meal and sweep and tidy the feed room before closing up the yard gates, a task Fred (67, IA) hated,

because the bloody gates were heavier and bigger than me and I used to struggle like mad trying to get them shut. The other would've all pissed off home or to their digs (Fred, 67, IA).

Such was the strength and rigidity of the doxic values embedded within the racing field that anything that differed from what was expected was seen as problematic, and questioning the values incorporated into the racing habitus of the indentured apprentice. Arthur found it a real shock and said he was 'was quite taken aback' when working for a trainer as a 'board and wage' man in 1958. This was because [the trainer] 'never called anybody unless he called them by their name ...He'd say, 'Arthur' and I'd think, 'Who's he talking to?' Always called you by your first name and we had to call him John!' (Arthur, 72, IA). From what he recounted, Arthur found this difficult to start with as he thought it was disrespectful and it went against

everything he had learnt during his apprenticeship. At his trainer's insistence he began calling him by his first name but he admitted he never found it easy to do.

I have given a brief illustration of the way in which indentured apprentices learnt their occupational skills in a community of practice. The following section describes the way in which apprentices learnt to ride. 'Boys' had to learn by watching others, then were given the opportunity to ride themselves, falling off and getting run away with until it became, an 'instinctive appreciation' (Seth-Smith,1980:29) and so an embodied action.

Learning to ride

Patrick was unable to ride when he was first apprenticed and would have learnt in the same way as other apprentices. Charlie was the same and remembered being given a lesson on the lunge at the end of morning stables. This was done by one of the more senior 'men' and involved the apprentice riding one of the more sensible horses or a pony around in a circle while attached to a rope held by the man in the middle of the circle. Some yards had a pony which was used for the apprentices to learn on, but quite often the pony was more badly behaved than the racehorses themselves and the apprentices did not always relish the thought of riding it. Titch as his name implies, was extremely small and unable to ride so started off on the yard pony. Unfortunately for him any feed the racehorses left was quite often fed to the pony and resulted in it being very fresh and full of energy. This led to him getting 'one hell of a dressing down' (Titch,68, IA) as the pony galloped off with him, upsetting the string of racehorses he was following and disrupting the exercise routine. Committing what was seen as a cardinal sin could result in a few sharp cuts with the whip across the hapless apprentice's backside, as Charlie Smirke (1960) painfully recounts in his autobiography. Relations of power and authority were thus reinforced through corporal punishment.

The most common practice when learning to ride was for the apprentices to run out to the top of the gallops at the end of first or second lot then get legged up³¹ and walk the horse back in as she cooled off after her work. Don's first riding experience in his yard was,

On a large cob with no mouth. I would ride him up the canter behind the string. Once the basics were learnt I would be changed onto a racehorse to ride it home after exercise. I was fortunate in that I had a brilliant travelling head lad, then head lad, in Terry Hayes. He taught me to ride and has been a lifelong friend since my apprenticeship days (Don, 69, IA).

Those who were confident and showed progress would graduate up to riding a quieter horse on an easier exercise such as walk and trot, until they were allowed to canter as part of the string. Things inevitably tended to go wrong for the apprentices at this point, with horses running away with them and even taking them back to the yard, quite often at a gallop. When asked what happened to him, Solly, who could already ride, remembered every detail of his first canter.

He had a hog mane, Dunstall Castle, and he had a head like an iron pot, you know. I mean he was a big ugly brute of a thing, and he [the trainer] said, 'you can ride old Dunstall Castle', he said, 'see how strong you are'. He said, 'if you can't hold him' (it was a mile and a quarter gallop, it was a big old park, on the collar,[uphill]) 'if he runs away with you, he won't go fast, but if you can't stop him, just keep going round the loop at the top'. Anyway we set off, you know, and I thought, well I can't stop this. I mean it was like pulling on a bloomin brick, there's no response and he got his old head down and away he went, so, we went all the way round and I didn't panic, I mean if I couldn't hold him I could steer him, so we went round,... and then we

³¹ Being 'legged up' is the way in which riders get on a racehorse. The rider bounces on their right leg, bends their left leg which is used as a lever to lift them up into the saddle and onto the horse's back.

went round again, and I sat there, and then the third time round the old man [the trainer] stood in the way and went, 'whoa', and he stopped! Yeah, I mean he wasn't run-, running away, bolting, it's just that I couldn't stop him - but the old man, 'whoaaa' he says, and the bloomin animal pulled up. I could have shot him (Solly, 70, IA).

Other apprentices recalled similar experiences and all were expected to take it in their stride. This can be understood as part of the masculine culture of the racing field and one of the practices through which a racing habitus is acquired. They had to be strong and quick witted and develop an attitude and disposition that indicated an inner toughness and resilience. There was little sympathy from the other 'lads' when things went wrong, as it had been the same for them.

You know, because they used to put you on, and they used to say, 'get on with it', and that was it. If you get run away with, get run away with and if you fall off, they put you back on again, you know, until you got it right. So, you know, there was, there was no namby pambying with any of them... they would just let you do it (Fred, 67, IA).

Other interviewees expressed similar views. Duncan could not remember having any training as such, apart from the 'old boys' showing him how to

change his hands³². I was a liability, getting pissed off with. You did things gradually until you got the hang of things. No one specifically set any time aside for training. It just happened' (Duncan, 12/08/08, field notes).

Conclusion

³² What Duncan means by 'change your hands' is when the reins are shortened up which to a racehorse means they go faster

This chapter has sought to highlight the processes by which a young boy working within a classed and gendered field learnt to become an indentured racing apprentice and made his transition from indentured 'boy' to stable man. Set within a classed and gendered field of power it has shown how employers, the trainers, treated the 'boys' and how their behaviour reflects the power and authority relations that were embedded in the racing field itself. The characteristics of a racing yard have been shown to be similar to those in a total institution whereby indentured apprentices had little privacy or self-determination. Their autonomy of movement and personal appearance were regulated by the working and authority relations characterising the racing field. These processes and the symbolic violence indentured apprentices were subjected to shaped dispositions, attitudes and practices which became embodied as part of the apprentice's habitus. The relationship between the racing field and habitus functioned to produce a bodily hexis, that is bodily dispositions conditioned to act in a particular way. In this way the chapter has drawn out how, when learning in the community of practice of a racing yard, skills and values are internalised. Indentured apprentices learnt the masculine work culture of strength, toughness, self reliance, subservience, deference, obedience and an unconscious and bodily submission to the principles which structure the racing field. Much of what they learnt was through a routine that involved manual labour, repetition and 'doing' during which time they became 'rounded experts /full participants' (Fuller and Unwin, 2003a) within a restricted culture. Developing skills, such as learning to ride and assimilating the values associated with 'standing a horse up' for inspection, involves an embodiment of physical knowledge and an assimilation of the cultural and historical values of the racing field. Thus the racing habitus of indentured apprentices embodies a particular form of masculinity that reproduces and reflects their position in the class hierarchy. These are difficult concepts to separate out and the racing field, and the way it is now structured no longer operates in quite the same way as indentured apprentices experienced it.

The following chapter continues with the theme of apprenticeship, exploring how skills and values become embodied and form part of the racing habitus of modern

apprentices. The main characters of the next chapter are therefore the young men and women who are at the beginning of their training as part of racing's workforce

Chapter Seven

Modern apprenticeship

The previous chapter showed the way in which indentured apprentices completed a rite of passage that saw them recruited as boys and transformed into men. Set within a racing field of power configured by class relations, indentured apprentices developed an embodied racing habitus which reflected the values and skills they had learnt. Skills, such as riding a horse, and values specific to the racing field meant that indentured apprentices embodied a particular type of masculinity that itself was moulded by their immersion in an environment with some of the characteristics of a total institution.

Drawing upon the ideal types developed in chapter one, one of the aims of this chapter is to explore the differences and similarities between the learning experiences of indentured and modern apprentices. I show that, though their experiences differ, the modern apprentices develop a racing habitus that is embodied in a very similar way to that of indentured apprentices. I analyse the process of becoming a modern apprentice showing how trainees become racing 'lads', embodying a habitus and a bodily hexis that reflects this. During their occupational socialisation, trainees go through a 'rite of passage', starting off as beginners and leaving as advanced, with the nine weeks of training being an initiation into the racing field. Knowledge is passed on through practice and doing, culminating with Presentation Day, when the trainees can show off their riding skills to parents, guardians and guests before entering the workplace proper. The process of learning in a community of practice continues in the workplace.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the trainees (the modern apprentices). Like the indentured apprentices their working and living environment is like a total institution, although there are differences which will be brought out later in the chapter. The BRS prepares and educates these young people with the knowledge they will need in their new occupations. I highlight how physical

capital is not significant as it once was partly because of the increasing size and weight of young people and the division of labour now seen in some yards (see chapter eight). My account of the trainees' induction shows how they start to embody a racing habitus and take in the values of the racing field.

Part two discusses the trainees' occupational socialisation, in the BRS hostel and on the yard, exploring the processes of deculturation and reculturation trainees are subject to. It emphasises the manual labour and discipline trainees must become used to and how this process becomes visible through their growing awareness of the daily routine. Their racing habitus begins to be expressed through and as part of their bodies, as their bodies take in the new actions being learnt and the corporeality of the work.

Part three examines the way trainees learn informally, taking riding as an example and culminating with them learning to gallop, as well as highlighting the more formal class room based parts of their training. It develops the exploration of how trainees acquire a racing habitus that is evident in their gestures, their fluidity of movement on and around the horses and their polite, respectful manner.

Modern apprenticeship - occupational entry and enrolment

Illustration 7.1: BRS publicity for the modern apprenticeship

9 Week Foundation Course



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- Do you weigh less than 9st 7lbs/60kg and physically fit?
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The British Racing School delivers the Foundation Apprenticeship completely **FREE** and we **GUARANTEE YOU A JOB** in racing! The course is suitable for all abilities, even if you are a **COMPLETE BEGINNER** all you need to do is show us you are keen to work in racing and willing to learn.



(Source: BRS, 2011)

The illustration forms part of the promotional admissions brochure produced by the British Racing School (BRS), where I followed two groups of trainees (see chapter two for details). As can be seen there are hardly any restrictions, apart from weight, on pursuing a career in horseracing; having experience of horses or being able to ride is not necessary. The basic training at the BRS lasts for nine weeks and, at the end of this period the trainees will be found employment in the racing industry as a stable 'lad'. The aim of the nine week training is to prepare individuals for their occupational role in racing and, by the end of it, the majority of them will be able to ride a horse six furlongs (three quarters of a mile) up the straight gallop in control and will have a working knowledge of what their new occupational position involves.

Group profile.

Here I provide a more detailed description of the trainees, who have already been introduced in chapter two; they are the main characters in this chapter. As figure 7.1 shows, there were eighteen of them, fifteen female and three males who, with one exception were signed onto the state funded modern apprenticeship. My field work was completed over the summer of 2008 during weeks one, five and nine of their training, although I had also visited the BRS the previous year as discussed in chapter two. Here I draw mainly on data collected from Group two although, where appropriate, I include data from Group one. The nature of the data for this chapter is different from that in chapter six in that it includes those who dropped out of racing, whereas the indentured apprentices interviewed are those who stayed in the racing industry. The modern apprentices are at the beginning of their career, the indentured apprentices have theirs to look back and reflect upon, possibly through rose-tinted 'glasses. My discussions of indentured apprentices drew on their recollections, autobiographical texts, and anecdotal knowledge from working in racing in what they were doing. This chapter is therefore slightly different from chapter six, as it is based on the data I could 'see' and what the trainees were feeling, experiencing and learning

through their bodies expressed through their habitus as the ‘social made body’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:127).

Trainees in Group Two. 26th May - 18th August 2008

| Trainees | Age | Prior experience | Employment | Weight |
|-----------------|------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------|
| Sofia | 22 | Ridden in Sweden | Flat yard in Newmarket | 9st 6lbs |
| Gabby | 21 | Ridden in Sweden | Went back to Sweden after 5wks. Job offer in racing yard | 8st 7lbs |
| Stina | 19 | Ridden in Sweden | Flat yard in Newmarket | 9st |
| Laura | 18 | Show jumped (UK) | Moved employees three times (NH and flat racing yards) | 8st |
| Kim | 20 | Very little riding experience (UK) | Back to original employer (Thoroughbred Stud) | 9st |
| Georgia | 18 | Very little riding experience (UK) | N.H yard in Lambourn | 8st 2lbs |
| Matt | 17 | Working in racing yard (UK) | N.H yard in Lambourn | 9st 10lbs |
| Vicki | 18 | Working in racing yard (UK) | Flat/N.H yard in Worcestershire | 8st 6lbs |
| Sian | 18 | Own pony (UK) | N.H yard in Dorset | 9st 9lbs |
| Lara | 19 | Riding school experience (UK) | Returned home, wk 4, resits | 9st 3lbs |
| Pavel | 18 | Hungarian National Stud | Flat yard in Newmarket | 9st 8lbs |
| Attila | 17 | Hungarian National Stud | Was sent home, wk 8 | 8st 12lbs |

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|--------------------------------|--|-----------|
| Magda | 18 | Hungarian National Stud | Flat yard in Newmarket | 9st |
| Alexandra | 23 | Hungarian National Stud | Flat yard in Newmarket | 8st 6lbs |
| Milena | 17 | Hungarian National Stud | Flat yard in Newmarket | 8st 2lbs |
| Holly | 21 | Own pony (UK) | N H yard in Gloucestershire | 8st 10lbs |
| Stacey | 17 | Very little experience (UK) | Left on 1 st day | 8st 3lbs |
| Nana | 26 | None. Self funded (JPN) | Returned to English course, Cambridge | 8 st 7lbs |

The majority of the group were female which reflects the annual percentage break down of 60% female and 40% male trainees at the BRS. Group size is dictated by how many trainees can be safely taught in the stable yard and the number of horses that are available for them to ride with, on average, 35 to 40 trainees riding out on each lot each morning. This means that the 49 plus horses that the BRS has in its care are kept busy. This group was quite unusual in that five of them were from Hungary and had been training at the Hungarian National Stud. They were accompanied for weeks one and five by Monica, a vet at the Stud, who came over to help translate as only one of the Hungarian trainees could understand basic English. Four of the trainees, Matt, Pavel, Vicki and Laura, were competent riders and looked at ease and quite confident on their first morning 'riding out'. The others, even though they had said they had ridden regularly, were interestingly not confident, but looked nervous and lacked balance when riding.

The class and gender profile of the group was quite different from that of the indentured apprentices. There were other changes too. They are no longer all male and working class, small in height and very light in weight. Learning is no longer purely on the job with no formal credentials given at the end of the apprenticeship period. The occupations of a stable 'lad' and race riding are separate and the workforce itself is more feminised (see chapters three and five). The group were from both working and middle class backgrounds (based on parental employment) and all had a mix of academic qualifications, including A level, AS level, National Diplomas, First Diploma and GSCE's. The trainees from both groups had varying reasons attending the BRS. Some saw the course as a way to achieve their goal of being a jockey, others liked the excitement of horseracing or wanted to work with racehorses as, 'the money is better too than other horsey jobs' (Sian, 18, grp 2). One young woman wanted to be a flat jockey, 'As we know Cumani [racehorse trainer]. I'm half Italian too, like Frankie [Dettori] who says I need to be 7 stone. He ate just peas so that's what I'm doing' (Caroline, 17, grp 1). Others had worked full time after leaving school but preferred to be working outdoors, especially with horses.

It's outdoors, a challenge. Something different every day ... I trained as an accountant in an office and I was so bored. I used to say, right, going for my lunch and they used to say, 'Jess, you can't, it's only 10 am', that's how bad it was (Jess, 19, grp 1).

Laura had three good 'A' level grades and used to show jump. She had ridden in pony races at fifteen, since when she had wanted to be a jockey. A life in racing appealed to her.

I like working outdoors, I couldn't be sitting in an office, and I like the sort of manual labour thing and you know, the horses are all characters and it's nice to get to know them and ride (Laura, 18, grp 2).

Two of the trainees had already worked in racing as ‘lads’. Matt, who had aspirations to ride as a point to point jockey, and Vicki, who wanted to ride as an apprentice jockey were from the same National Hunt yard and had been sent to complete their nine week training. Ally, the recruitment and training officer, explained;

National Hunt trainers are quiet this time of year [summer] and so like to send their young kids now, it’s a way of holding onto them, as after nine weeks they will go straight back into the [National Hunt] season when horses are coming back in after their summer break (Ally, BRS recruitment officer).

Ally thought Matt and Vicki might be too advanced for the 9 week course having come from a racing yard but both had wanted to do this rather than the 4 week accelerated course. There was little going on in their yard and it was better than ‘painting or washing out boxes’ as Matt pointed out. They also felt that they might learn a little more through being at the BRS.

Georgia had always loved horses but had never had the opportunity to ride as her parents ‘didn’t really have the money to get into it’. Her view of the equine field was one where, in order to take part, a certain level of economic, social and cultural capital was needed. She had been able to develop her love and desire to work with horses by doing her school work experience at a local point to point yard which she saw, as, ‘really my only option of getting into it’. She thought that

people obviously pay for lessons and get in that way or something and then it was only at the point to point yard that I learnt about the racing school cause there was a girl there who’d been there and come back (Georgia, 18, grp 2).

Their reasons for doing the course differ from those given by the indentured apprentices for going into racing as working-class 'boys', the indentured apprentices had fewer job opportunities. Being a jockey was a possibility for them because they had the right physical capital and jockeys at that time had celebrity status (Huggins, 2003; Smirke, 1960; Vamplew, 1976) so may have given these young 'boys' something to aspire to. The modern apprentices were more concerned with working with horses, being outdoors and possibly becoming a jockey. The one British male trainee, Matt, wanted to ride in point-to-points and did not see any reason why this would not be possible. He was from a 'racing' family so had the networks as well as necessary cultural and symbolic capital to enable him to do so. Of the young women, Laura and Vicki wanted to be jockeys but knew they would have to work hard to achieve their aim. Both had good 'A' level grades so had something to fall back on. When talking to Vicki's mother at Presentation Day I learnt that it was something Vicki needed 'to get out of her system, working in racing. Then she can settle down and use her qualifications, go to uni' (18/09/08, field notes).

Preparing to enter the racing field

The aim of the nine week foundation course is to introduce the trainees to what working life in a racing yard is like. Although it is sometimes lacking the rush, bustle and speed of a racing yard it provides the trainees, most of whom are unused to physical work and working to the clock, with a chance to develop the skills, embodied movement and some of the knowledge they will need. Social relations at the BRS were different from those that would have been experienced by indentured apprentices. The BRS is more like an educational establishment than a workplace and the trainees internalise class and gender relations in a different way from the indentured apprentices. Class and gender relations take a different form too, as I will show later in the chapter.

In what follows I describe the trainees' first afternoon at the BRS. I was sitting as an observer at the back of the class, but amongst the trainees, as Duncan, the chief

instructor, explained what they would be doing for the next nine weeks. I draw out how they learn in a community of practice, the skills they are developing and how they begin to form a racing habitus by internalising the culture and values of the BRS and the racing field.

The trainees' first afternoon at the BRS was very busy with lots to take in, absorb and assimilate, especially for those with no knowledge of horses, the terminology used; talk of sweeping out corners, tack bags, grackles, lots, the round, changing hands, dressing over, doing up and jumping off is like a foreign language to them. Even those with experience looked a little glassy eyed by the end of the afternoon as the induction process rolled on. It is an important afternoon for them, as they meet their instructor and the assistant instructor who will guide, cajole and push them when necessary through the next nine weeks. Duncan, the chief instructor, led the induction and explained how the previous beginners were now 'advanced' and thought of themselves as such.

Induction covers a wide range of topics, both practical and pastoral. Practically, trainees are allocated tack, grooming equipment, a body protector, a red and blue silk for their crash hat, and a blue smock, all of which has a number unique to the individual trainee. Pastorally the trainees are introduced to the Chaplain for Racing who is also welfare officer and counsellor. They are told a little about the 49 horses who live there who, between them, had won 200 races, and the three ponies who think they are racehorses and, 'if you think you are good and ride really special I might let you ride one of them' (Duncan, 26/05/08, field notes).

The group instructor, Craig, explained the yard routine to them, what morning stables involved, what happens in the afternoon and what the evening routine consists of. It was at this point that they were starting to learn about yard and riding skills. Much of

the induction was spent in the lecture room, a bright and airy classroom where Craig made a record of each trainee's experience working with horses, including whether they had worked in a racing yard before, whether they could muck out a straw, shavings and paper box, any injuries, allergies and medication the instructor needed to be aware of and whether they rode, and to what level. The experience of the group was varied as can be seen from table 7.1. It was quite difficult for them to admit that they had not got vast amounts of experience as they did not want to appear as complete beginners in front of the instructor and the rest of the group, but their instructor implored them to be truthful about their previous experience.

One of the more serious and salient parts of the induction procedure was an explanation of why the BRS existed, and identified some of the main differences between what had gone before, that is when apprentices were indentured, and what happens now, with the modern apprenticeship.

Years ago, you went from school, to a trainer's. He would look you up and down and take you on, as long as you kept out of his bloody way. For the first few weeks you would be washing his car, all the menial tasks, cleaning tack, raking the yard until someone noticed you, and you'd get a leg up. One of the old lads would take you under his wing and look after you. The BRS was created because of the demand created for training staff as the yards were too busy. It is about training people, not horses. Very different from a racing yard. It is not under the pressure a yard is. It's a good opportunity to train, for you to reflect on what you do, your long term goals. You might have knowledge but it can be reinforced, measured, corrected, audited, certificated. Nine weeks is nothing ... this is the foundation of your career (Duncan, 26/05/08, field notes).

Thus, the overall task of the instructors at the BRS was to replace the 'presenting culture' (Goffman,1991:23) that trainees have on entry with one that is appropriate to the racing field and to allow them more time than they would have in the workplace for

this process. The trainees need to develop a bodily hexis which reflects that needed in the racing field and, as the following quote shows, this ties in with the relationship between the racing field and a racing habitus. One of the slides used in the lecture reiterated the characteristics they would need to work in racing which were ‘hard work, dedication to your horses and yourself and determination’ (26/05/08, field notes). From personal experience and my data, these ideals are key to being a ‘good stable lad’ and indicate the way the field of power in racing shapes relations and practices within it. Slowly the trainees will develop a disposition and attitude that constitute a racing habitus. There is some continuity here with the way indentured apprentices had to be deferential and subservient. Thus the BRS expects its staff to respect and adhere to the authority relations which it and the racing field reproduce. This was reinforced through the use of surnames and titles when addressing staff and visitors at the BRS. I was always called Miss. and staff would refer to each other as, Mr Brown, or, Miss White, when trainees were present. The BRS director had to be called ‘Sir’.

Physical capital

As mentioned in the entry requirements, illustration 7.1, (p. 360) a weight limit is stipulated but this is not adhered to very strictly as it could limit the numbers who are taken on. The final part of the induction involves the trainees being weighed, not something many of them relished, but it is important for the welfare of the horses they will be riding. It is also useful to know the weight of each trainee when they are being found employment in a yard, although potential employers, the racehorse trainers, cannot afford to turn staff away just because they are heavier than 9 stone as nowadays there are only a limited number who are under that weight at the age of sixteen. It is interesting to note the change of emphasis on physical capital when reflecting upon the zealotry of trainers in selecting indentured apprentices who were light in weight and short in height. There are now very few trainees who are as light as the young indentured apprentices were. This can be seen by comparing the weights of the trainees with those of the indentured apprentices and is shown visually in illustration 7.2. Young people are not as accustomed to physical labour and life styles have become

more sedentary generally. As the working routine in yards has changed, trainers have been able to place less emphasis on weight as people can be employed to do much of the manual labour rather than riding out at all.

Illustration 7.2: Two former indentured apprentices with one of the trainees



Both older men entered racing at 14, weighing less than 4st 7lbs, the trainee, 16, is 9st 10lbs.

Part one has shown how trainees start to become part of the BRS field through an induction process, introducing them to the BRS hostel and to the BRS yard. It illustrates how physical capital, once a necessary attribute for indentured apprentices is now only a desirable attribute for trainees, although weight is still important. The second part of the chapter discusses the processes of deculturation and reculturation that trainees are subjected to through during their time at the BRS. It aims to show how the habitus of the trainee on entry becomes the racing habitus of an embodied

BRS trainee, through expressing itself in movements and gestures and in the way the trainees must discipline their body, mentally and physically.

Deculturation / reculturation

Once the trainees have been through the induction process and the initial assessment has been completed, they go out onto the yard and are shown which are their tackrooms. Each trainee is given a number corresponding to the equipment they are provided with which must be returned at the end of the nine-week period. There is another tackroom where they will keep their 'own' saddle, bridle and stable rubbers. Girths for the saddles are kept there too and each girth is labelled short, medium or long as different horses require different length girths depending on their size. This information is displayed on a board by the instructors' office along with what are known as 'extra wearing details'. Some of the horses may need specific items of tack, sometimes a different bit, a different noseband, or they may wear boots or bandages to be exercised in; this is all pertinent information that a trainee must take notice of as, the correct tack can make the difference between controlling a horse on the gallop or not. Alongside this list is another which details the extra yard duties the trainee has to do. These include cleaning and sweeping out the yard lavatory, keeping the feed room clean, bringing hay and straw through into the main yard and forking up the muck hill. The BRS yard is like the racing field generally, masculine, but what I saw as most obvious was the fact that there was little in the way of gender stereotyping in the tasks given to young women, and this also reflects the nature of the racing field where, as Ruth comments, (see chapter five), women are expected to do exactly the same work as men. In addition there are nearly always more young women than men on each course so it is not possible to reproduce gender stereotypes in the way tasks are allocated. Young women learn that they must do exactly the same as young men as part of their acculturation into the racing field. Although group two was made up mainly of young women, it was common practice to refer to both sexes as 'guys' when referring to them as a group, even by the female instructors, so reinforcing the gendered nature of the field.

Duties are completed at different times of the day depending on what else is being done. Outside the instructors' office is the 'lot board'. This informs the trainees which horses they must muck out and which horses they will be riding on first and second lot. The 'lot board' is an unpretentious and very plain piece of equipment, quite ordinary to look at and confusing to the uninformed. It has however hidden power, as it can conjure up anxious tears from those worried about the horses they must ride and wide grins of elation from a more confident rider who has been given what they see as a more challenging horse to ride, so increasing their self esteem and status within the group.

The routine described thus far relates to the educational setting in which trainees find themselves, with lectures, timetables, procedures and regulations. This is very different from the experiences of indentured apprentices and reflects the ideal types of apprenticeship outlined in the literature review. For instance old classical apprenticeships involved learning through 'sitting by Nellie', whereas all the other ideal types include more formal methods of learning and emphasise a reliance on regulation and paperwork.

The induction process continues when, at 6 15 p.m. the trainees are gathered together and ushered to one of the small conference rooms on the main premises. The first talk is from the operations manager who welcomes them all, then explains what the role expectations of the BRS are of the trainees, such as good behaviour and respecting each other and the premises. Following on from this, they are given a talk by the hostel manager about their daily routine, handing over car keys, needing permission to go into town, weekends, 'block jobs', where to go for help and other rules and regulations, including health and safety, fire procedure and the tuck shop. All the trainees sat and accepted what they were told, and whether they realised that for the next nine weeks their 'outside life' would become just that is difficult to gauge. They were about to

become members of a total institution (Goffman,1991) and, as such, would be subjected to, albeit subtly and within a community of practice, a role dispossession that would focus on turning them into racing recruits, in the same way, after the basic training process in the army, ‘civilians have been transformed into soldiers’ (Hockey,1986: 23). This is elaborated upon as the chapter progresses. Their embryonic racing habitus starts to develop as they become part of the BRS culture. The trainees were made to feel extremely welcome at the first introductory meeting which focused on putting them at ease. The induction finished with an explanation of the evening timetable, which began formally on Tuesday (see table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Evening timetable

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Tuesday 6.30-8p.m. | NVQ lecture |
| Wednesday 6.30-8.pm. | Gym. P.E |
| Thursday 6.30-8 p.m. | Preparation for Technical Certificate |
| Friday 6.30-8 p.m. | NVQ lecture |
| Monday 6.30-8 p.m. | P.E or run |

The first Sunday that the trainees are at the BRS is spent on a team building course where they work together and get to know each other better; there is little room to escape each other’s company over the next nine weeks. The BRS course itself puts emphasis on teamwork, something which is an integral part of the racing field. Matt thought it was

the best thing we did, that weekend, you know the first weekend, in the forest. That was the best thing we could have done. Got everyone working together, and with the Hungarians. Communication, language, didn’t matter. We all got on (Matt, 17, grp 2, field notes).

As shown in chapter four, a racing yard relies on its entire staff to be able to work together as a team, from yard staff to trainer, as each have an integral part to play in getting a racehorse to the racetrack. Throwing the trainees in together got them used to having to work things out as a group and meant they had to get to know their fellow trainees.

Life in the hostel – encompassing tendencies

As Goffman (1991) so accurately described,

Every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them; in brief, every institution has encompassing tendencies (Goffman, 1991:15).

The very same could be said about living in the hostel at the BRS. A purpose built block, it is attached to the other buildings by way of a wide corridor that leads down to a modern refectory and on into the airy and bright reception area. It is ‘... a social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organization’ (Goffman, 1991:22). Each trainee shares a twin bedded room with an ensuite bathroom with another of their group, decided by the BRS, with male trainees downstairs, females upstairs. All the group knew that discipline was strict before they got to the BRS. They had to conform to the regime of the BRS in the same way as, on leaving, they must be able to conform to the discipline and routine of the racing field. This has parallels with the way indentured apprentices had to conform to the discipline, lack of privacy and uniformity of working in their yard. Rooms had to be kept tidy and there were room inspections regularly. For some, this invasion of what privacy they had was intrusive and it further challenged their perceived lack of self determination in relation to what they could have in their rooms. Vicki thought ‘it was a bit too much’ that there were to be

no coats hanging on the back of doors, although there were hooks there, just little things like that really, it was annoying for me ... and no stuff on your shelves, no, like, perfume bottles or whatever on your shelves, I just thought was a bit ... it was just the rooms, how tight, you're not allowed your stuff out (Vicki, 18, grp 2,).

Like the indentured apprentices the trainees were subjected to 'role-stripping' (1991:24), procedures which erode the trainees' self-image and 'break' them so that they accept the values of the institution and of the racing field. These procedures take away their freedom to make choices, their ability to decide where, when and what they would do, and their autonomy of movement. They prepare them for the working routine in a racing yard, where they will need to obey their employer, the trainer; the trainees begin to acquire a disposition suited to this, through developing the practices they will need in the racing field, such as discipline, the ability to work together and deference to authority. This contributes to forming their racing habitus and reinforces power relations and their acceptance of them.

At the end of the first week the trainees looked physically tired and having room inspections added to their discomfort and lack of sleep, 'we had room inspections so was up until gone 10 p.m. and when we have to get up early, it's a bit unfair. I was wanting to go to bed earlier' (Laura, 18, 30/05/08, field notes).

The trainees ate all their meals together, and after evening lectures were finished they had a comfortable common room where they could watch television, play a DVD or play pool. Tea and coffee making facilities were available and after 'block jobs' were completed at 9 p.m. the tuck shop opened. The start of 'block jobs' is announced over the Tannoy and booms into the common room and nearby rooms. For 'block jobs' the trainees are paired up, and are allotted a task they must complete before the tuck shop is opened. These tasks include menial jobs such as emptying bins in the common room, sweeping the outside area and tidying the locker rooms. Towards the end of the nine-week period they found these chores annoying and invasive but they did them without too much resistance. One thing that became apparent was the lack of space available

where they were on their own, as everywhere and everything formed some type of collective area.

Gets a bit, you know, on top of each other, when you fall out, nowhere to get out of their way, but it does teach you to get on with each other (Jess, 17, grp 1).

The trainees were disorientated during their first week both down at the yard and in the hostel. They struggled with managing their time between their evening meal and their evening lectures, some anxious and complaining that there was not enough time to get changed and have a shower. By week five their attitudes had changed and they found the fact that they could not leave the BRS restrictive. Jane was quite indignant about the fact that, 'we're not allowed out. They have the keys to my car. I had my spare one but they've confiscated it. We have three hours on a Saturday and a bit more on a Sunday, that's it' (Jane, 20, 09/07/07, field notes). Weekends tended to be a little more relaxed although the trainees were not allowed to go into town on their first weekend as this was when those who were homesick found it hardest and going into town made it worse. Sundays were spent at the BRS and they had a little bit of a lie in as it was a 7 a.m. start. No horses were ridden out on a Sunday although they might be turned out. Morning stables finished by 11 a.m. with evening stables at 4 p.m. and between these times trainees were free to do what they liked. By the third weekend parents or other relatives were able, with prior permission, to take their son or daughter out and getting away from the hostel and the rest of the group was something trainees looked forward to.

For the trainees, being in what can be seen as a total institution and being tired, disoriented and anxious had the effect of making them more responsive to the role expectations of the organisation at the beginning of their training. By week five their attitudes were changing; this happens partly through becoming accustomed to the environment but, when they reach the fifth week of their course, they experience a change of status. They become the 'advanced' group as another group of 'beginners'

joins the BRS. They revel in their new found status as 'the advanced' and delight in telling the new entrants some of the horrors which are to befall them, such as, which horses bite, kick, run away on the gallops, how hard it is, and the chore of 'block jobs'. All this was unfounded, but added to their sense of belonging and being 'old timers'. Jane, an 'advanced' thought 'it was good being able to boss a lot of little people around ... but, no, it's nice to help people when you know what it's like to struggle at things' (Jane, 20, 28/05 /08, field notes).

The process that they were undergoing can be understood as an initial dispossession of their previous values and actions which were re-formed as they started to 'produce' a bodily hexis as a result of becoming immersed in the routines of the BRS. It was evident in the way that they walked with purpose, quickly, not dawdling, in the way they described the horses, imbuing them with symbolic capital due to their reputation on the racetrack or even on the yard in the way they held a broom and fork, lifted straw bales and carried shavings and through their professional racing attire which marked them out as the 'advanced' on the way to becoming 'racing lads'. In turn this helped to shape their attitudes and dispositions and the way they engaged with the practices they were starting to learn. This was very apparent down at the yard, and it is this process of absorbing the culture and practices of the racing industry as the trainees meet the four legged residents, the horses, and learn the rudimentary elements of becoming a racing 'lad' that I move on to next.

Total Immersion

The BRS as a training provider have a responsibility to maintain the well being and health of the trainees so, unlike the indentured apprentices, modern apprentices do not have to endure initiation ceremonies. Here I describe a typical day for a beginner at the start of their training. It involves both working on the yard and riding out.

Their first full day down on the yard comes as a jarring shock to the beginners as they start work at 6 a. m. sharp. For many of them time becomes a salient issue, possibly for the first time in their lives, as they have to work to the clock; if they get behind they cannot make the time up and this upsets the work routine. Woe betide the trainee who is late, as that leads to a harsh reprimand from the instructor. On the first morning there were a large number of bleary eyed individuals floundering about, all clad in blue smocks, trying to remember where the mucking out equipment was kept, what was a shavings fork as opposed to a straw fork and where the horses stabled were that they were supposed to muck out. The trainees learn the work routine by actually doing it, and, on their first morning, they look uncomfortable and unsure of what they are doing. As already discussed, this also happened to indentured apprentices and, like them, the trainees are guided and mentored initially by one of the advanced group and by the instructor and assistant instructor who are assigned to their group. Speaking as an 'insider' I saw it as the only way the trainees would learn, through the actual bodily practice of doing. I also accepted, given the length of time they are at the BRS, that it would be difficult to start trainees off any differently; indeed it was surprising how quickly they began to pick up the skills needed in the yard.

The trainees are meant to wear their blue smocks for mucking out, but it is easy to distinguish between the two cohorts as the 'advanced' wear the BRS livery of red coat and BRS sweat shirt, tee shirt and polo shirt that they are given in week three under their smock. They look forward to receiving this as they feel as if they have completed their informal trial period and come through it; they are no longer at the bottom of the BRS hierarchy. Watching the advanced trainees move about the yard they have a more assured, confident manner and seem to enjoy their new found responsibilities and power over the new starters. The level of individual and collective anxiety is less, and they are not as disoriented. Activities have become commonplace through daily routines and they begin to understand the racing terminology that is used. They are beginning to embody, both physically and emotionally, the bodily hexis of being in a specific racing field that is part of the field of power they will soon encounter as 'racing lads'.

Each trainee was expected to muck out two horses by 7 a.m. which, given their inexperience, took them the full hour as they grappled with using equipment they were not used to, especially the muck sack. As the name implies, the muck sack is a large square of woven polypropylene material with a small handle sewn onto each corner. It is laid out flat in front of the stable door and any wet straw, shavings and muck are thrown onto it. When the trainee has finished sorting clean, dry, bedding from dirty, wet bedding they will gather up each corner and hoist the muck sack onto their back; this is why they are provided with smocks to wear, as the sacks can get quite wet from the bedding and from the emptying of water buckets. The advanced have, by now, realised, that it is better to empty buckets into the drain by the taps rather than just outside the stable door where it will form puddles into which the muck sack will sink. Carrying a wet heavy muck sack is no fun and the beginners, often out of anxiety in their panic to get the horse mucked out, over-load the muck sack as they have little comprehension of how much they are able to carry to the muck heap which, for some, is at least 50 yards away. It is an unwritten rule that no loads must be dropped so it was not unusual to see trainees scurrying along, nearly bent double with a large soft shell enveloping their backs, anxiety and determination written all over their faces (see illustration 7.3). There are some muck barrows available but unless the trainee has a good reason to use one they have to use a muck sack. This is a very physical task so trainees do need a certain type of physical capital, - strength and a certain level of fitness.

Illustration 7.3: Trainee carrying muck sack to the muck hill



It is very easy to take for granted the knowledge of the easiest and most efficient way to hold a broom and fork when the user has experience of doing so. How a trainee manages these two basic pieces of equipment, together with any blisters they get is a good indicator of how much yard work they have done and it was easy to single out those who had little experience with yard duties. By the end of the nine weeks they will have had plenty of experience using a broom and as the knowledge becomes embodied, their relationship with ‘technology’ changes and the broom begins to look like an extension of their arm (cf Schyfter, 2008).

Whilst the beginners are mucking out, their instructor walks round, keeping an eye on how they are doing and giving help where needed. The first morning is stressful for the beginners as they are keen to make a good impression, yet for those without experience

it is hard not to appear totally out of their depth. The instructors are not too concerned about the standard and speed of mucking out on the first morning as it is more important that the group get used to how the morning routine works. The strict routine is an important part of the culture of work in racing where time and physical motion are an integral part of an embodied racing habitus.

Illustration 7.4: Mucking out in process



The beginners, especially those with no experience were given the quieter, more amenable horses on their first morning and it is interesting how even the most good natured horses will be just that little bit awkward when handled by a beginner, lifting their heads slightly higher so their handler cannot reach to put the top strap of the head collar over their neck. There is a power relationship between the horses and the trainees which, at the beginning of the course, works in favour of the horse. As the nine weeks progress this shifts with the trainees gaining more confidence in handling the horses but it is always contested. The 'advanced' group had already got many of these little equine acts of resistance weighed up, yet the less confident trainees still find themselves being unable to catch their horse in the stable or being threatened with a lifted back leg when they ask the horse to move.

There are also relations of power operating between the advanced group and the beginners. The 'advanced' group learn to show off their skills by assisting the beginners in mucking out. They act almost as a touchstone for the beginners and seem to thrive on it as their sense of identity within their new occupational status develops. The process of mucking out is physically hard and this, coupled with the fact that most of the beginners are unused to such work, means that their energy levels visibly fall by day three. They look tired and worn down and it is now that they appear more vulnerable and homesick, some of them ending up in tears as they struggle to muck out and tack up by 7 a.m. which is when they 'pull out'.

This first day is the start of trainees' initiation into the work culture of racing. I now go on to describe the way they learn to accept the masculine work culture, the discipline and hard work that are characteristic of the racing field.

Embodying a racing habitus

In my experience the racing industry requires trainees who are polite, can work hard and take orders as part of a team. Many of the practices that are involved in riding and working in a racing yard involve discipline, both of the horse and of the worker, as well as collective obedience when riding out and taking orders from the trainer and others in positions of authority. Discipline at the BRS yard is strict and all trainees are expected to be polite to instructors and visitors alike and, whilst this may appear somewhat regimental, it prepares trainees for the type of behaviour that is valued within the workplace.

This discipline was highlighted by the Hungarian vet, Monica (see group profile and chapter 2, p114) who was quite concerned as to whether 'her girls' would be able to cope with the disciplined and regimented routine. They had come from a riding school environment where they would ride for an hour then help the other staff with any unfinished tasks without the pressure of working to the clock and having to work as a collective unit. At the BRS the work culture was different and, in her eyes, 'they are like soldiers, not workers. Sometimes they are very hard on them ... I feel very sorry for them'. Her body language was quite expressive during our conversation as she finished off by shrugging her shoulders, then stamping her foot like a soldier standing to attention, and with a big sigh said, 'they have to be like that' - as if to say they must know their place, be disciplined 'as it will be exactly the same, perhaps worse with a trainer. That's why I don't think my girls will cope with it. They struggle already. They are not allowed to have, [indicating her eyes] tears. They must be hard, tough, how do you say?'

DB. Macho?

M. Yes, exactly and why again, the girls, they will not cope with this (BRS, 10/06/08, field notes).

Monica was worried that the girls 'would not do the whole thing, being in racing, riding three, four, five lots. Working in racing, long days. It is this', indicating the BRS and pointing to Newmarket, as if to say, life as a stable 'lad' in general. 'I have been pushing them this afternoon, to work harder. They say to me, "Why are you being so horrid to us? Stop it". I say because this is what it will be like, in a yard. Before we left [Hungary] I told them, time and time again, that it is hard, hard work and not a school, like the name says, but they said, "Stop fussing, it is fine. We will be OK" (Hungarian trainees, 27/05/08, field notes).

Her fears were unfounded and all but one of the Hungarian trainees were found work in racing yards on completing their nine weeks training. One young man was sent home in week seven for 'inappropriate' behaviour (sexual harassment) in the hostel. As an 'insider' I was initially surprised that Monica should think that the work the trainees were doing was that hard and tough and it was not until I sat back and reflected upon what she had said, recollecting how hard I used to find it, that I realised, with some anxiety, that I could not escape my own embodied racing habitus. I readily accepted the discipline and regimentation that forms part of the masculine work culture which shapes the disposition and attitudes of the habitus and is part of the racing field.

The majority of the group I was following did not have a racing habitus. This became apparent in the way they initially worked and moved around the yard and, like the Hungarian trainees, struggled with the physicality of the work and the regimentation and disciplined nature of the work culture. The next section will demonstrate how these work practices become embodied as the trainees learn how to ride a racehorse.

Learning to ride

By 7 a.m. on the first morning there is a palpable urgency in the air; the beginners start to panic as they rush to finish mucking out, put fresh bedding in for their horses, put their mucking out tools away, change into their riding boots and hang up their smock in the correct tackroom. They put on their body protector and crash hat, equipment indentured apprentices never had to wear, as well as getting together their tack whilst remembering to check if the horse they are riding has to have any extra equipment. The final thing to collect is their two way radio receiver which is carried in a small pouch strapped around their waist. This has a small earpiece which all the trainees wear when riding so that the instructor can communicate with them.

The process of tacking up correctly is made less incomprehensible and difficult through the assistance of the advanced group and the instructor. Whilst many of the beginners had ridden, tacking up a racehorse is a completely different exercise and to begin with, they were all fingers and thumbs. By 7.30 a.m. they had to be ready and the instructor spoke to them, via the two way radio, to tell them to 'pull out' into the main yard.

Illustration 7.5: Beginners waiting to be being legged up whilst instructors check their tack



Illustration 7.6: Checking tack and finding the stirrup irons



The advanced will help the beginners, making sure the horse has had her feet picked out and there is no pieces of straw or shavings in her mane and tail, then directing them in the right direction. The beginners line up in the main yard waiting for the instructor to 'leg them up' but before doing so the instructor runs an experienced eye over the tack the horse is wearing to make sure it is correctly fitted, that the girth is tightened enough and that the trainee has their radio and the correct riding apparel on, especially boots and body protector. Once in the saddle the beginner is led forward to take a turn, which involves riding a big circle around the yard, going solo once they reach the edge of the circle. For those with little or no experience, with faces a whiter shade of pale riding a racehorse loose for the first time ever, albeit at a walk, can be a daunting experience. The horses know the routine and happily walk away on automatic pilot following the horse in front if there is one, whilst the 'jockey' on top is madly trying to work out how to hold the reins at the same time keeping in rhythm with the stride of the horse. There are two small ponies at the BRS whose proximity to the ground when compared to the full size, ex-racehorses make them invaluable for beginners. Some of the 'advanced' are on hand should the beginner have difficulty with the reins and walk by the side of the horse. Once all the beginners are mounted the group makes their way to the indoor school where they begin to learn the art of riding a racehorse.

Illustration 7.7: Beginners on their way to the indoor school



This section has outlined the way in which the trainees become socialised into the practices and values of their new occupation. Part of this involves a process of ‘role-stripping’ (Goffman, 1991) whereby the trainees, like the indentured apprentices lose their autonomy, privacy, and self-determination, even over what clothing they wear when on the yard. They begin to acquire a racing habitus which, like the indentured apprentices, involves learning the necessary skills and absorbing the jargon. The examples discussed in this part of the chapter have shown how the unfamiliar gradually becomes familiar as the trainees become accustomed to the work routine.

The process of learning

The focus of this section is on the way the trainees learn, through practice, so that, as with using a broom and fork, their actions become part of their bodily hexis. It highlights the part formal learning now plays in the training of stable staff and the credentialism that accompanies this.

The first two to three weeks of riding is usually spent in the indoor school (see illustration 7.8).

Illustration 7.8: Beginners in the indoor school



This is a large enclosed barn where the beginners can learn the rudimentary aspects of riding without having to worry about the horses taking advantage of their inexperience and disappearing off up the Snailwell Road, into Newmarket. On the first morning the instructor lines them up along the middle of the school to give them a demonstration of the correct procedure for legging up and checking their girths.

You are like air hostesses, doing the pre-flight checks, and you will learn to multi-task, girls and boys, please note. You will even be able to multi task at the end of this [lesson]. So you will be able to tighten your girth on the horse, run up your irons³³, let your girth out a hole, hold the reins and steer, all at the same time (Craig, 27/08/08, field notes).

The trainees found these tasks extremely difficult to do as their hands and legs were not accustomed to the actions and movements required of them. The first few days were spent walking and trotting around the school, getting used to communicating to their horse and with each other so that each person is aware of what is happening to the pace of the horse in front and can avoid running into them and getting kicked. The instructor whispered instructions to the leading file, the horse at the front of the ride, and trainees had to communicate it back through shouting to the rest of the group but, as he noted, when they first tried this it was difficult to hear anything. As an exercise it seemed to help the group relax a little and it was all done in quite a light-hearted fashion. They were told that, ‘when you shout whoa, it’s going to be like shouting at your granny – so let’s have another go. The horses have fluffy ears so shout louder’ (Craig, 27/05/08, field notes).

³³ Where the stirrup irons are pushed back up the stirrup leathers to make carrying the saddle easier and stop the stirrup irons banging against the carrier’s legs.

Watching the trainees it seemed that, for the less experienced rider, the change of pace from walk to trot was insurmountable, they struggled to find their balance, move in time with the two time gait of the trot as well while holding the reins correctly. It may seem that a jockey is perched on top of a barely controllable racehorse, but nothing could be further from the truth. When the beginners start riding they ride with what is known as a full length of leg, that is, with long stirrups, as not only is it more comfortable and better for the horses' backs, but before they can ride with short stirrups, they also first need to develop their balance, position and suppleness in the saddle.

Whilst observing on the ground in the school I noticed that the less proficient trainees watched those who had ridden before, especially the two from the racing yard who were quite experienced. Different exercises were done, such as riding in a circle, so that the trainees learnt how to guide their horse round using both their legs and the reins. Turning left and right proved difficult and the trainees looked anxious about getting the exercise wrong. As the instructor explained though, when half went left and the others went right, 'We have a tattoo artist coming in later to put right and left on your hands then there will be no excuses' (29/05/08, field notes). Many of the trainees seemed to be struggling with coordinating their leg, hand and arm movements while trying to transmit to the horses the need to turn, and quite a few of them carried on around the perimeter of the school in a trot rather than turning a circle. Each exercise was completed once, as it was apparent, through the bodily posture of the trainees, that they were getting physically and mentally tired. They were all very anxious, even those with experience who did not want to get shown up by doing things wrong.

One of the things the the trainees had to learn was how and when to 'change their hands'; they were told:

This is what you use to make your horse go faster. It's like texting. You're texting down the reins what the horse needs to know. You must talk to them. Tell them what you did last night, where you're going, what you're wearing. They can't really see you but they can hear you and feel you so you need to communicate with them. Tell them, text them, down the reins. Text a message your horse (Craig, 27/05/08, field notes).

This small movement can make the difference between being in control and looking good to being run away with and by practising it, in the hostel, with just a pair of reins and at walk and trot, some of the risk is removed and the action begins to become embodied and automatic. Riding was one of the key areas where trainees learnt through what they had done wrong, as Stina explained after she had 'unlocked the key' to riding one of the more difficult fillies at the BRS.

When I first came to the school, I had some problems to hold the strong horses, because, since I wasn't very confident, I got scared when I felt that they were picking up the pace and then I started to move my hands, and you shouldn't do that. I should just like, put my hands down and try to ignore it but, and when I rode her one day in the (indoor) school I realised, ah, this is the way it should be done, and she had run away with me four times before so that was really good to learn from (Stina, 19, grp 2).

The first session I observed lasted for about an hour and at the end of this they were told to,

let out your girths, run up your irons, give them a pat and jump down. Oh, and remember to steer them at the same time (Craig, 29/05/08, field notes).

For those with experience this was quite a straightforward request, dismounting becomes an automatic action. For others though it is intensely hard and requires a

great deal of concentration as Kim found, 'never being good at concentrating. Have to concentrate hard as I want to get it [riding] right' (29/05/08, field notes). Watching from the ground it was obvious that the movements trainees needed to perform had not yet become embodied, they were laboured, strange, uncoordinated and unfinished and so made them look and feel uncomfortable and incongruent. They all managed to do what was asked of them after a fashion and lined up along the centre of the school standing by their horse's head until told to walk in. Dismounting was not without its mishaps as on landing some of the beginners found that their legs, not used to physical activity, had given way and they ended up in a heap by the side of the horse. After their first morning of riding, most of the group looked exhausted as they led their horse back into the yard in single file to put them away. Taking tack off with aching hands and arms looked a difficult process as there are a plethora of straps to undo, and these can be stiff and hard. They learnt by watching the 'advanced' and instructors show them what were the right straps to undo and, in a similar way, they learnt how to put their horses away after exercise. These procedures gradually became embodied, and were almost second nature by week five as they were untacking their horses without hesitation, their movements exhibiting a dexterity and smoothness that had not been evident in week one.

As the first week progressed the walk back in became more laboured as trainees struggled to get their aching muscles working. I asked Kim why she was walking so stiffly and she pointed to her legs and knees, 'I'm not joking, got blisters here. It hurts' (28/05/11, field notes). Many were unused to the physical nature of what they were doing and soon became tired and weary as their aching legs were sore and chafed from riding, their arms ached from mucking out, and they had blisters on their hands. Physical discomfort, anxiety, tiredness and all being together in the hostel, like a panopticon, made the first week hard to get through. Holly was desperate to go home during the first week as she kept, 'getting things wrong but I spoke to my mum who said, "hang on" and now I love it' (Holly, 21, 29/05/11, field notes).

The shout of 'feedhouse' comes as a welcome relief as it signifies that the first part of morning stables is nearly finished and it is breakfast time. Both the beginners and advanced group wait at the feedhouse in two distinct groups, the advanced looking professional, bright and assured in their BRS livery, the beginners slightly bedraggled, tired and hot in their 'civilian' clothes. They wait for their instructor to send them off to the 'big house' for breakfast. Not all the advanced go up straight away as, if box checks have been done and mucking out has not been completed properly trainees, in this case the advanced, will be sent back to rectify the matter. The beginners will be included in the checks the following Monday.

Illustration 7.9: The advanced and beginners waiting to be sent up for breakfast

(Note the difference in appearance, the advanced in the red jackets, on the left, the beginners on the right).



After breakfast, morning stables recommence at 9.30 a.m. and trainees will check the lot board again to see what they are to ride and any extra tack the horse may need, ready to pull out by 9.45 a.m. The routine will be the same as first lot and, by the end of morning stables, the beginners are ready for a break. Lunch is at 12 p.m. and they had to be back on the yard for 2 p.m. as they had their mucking out practical in the afternoon. They were shown how to muck out a straw bed, and their handiwork was checked the following morning. The following weeks take a similar pattern with lectures and practical sessions taking place in the afternoon before evening stables.

Much of what the trainees learn is 'by doing' and, as some of them admitted 'doing it wrong' was the way they picked things up the quickest. During their workplace interview they said that making their own mistakes was a good way to learn because the practical thing was most useful, because when you're having your lectures, it feels like they're just standing there and [they are] saying a lot of things that doesn't mean anything to you, until ... you can make your own mistakes and learn from it ... and from watching other people (Georgia, 18, grp 2).

I observed their first practical demonstration standing in with the trainees as the instructor showed them how to muck out a straw bed, a task that takes practice, to do quickly and efficiently as you need to feel comfortable with the tools you are using. The instructor explained, step by step, what they should do and why they were doing it. They then went away and put his words and actions into practice. There is an experienced yard assistant, Tom, at the BRS who supports the instructor and the trainees. He has innumerable years of experience in racing and his role is to mentor and support trainees, helping and advising them when they are trying out a task, such as putting a bridle together or plaiting a horse's mane. The trainees viewed him in a different light to their instructor and, for the quieter trainees, he made the difference between achieving their NVQ units and failing. Sian found she learnt by, 'Asking other people. Tom. He was really good, I loved him to bits, he's brilliant and he'd demonstrate, like it was all one to one and he'd demonstrate and if you're like in a group situation, you feel a bit stupid

asking questions' (Sian, 18, grp 2). Her learning experience was 'Like, I think I learnt more by helping, like, as people helping me, like your friends, so you don't feel so much under pressure then' (Sian, 18, grp 2). She felt at home in a learning 'community' where they all learnt by doing things together, discussing and talking about the exercise.

Although most of the instruction is out on the yard and involves practical demonstrations, there are some more formal classroom based lectures which none of the trainees said they liked. 'The classroom, I couldn't get on there cos, every time I got in I just wanted to fall asleep, yeh, it was awful' (24/07/08, grp 2, field notes). Others said they were, 'Never any good in the classroom anyway so I wasn't that interested in that side. But, if I didn't know anything I'd look at the books [NVQ manual] and then try it ... well, it's better to be hands on 'cause you learn, learn quicker by doing, learn from your mistakes...' (24/07/08, grp 2, field notes).

The practical part of their learning brought out the embodied, nature of assimilating new tasks; their actions became automatic and unconscious. This practice-based mode of learning has been called non-transparent learning (Hager, 2004). The next section provides a contrast as it highlights the other paradigm of learning, formal learning (Hager, 2004), as trainees completed their key skills in a classroom situation.

Learning

One of the parts of the training that many of the trainees did not enjoy was completing their key skills. There was some resentment as they felt they had, 'done this at school, don't see why have to do this shite again' (Isaac, 09/06/07, grp 1, field notes) but, in reality, many of them had not got the grades needed to exempt them from having to do their key skills. Sitting in with them, helping them where I could during this time, was very draining for me partly because of the tension and angst that the trainees were feeling. The majority of them were very anxious and worked up about the assignments especially the maths. Jane told me 'she was crap at maths. Teacher just used to go and

drink coffee and let us do what we liked' (09/6/07, grp 1, field notes). These sessions were delivered in the computer suite by a very patient tutor from the local further education college and the exercises had been written in such a way to appear realistic within a racing setting. There was a great deal of opposition from trainees with one trainee nearly in tears as, he 'hated maths at school. What if I fail this, and it stops me from being a jockey?' (Isaac, 09/8/07, grp 1, field notes). It is unlikely that such a situation would happen as even if he failed, he would still be found a place in a yard and a way would be found for him to complete the assignment. The 'advanced' group also resented the beginners doing their key skills as they had to do the beginners' horses for them in the afternoon. They saw it as the beginners' 'having it easy' (Kerry, 09/6/07, 'advanced grp', field notes) although the same would have happened for them. Underpinning their resentment was their view of themselves as higher in the yard hierarchy than the beginners so they saw it as an affront to their status that they had to do the beginners' work. None of the trainees really saw the point of doing key skills and preferred to be 'learning through doing' with the horses.

The process of learning that the trainees were undergoing here was more of a formal nature and was in complete contrast to what indentured apprentices had done. There was no credentialism attached to indentured apprenticeship, whereas modern apprentices complete a technical certificate and key skills at the BRS, plus 70% of their NVQ level 2 in racehorse care. The remaining 30% they complete in the workplace as these skills involve taking a horse racing as well as riding out at the workplace. The learning described here was different, of a more abstract nature than learning by practice and 'doing'.

The next section discusses the trainees progress out on the 'round'. Observing them the trainees looked and behaved differently, having more a feel for the horses they were riding. I would argue that they were embodying the skills and movements indicative of a racing habitus.

Out on the 'round'

Illustration 7.10: Trainees trotting round to warm up



By week five, when I returned to the BRS, the trainees had graduated from the indoor school to cantering on the 'round'. The round is a circular, four furlong (half a mile), all-weather surface where the trainees learn to canter a horse steadily. They trot round in a group as a warm up so that they can 'use this warm up to work out how the horse is feeling. It's not all about you, it's about the horse' (Craig, 9/6/08, field notes). It is now that the radios come into their own as the instructor can communicate with each trainee even when they are at the other side of the 'round'. The trainees seem to gain confidence from the fact that there is this link between them and the instructor who can watch and tell them what they are doing right or wrong. I was standing with the instructor watching them go round and could help catch the occasional loose horse when anyone fell off. Craig gave instructions such as,

Get off your knees. Push your hands down. Don't lean forward as if she catches her toe you'll be off. Bridge those reins. Feet in the iron properly (9/06/08, field notes).

The fact that the trainees understood these instructions indicates how much they have absorbed and understood of the racing terminology. By week five most of the group were more relaxed and at ease on the horses, watching each other, commenting on how a horse should be ridden by sharing their experiences and debating who was the hardest, strongest horse to ride.

Whilst I was there the group cantered on the 'round' for the first time. The instructor had picked two trainees to do a demonstration for the rest of the group. One of the young women had been in tears after first lot but she had been given a horse who knew where to canter and where to stop. As they set off, in canter, the instructor told them where to stop after completing two circuits, using bushes and landmarks as signs.

These are handy to judge how fast you are going, to measure your pace, depending on how fast you feel you are going past them (Craig, 9/06/08, field notes).

The rest of the group intently watched the two cantering as the next day they would be cantering on the 'round' themselves, hopefully in control.

Up the 'straight'

Once they had been on the 'round' for two to three weeks the 'advanced', as they were now known, started cantering up the six furlong (three quarters of a mile) straight gallop. This usually happened towards the end of week five. They were both nervous and excited about this and Laura thought they 'should just let them go, say we couldn't hold them' (Laura, 11/06/08, grp 2, field notes). This was what they had been working

towards from week one and is an indication of how far they had progressed. It was a challenge to see who could canter up the straight whilst remaining in control and stopping when the trainees said, not when the horse ran out of gallop and had to stop, suddenly, at the high wooden fence that separates the BRS from the railway track that runs close by. The trainees' excitement was palpable as they took a turn at the bottom of the gallop waiting for Craig to arrive in the truck that drives along the gallop beside them.

Illustration 7.11: Trainees taking a 'turn' waiting for the mini bus, before cantering up the straight



The instructor, who is about twenty feet away from the horses in the truck, can watch and guide the two or three riders who go up in single file telling them what they need to do and providing support when it looks as if the horse has taken control of the canter and is about to go faster than the trainee wants. The trainees were still quite reliant on the security the radio gives them through its link to the instructor; on the days they rode

without the radios they said that they missed having that link to the instructor in the vehicle driving alongside (see illustration 2.1, chapter two).

Some of the horses take their pace from the vehicle rather than the trainee and went faster when the instructor accelerated. Vicki's horse did this and 'she had been slow to react. Just heard the truck quicken up, and I was not quick enough to react and that was it' (Vicki, 18, 21/07/08, grp 2, field notes). When it looked as if the trainee was going to get run away with the instructor calmly talked to the trainee with commands of, 'ears, ears, ears, look ahead, don't look down, ears, ears, look between her ears, keep her balanced, elbow out' ...until 'too late' as fatigue sets in, the trainees' muscles tighten up and they are unable to hold the horse any longer so the horse quickens her stride, going faster until reaching the end of the gallop. When this happened the more confident trainees were able to laugh it off as it was, 'see how fast I went' (Vicki, 21/07/08, grp 2, field notes). Sian's view of going up the straight for the first time was,

Amazing. I didn't know what to expect. I had never done it before, it was brilliant. I can't describe it. I like the speed (Sian, 9/06/08, grp 2, field notes).

The more confident trainees tended to get quite competitive as to who had been able to ride a particular horse, in control, up the straight. As they were, by this time, the advanced group they had to keep face in front of the next beginner group so tended to refer to this experience of riding up the 'straight' as 'a piece of piss' (9/06/11, field notes), that is, they were always in control and nothing ever went wrong! Being an 'insider' I know how long it can take to learn to ride a racehorse at speed, and nine weeks is a very short length of time in which to get a beginner with little or no experience of riding, galloping a horse up the straight gallop, but when the trainees leave they are all able to do this.

Embodied learning

When returning to the BRS in week five and again in week nine I found that the majority of the trainees had changed in their attitude and demeanour. There was less anxiety and they were less disorientated as the routine had become commonplace and the terminology assimilated. The equipment they had to use and the clothing they wore had become part of their daily practice and routine. There was no longer any panic about being slow, as their bodies had adapted to the work and they swung their muck sacks up onto their backs as if they had always done it. By week five many of the trainees had made their way up to Gibsons, one of the specialist racing saddlers in Newmarket, and bought themselves the breeches and boots that are commonly seen in racing yards and which they use to ride out in at the BRS. This new self-image, confident, assured, comfortable around the horses, came through as I watched them riding up the straight and working down in the yard. They no longer fumbled as they tacked up their horses or put on rugs. The horses now seemed to respect them and I no longer had to go in and put a headcollar on a specific horse for Sian as 'she had just gone and caught him, no messing, he's been alright ever since' (Sian, 18, 09/09/08, grp 2, field notes). They seemed more relaxed, at ease with what they were doing and to me, they were acquiring a racing habitus. They were developing the bodily hexis of someone from the racing field and this was expressed through the way they carried their tack and mucking out tools. It was apparent, when they were interacting with the horses, that they were more relaxed and confident; they were beginning to know 'instinctively' where and how to walk around them. Their racing habitus was evident in the way they displayed the skills they had learnt which enabled them to engage with the work routine, in their polite, respectful attitude to those in authority and in their confidence when talking to visitors about the horses and the BRS. They were already to a certain extent, wrapped up in the illusio of the field and saw it as something worth being part of.

Leaving the BRS

By week nine many of the trainees found being in the hostel overly restrictive and oppressive and some were looking forward to, 'getting rat arsed, then sleep for a week' once they left the

BRS. One young woman was 'bored now, had enough, want to move on. Those beginners are so babyish. Last night they were making so much noise I opened the window and told them, 'Shut the fuck up' (Natalie, grp 1). Another said she was 'tired now, and everyone is so tired, ratty' had enough of each other (Holly, 21, grp 2).

Once the trainees left the BRS, however, hostel living was more positively evaluated as Laura explained when interviewed in her new workplace. At the end of the course she found herself,

looking forward to getting out and going home, starting work and earning money ... I wanted to get out and I wanted to get working and start earning some money and I moved into this house with this old couple. I only had my room and that was it, so really I was still in the same sort of situation, but erm, no, the Racing School definitely it set me up for like going out and living, with strange people (Laura, 18, grp 2).

Some said they did not want their time at the BRS to end and that they had enjoyed it. Sonia, from Sweden, said,

It felt safe, and it feels like, people looking after you, and especially for me and like coming to a new country and stuff. I'd got people at home, that said, 'Oh, but I think you would learn much faster if you go straight to, to a workplace or something',... maybe that's true because then you have to learn, but still, I like this secure feeling that someone's looking after you (Sofia, 22, Swedish, grp 2).

On their last morning, known as Presentation Day, many of the trainees have friends and family come to watch them; this marks the end of the course. Chatting to the parents, it became apparent that, for them, the course, 'gets them away from home, they have to learn to be on their own, to manage by themselves'. Matt's mother said 'that it had been the making of him... he had always had his brother to look out for him and so I was unsure how he would deal with this. He has never had to do, look after himself' (18/08/08, field notes).

The trainees' 'rite of passage' from beginner to advanced and then to 'lad' culminates in Presentation Day which I observed. On this day trainees chose which horse they wanted to ride up the straight and were allowed to wear their own hat silk, often purchased especially, rather than the red and blue BRS silk. It is perhaps symbolic that they do this as it marks the end of their training and the beginning of their working life. Parents, guardians and friends come and ride in the mini bus so they can watch their trainee canter up the straight. For the trainees it was an opportunity to show their visitors what they had achieved during their time at the BRS. They were all quite excited about it in the yard before they went up the straight, partly because the training had finished and partly because they could, hopefully, demonstrate their prowess to their family and friends.

Presentation Day was significant for the trainees as it officially marked the end of their training and their initial socialisation into the racing field; they had begun to develop the attitudes and dispositions that form and embody a racing habitus. It is a ritual marking their 'rite of passage' (van Gennep, 1960) although it was a pale reflection of the three to seven year period indentured apprentices completed. These trainees would be viewed as 'raw recruits' (Hockey, 1986) when starting at the bottom of the hierarchy in their new work place

Into the workplace

In week six the trainees were given what is known as their 'dream sheet'. This gives them the opportunity to say where and what type of yard they would like to work in and the BRS Director tries to place them in a BRS approved yard that fits their needs. At the end of the nine week course they take up employment as a stable 'lad' in order to complete their foundation modern apprenticeship in the workplace. I interviewed eight trainees in the workplace within three months of them leaving the BRS. Here I

consider their views of the different methods and learning environments they had experienced.

Trainees are put straight to work once they arrive at their new place of work. They are in a community of practice where, through the process of sharing information and experiences, members learn from each other and have an opportunity to develop themselves personally and professionally (Lave & Wenger, 1991). All the trainees shared the opinion, when interviewed in the workplace, that by watching others ride and through working in their new yard they were able, gradually, to improve and, one said, 'the more you do it the better it gets, if anything, the more you do it the better you should be' (Laura, 18, grp 2). They found that, on the whole, working with others helped as 'they're all very experienced, they've worked for big trainers, they've taught me lots' (Georgia, 18, grp 2). They do not discount what they learnt at the BRS: 'well, the Racing School, they teach you the basic way, the basics of everything and then here you, you learn more advanced stuff' (Georgia.18, grp 2).

One young woman, however, found that some of her colleagues were not very helpful.

I think you have to choose who to listen to because they're so - a couple of guys have been to the school and they think that they're top jockeys, but I don't like the way they're riding at all, they're always shouting at the horses when they're scared and they're telling me what to do when my horse plays up or something, but then I just have to ignore them because I know it's not right (Sofia, 22, grp 2).

She found their attitude frustrating as she wanted to learn, something her employer, the trainer helped her with.

But my trainer's really good because he, when he stands and watches us riding, if he sees something in my riding that he wants to change he just tells me, so, that's really good, 'oh, try to lower your shoulders just a little' ... yeah, he really wants to help but I think that's because

he knows that I want to learn, he doesn't say anything to the others because they just wouldn't listen, they know it all (Sofia, 22, grp 2).

It is quite rare for a trainer to instruct their staff on a one to one basis, as it is usually the more experienced staff members who will volunteer help. I asked Georgia if, when she first got to the yard, she was given a mentor to work with.

I had, the girl that's just left, I had her sort of, while I was riding out she always chatted to me the whole way about what we were doing and the routine and horses and what work was like (Georgia, 18, grp 2).

When asked about what sort of advice she had been given it was more a case of, 'you only really get advice if you ask, if you're unsure about anything' (Georgia, 18, grp 2). This is not to say that trainees saw their workplaces as hostile, unwelcoming places. They can be seen as small communities of practice where suggestions are made, and individuals reflect on what they did riding 'that horse' or 'one just like that'. Knowledge of what to do is not imparted formally by way of a riding lesson, but is gradually transmitted in conversations, banter, arguments and in reflection when things have gone badly. Vicki summed it up,

It's just from the yard, I think it's like the older, older staff, the older people that have done it, especially like if you're riding though, and think why has he done this? Or, how? You know, they're the ones I always like. There always, seems, always to be one lad as well that'll always kind of like, ... kind of dad, in a way, and always looks out, looks over you and he'll kind of like, take, make sure you're alright. Every yard I've been to there's always been that one person (Vicki, 18, grp 2).

Knowledge would appear to be imparted without the individual really being aware of the process is happening.

When I first started [in] racing, the horses that I found strong and then another person would go on and wouldn't, and I'm thinking, 'why?', you know, but it's just literally, it just takes time doesn't it, ... you can't hurry it sometimes (Vicki, 18, grp 2).

What Vicki is referring to is apprenticeship as a model of learning. She is describing learning as participation, informal learning and learning by 'doing'. She was learning in the workplace, in a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and, as a newcomer was becoming a legitimate participant, through her relationship with the more experienced staff who were helping and guiding her. In this way she will achieve what Polanyi refers to as 'indwelling', a process of both doing and observing empathetically. Vicki describes her learning as something that 'just takes time' and this process of learning is what trainees experienced at the BRS, and what indentured apprentices experienced over a much longer time span. Both types of apprentice learn to embody the values of the racing field although class and gender relations were different for modern apprentices in that they were not part of a feudal environment of master and servant and women which excluded women. On the contrary, young women made up the majority of the places on the course and were expected to do the same work as the young men.

Conclusion

The chapter has outlined the changes and continuities in learning practices between indentured and modern apprenticeships. It has traced the way in which young male and female trainees begin their nine-week off the job training at the beginning of their modern apprenticeship. Immersed in a regime not unlike that of a total institution but within a community of practice they quickly adapt to the work culture,

going from 'beginner' to 'advanced' status at the BRS. They learn how to become a racing 'lad', developing an embodied racing habitus through constant practice and immersion in a field of power where 'masculine' qualities of toughness, strength and stamina are valued. They also internalise habits of deference and a respect for 'hard work'. At the end of their nine weeks they complete the first part of their rite of passage at presentation day before leaving the BRS to work in another community of practice, the racing yard. The length of the modern apprenticeship is governed by funding, retention and recruitment but is no more than two years in duration. Once this is completed they can be classed as 'racing lads' although their level of knowledge and experience is still limited. Whether they will go on and become 'masters' of their trade is dependent on their aspirations but, using Nietzsche's interpretation of mastery, I would argue that a modern apprenticeship in racing does not result in mastering a trade and that very few will go on to achieve this in the way that an indentured apprentice did.

In the next chapter I compare these two apprenticeships using the ideal types developed in chapter one. I also explore how work has changed in the racing industry and explain how my findings provide answers to my research questions.

Illustration 7.12: The end of the exercise



Chapter Eight

Conclusion

We don't see things as they are, we see them as we are. (Anon)

In the introduction to this thesis, I described times when, my motives for writing it were a mystery, like Orwell's in writing a book. My 'demon' however, made sure that the thesis has reached its conclusion, although it has been a struggle at times to achieve the necessary reflexivity. The quote above is thought to be from The Talmud and is also attributed to Anais Nin, but, for me, it succinctly explains the problems I have encountered and discussed here, particularly those arising from being an 'insider'. These were brought home to me by Monica and the experiences of the Hungarian trainees at the BRS. I initially saw trainees working as I would experience it, just the way things were and unremarkable; she saw it initially as it was for them, like an army barracks with a harsh, disciplinary regime. As shown in the thesis, I have been positioned like Sasha Roseneil (1995:8), working from the standpoint of my experiences and using them as a reference point from which I can understand the experiences of my research participants to provide answers to the research questions. In this concluding chapter I first summarise the key findings. Second, taking the research questions in turn, I explore how my findings answer them. Third, I discuss the contribution of my research to knowledge and finally, I look at the limitations of the research and contemplate how, if I started again, things might be done differently.

In the introduction, I talked about the three elements of my argument: learning; gender, class and power; and capitals. By teasing apart the different factors that structure the racing field as a field of power I have argued that men and women who work in racing acquire a racing habitus. This is achieved by learning formally but

mainly informally, by 'doing', participating and developing practical skills. The learning process absorbs and embodies the values, discourses, traditions and rituals that characterise the racing field and present themselves as common sense and permanent to those within the field even though they have been historically constructed. This takes place in the context of class and gender relations are both reproduced and challenged by men, women and organisations in the racing field who all engage in practices that are shaped by the field of power. The field of power itself is a configuration of economic, cultural, symbolic and physical capitals which structure the way individuals, for instance working-class men and women, and organisations, such as the Jockey Club, relate to each other.

In the following section I provide a summary of the main themes I have identified as underlying strands that run through all of the thesis. These can be conceptualised as learning, gender, class and power relations, and capital. Each of the themes is discussed separately; in practice they all interact and integrate on simultaneous and multiple levels contributing to some of the inequalities which intersect within the racing field.

Learning

Although the structuring of apprenticeships has changed, becoming an apprentice has traditionally been associated with learning a trade or craft and learning by participating, principles that still form part of the apprenticeship framework. In the racing industry indentured apprenticeships were the only route that was available for young 'boys', as they were known, (women were excluded) who wanted to become apprentice jockeys and would, on serving their time become 'board and wage men'. The way in which young 'boys' learnt their craft was through becoming part of a 'community of practice' where learning was at first 'legitimately peripheral' (Lave

and Wenger, 1991:29). Through learning the basic skills, such as tying a horse up, 'boys' graduated to learning skills which increased in complexity and the level of engagement required from them. For instance, when being taught to ride, 'boys' would meet the horses coming back in after exercise, from of the gallops. They would then be led, astride the horse, back to the stable yard. Their involvement with the process of exercising the racehorses would increase until eventually they would be galloping the horses on the gallops. Those who were seen to have enough ability and were light in weight would be given the opportunity to race ride as apprentice jockeys. The processes described would have been watched by their mentor, the 'board and wage' man who provided guidance when the 'boy' first entered his new yard. Much of the learning and knowledge transfer occurred through 'learning by doing' (Lave and Wenger, 1991:31). 'Boys' learnt practically, embodying skills and knowledge that became an inseparable part of the process of becoming a stable 'man'. This type of apprenticeship, as a model of learning, was informal, tacit and based on intuition. There were no qualifications to be gained on its completion, just the recognition that a 'boy' had undergone a 'rite of passage' (van Gennepe, 1960) the status of 'man' and skilled worker. At the end of this period indentured apprentices embodied the masculine work culture of the racing field, built upon hard work, strength and toughness.

The learning experience for modern apprentices is, in many ways, similar to that of the indentured apprentices. Enrolled onto a state funded training course, male and female modern apprentices spend the first nine weeks of their apprenticeship at the BRS in a community of practice, learning by 'doing', by participating and being guided, not by an older 'lad' but by their instructor. They are at the beginning of their 'rite of passage' as stable 'lads'. Where the learning experience differs is that modern apprentices complete key skills as well as 70% of an NVQ in racehorse care at the BRS, the remaining 30% is completed in the racing yard of their employer, the trainer. Although vocationally and practically orientated, the NVQ, and especially the key skills, are examples of credentialism, one of the major differences between indentured

and modern apprenticeship, due in part to the state's involvement in apprenticeship training and the requirement that it is measurable by qualifications. Young women and young men still internalise the masculine work culture of the racing field in a similar way to indentured apprentices. It is the way in which gender, class and power relations impact upon the racing field that I discuss next.

Class, gender and power relations

Until the 1960s women's participation as part of the racing field was mainly as spectators and racehorse owners. From the mid 1960s onwards women became more visible as racehorse trainers and as part of the workforce. Class distinctions divide the two groups of women; female trainers had to be seen as 'suitable' by the Jockey Club; a 'suitable' woman was one who had a similar class background to Jockey Club members. Women themselves believed in the illusion of the racing field and misrecognised the symbolic violence that was exercised upon them that denied women the rights and opportunities available to men. In the early 1970s, due in part to staff shortages and equalities legislation, working-class women began to be employed as stable 'lads' in the male-dominated environs of racing yards. Women were given no quarter and had to be as good as if not better than the men as stable 'lads'. As a way of encouraging more working-class women to work in racing as 'lads' a series of amateur races were arranged as a recruitment incentive. The incentive attracted women who were already involved with the racing field, were better positioned in its class hierarchy, who had the resources available which would enable them to race-ride in this specially commissioned series of races. This, together with the amateur status required denied working-class women the opportunity while other, upper and middle-class women because of their access to social, cultural and economic capital were able to do so. This is an example of the intersection of class, gender and power inequalities which were themselves structured by the racing field.

Equalities legislation meant that the Jockey Club had to grant professional flat and National Hunt licences to women, but herein lies the contradiction. Although women who work as 'lads' are expected to 'get some balls about them', that is embody masculinity, be strong, tough and not act like a 'girly girl', they are not seen as quite tough and strong enough by many women and men in the racing field when it comes to race riding. There is still a very low percentage of women who hold professional jockey's licences, although 60% of the intake of modern apprentices at the BRS are women. Some become apprentice jockeys, but few, as yet, are able to sustain a career as professional jockeys. Male apprentice jockeys are patronised more than female apprentices. Being given race-rides is often reliant to the patronage of a trainer or owner and it is they who hold the power over the apprentice jockey, deciding when, or if, they take out the young man or woman's apprentice licence. It is power and class relations that I want to move onto next, illustrating how these themes have been developed throughout the thesis.

I have shown that the person with the most power in a racing yard is the trainer, and it is the trainer who is at the top of the employment hierarchy typically seen in a racing yard. Those with the least power were once the indentured apprentices. Indentured apprentices worked in an environment where employment relations were feudal and where their employer, the trainer, could exploit them as he wanted (my interviewees all worked for men). This included 'selling' their indentures on to another trainer, transferring indentures when apprentices were deemed to be getting too heavy and withholding any monies an indentured apprentice may have earned race riding. Indentured apprentices were from working-class backgrounds and class relations were inscribed on their bodies; deference, subservience, obedience and a bodily submission to employment relations were embodied as part of their racing habitus and were reflected in the doxic values of the racing field. The indentured apprentices who become successful jockeys were often sought after by owners and trainers to ride their horses and at times would be invited to socialise with their aristocratic patrons. Class boundaries were visibly crossed causing considerable disquiet that working-class men,

'these uneducated and promoted stable lads' this 'school of skinny dwarfs' (Runciman, 1889, cited in Vamplew, 1976:148) were getting above their station. The status of the jockey was no more than a servant and as such, the jockey was expected to stay at that level.

The Jockey Club held the ultimate power within the racing field and were able to decide who had enough status and a 'suitable' class background to be allowed to join their ranks. Having wealth was not enough as many nineteenth century industrialists found in their quest to become members. Class relations have been of prime importance in explaining how the Jockey Club, as the governing body for racing for over 250 years, was able to maintain its monopolistic power of the racing field. Class dynamics became powerful factors in challenging the power of the Jockey Club and brought about changes in the way that the Jockey Club governed the racing field in the mid twentieth century. This is illustrated by the formation of the HBLB in the 1960s which took away some of the power that the Jockey Club held. Power was shared with an organisation chaired by a 'gentleman,' but whose background, like that of the wealthy industrialists mentioned earlier, contradicted what was seen as 'suitable' by the Jockey Club in classed terms. Lord Wigg, 'chairman' of the HBLB was a formidable opponent of the Jockey Club, but seen by Jockey Club members as 'NQOC' (Liddle and Michielsens, 2007).

Capital

It is at this point that I want to discuss the different types of capital and show how the power of a social agent in a field depends on their access to different types of capital. The amount of capital he or she holds is related closely to holding power and, as a result, what counts as capital can be designated by those in power. Lord Wigg provides a good example of how the field of power operates as a configuration of capitals which shape practices and relations within the racing field. He was an army officer, the Member of Parliament for Dudley and former Minister without Portfolio under Harold Wilson, yet he was none the less viewed as not having the social and

cultural capital that would have made him 'suitable' to join the Jockey Club. His capital, as currency, was devalued; he did not go to public school, his title was but a life peerage and he began his army career by serving in the ranks (Wigg, 1972). His social and cultural capital was adjudged as weak and had a poor credit rating with the Jockey Club.

Having a glowing reputation as a jockey meant that, within the racing field, people believed that someone was worth knowing and socialising with. In other words, successful jockeys had the symbolic capital, which by itself means nothing, but within the racing field was viewed with esteem. Jockeys, through their success would have access to economic capital but were not seen as having the social and cultural capital that would allow them entry into another class stratum, so causing disquiet within the classed ranks of the racing field when boundaries were crossed.

'Board and wage' men were also ascribed symbolic capital when talked about by my interviewees that was specific to the racing field. Furthermore, through serving an indentured apprenticeship, they embodied a racing habitus specific to that time period. Working for certain trainers can imbue the employee with symbolic capital; the success of the trainer carries over onto his or her staff.

As described in the section on gender relations only 'suitable' women were eventually given licences to train. The hegemonic power of the Jockey Club had hitherto been used to deny women the right to train as racehorse trainers. The challengers in this power struggle had the economic, social and cultural capital, as well as the skills that mirrored those of male trainers, yet their gender devalued the capital they held, allowing the Jockey Club to exclude them. Their gender capital worked against them in their fight to enter an occupation that they had tried, for the previous 36 years, to enter. Class position and having access to economic capital enabled them to challenge the power of the Jockey Club in the field of law, eventually succeeding in the High

Court. By using another field of power they were able to achieve what they 'knew' they were entitled to; a sense of entitlement that is associated with greater access to economic and social capital (Liddle and Michielsens, 2000). This illustrates that the Jockey Club could not isolate itself from other fields of power. The fact that working-class women had neither a sense of entitlement nor access to economic, social and cultural capital worked against them in favour of middle and upper-class women when the first amateur races were held for 'lady jockeys'. As I have highlighted, the 'jockette races' were, in theory, a good idea. In practice, working class women had no access to the symbolic power that was needed in a field that was classed and gendered masculine and where 'the right to speak, legitimacy' (Moi, 1991:1022) was invested in those who possessed the capital, in this case, middle and upper-class women.

Some of the female modern apprentices and the female apprentice jockey recognised their 'right to legitimacy', not in the racing field, but in the field of education when interviewed. They said they would try working and riding in racing for a couple of years, then if it did not work out would leave and do something else, such as go to university. These individuals had the social and cultural capital that was exchangeable in other fields so giving them other choices. The indentured apprentices may have accrued symbolic capital on completing their apprenticeship in the eyes of their fellow work mates, but it was capital specific to the racing field and had little value elsewhere.

What indentured apprentices did have was physical capital that they could exchange and which enabled them to be taken on as indentured apprentices. Trainers wanted 'boys' to be small and light rather than having experience with horses. Having the correct physical capital by being small however, did not automatically give indentured apprentices the opportunity to race ride. They first had to show they were tough, could work hard, and be deferential; in other words embody a racing habitus. Theoretically women should be advantaged with regard to physical capital as they are

often smaller and lighter than men. This 'natural fact' works against them as, although women are described as smaller, they are also seen as weaker, not as physically strong, with bodies that are not as durable and therefore need protecting. Arguments such as these were used when women first began to race ride, especially as National Hunt jockeys where the risks are greater. Men and some women were thereby reproducing the doxic values of the racing field, displaying a paternalistic sexism (Pink, 1996) with regard to women race-riding. Although these women had the physical capital in terms of their bodyweight, their gender devalues it. Some women are now successfully challenging these gendered power relations and they are able to do this because they embody a very specific, masculine, physical capital. This gives them the opportunity of overcoming the negative value of their gender capital. This contrasts with the upper-class women who were able to fight successfully against the gendered monopoly on becoming a racehorse trainer because of their access to economic and cultural capital.

The racing field no longer puts as much emphasis on physical capital, understood simply as weight, if the weights shown for indentured and modern apprentices are compared. The heaviest indentured apprentice was six stone, the lightest modern apprentice is eight stone. That young people are getting taller and heavier is something that the racing field has had to adapt to. The changing division of labour now seen throughout much of the racing field and exemplified at Conborough puts less emphasis on the workforce all being small and light. The employment structure of a racing yard has changed through the inclusion of yard people who work on the yard only, doing yard duties, handling the horses but not riding out, so it does not matter what weight they are. They need the physical capital to be able to do the manual labour associated with the role of the stable 'lad'. This means they are strong, fit and have plenty of stamina. There is, therefore, a class distinction between stable 'staff' and apprentice jockeys with associated differences in the physical capital and embodied skill required.

This section has shown how access to different sorts of capitals structures the classed and gendered power relations in the field, and explains how some women have been able to become trainers, and latterly race-ride.

In summary, class, gender and power relations have impacted on the inequalities that women in the racing field have had to deal with. Upper-class women were, for many years, excluded from becoming racehorse trainers; staff shortages and equalities legislations saw working-class women being employed as stable staff and able to ride as professional jockeys. Having status and wealth did not give automatic entry to the Jockey Club for men, they needed a class background that mirrored that of Jockey Club members. A similar picture can be painted of the relationship Lord Wigg and the Jockey Club had, based on class and power relations. Social and cultural capital were, to Jockey Club members of greater importance than economic capital in defining who was seen as acceptable, yet for upper-class women their gender devalued any other capital they held in their early quests to become racehorse trainers. 'Board and wage' men were seen as having symbolic capital as were successful jockeys who also had the necessary physical capital. Some women also have the required physical capital, but their gender works against them unless, through engaging in the practices of the field, they can embody a masculinity that makes them appear 'invisible' on a horse. By this I mean that their body shape and physical actions are the same as the rest of the riders, who are, of course, men. The emphasis once put on physical capital has, in some senses, lessened. A changing division of labour and de-skilling means that weight, as a part of physical capital is not as important for stable staff although it remains important for jockeys. I return to this later in the chapter. I now turn to how my findings shed light on my research questions.

How has the learning experience of apprenticeship in the racing industry changed?

I begin this section by addressing the research question which asks how has the learning experience of apprenticeship in the racing industry changed? I draw upon the ‘ideal types’ of apprenticeship, which I elaborated in the literature review. The four ‘ideal types’ of apprenticeship illustrate the basic contrasts between different models of apprenticeship and relate to the historical periods, discussed at the beginning of the literature review. Table 8.1 draws on these ideal types and my analysis, to contrast the learning experiences of indentured and modern apprentices. The table highlights the main differences between the two types of apprenticeship, looking at the learning process, and the context in which it took place.

Table 8.1: Differences between indentured and modern apprenticeship in the racing industry

| Indentured apprenticeship | Modern apprenticeship |
|---|---|
| Learning | Learning |
| 3-7 years in duration. Legally enforceable. Sent home if not seen as suitable. | 6 months- 18 months completion. Can leave of own accord. |
| No formal instruction or credentials. | Some formal instruction, (key skills. NVQ L2). |
| Learn in a ‘quasi’ total institution. | Learn in a ‘quasi’ total institution |
| Learn skills by doing and doing things incorrectly. | Learn skills by doing and doing things incorrectly. |
| Gender relations | Gender relations |
| Masculinised. Females excluded. | Feminised. 60% female, 40% male. |

| Training | Training |
|---|---|
| No state funding. | 70% state funded, 30% from racing industry |
| Career progression very limited. | Some career progression. |
| Apprenticeship had a meaning to them | Mostly unaware they were on a modern apprenticeship and what it meant. |
| Conditions of work | Conditions of work |
| No pension provision. | Small pension paid by trainer |
| No accident benefit scheme | After 3mths, Racing Industry Benefit scheme. |
| No health and safety provision. | Crash hats, body protectors mandatory. |
| Composite role and wide craft skill base. | Fragmentation and specialisation of skills. |
| Paid pocket money. | National wage agreement. |
| No set hours of work, day/week/yearly. | Nationally agreed time in work. |
| No overtime. | Overtime available. |
| Had apprentice licence to race ride, but not always given rides | Apprentice licence (as trainee jockey) a separate occupation. |
| Feudal and semi-feudal. | Capitalist. |
| Apprenticeship bound by signed indenture documents. | Apprenticeship entered into through agreement with Learning and Skills Council. |
| Had to be 'light' of weight, 5st max at 14. | Ideally no more than 9st 7lbs. |

As

highlighted in chapters six and seven and summarised in table 8.1, the learning experience of the two types of apprenticeship are quite similar, in some ways

reflecting the nature of the work that is done, which is practically based. Both types of apprentices were placed in learning environments that resembled total institutions. In Goffman's terms (1991) they were subjected to a role dispossession after which they gradually assimilated and embodied the new role expectations associated with becoming a stable worker. In Bourdieuan terms it is more than an accepting of roles, it is a process by which their habitus becomes a repository for their experiences; the apprentices accept and embody the values, discourses and symbolic violence of the racing field.

For modern apprentices their role dispossession and new role expectations were completed in less than eighteen months; for the indentured apprentices it took three to seven years. The features of a racing indentured apprenticeship outlined in table 8.1 conform to the main characteristics of the (old) classical apprenticeship typology; the features of a racing modern apprenticeship to the 'lifelong apprenticeships' typology (see chapter one, table 1).

With (old) classical apprenticeships there was no state involvement or funding. Emphasis was on the binding agreement entered into by parents, apprentices and employers which laid out the rights of the three parties. This contrasts sharply with the fact that 70% of a racing modern apprenticeship is state funded with 30% of the funding from the racing industry; this implies external control and affects how long an apprenticeship may take. It also means that the BRS needs to meet retention and recruitment targets but, in contrast with indentured apprentices, modern apprentices are not legally bound over for a specified period, they can (and do) leave at any time. These differences do not really have an impact on the way trainees learn. The modern apprentices, when they leave the BRS, are still novices within their community of practice although they participate fully in the workplace. Fundamentally, the common strand both types of apprenticeship share is that apprentices learn through being in a community of practice, although the proportion of their time spent immersed within a

specific community of practice has lessened as other more formal processes of learning have been integrated into the apprenticeship framework; this can be seen in the 'ideal types'. In some cases, 'sitting by Nellie' is the only method of learning as knowledge is passed on, informally, through conversations, watching others and reflection. This process of learning and training 'sitting by Nellie' (observation of the master) was a large part of (old) classical apprenticeships. Both indentured and modern apprentices appear to have taught themselves and each other, as well as learning from the more experienced staff members. Both types of apprentice learn from their mistakes, from doing things incorrectly and asking their friends. Working in a racing yard rarely permits any time to be spent patiently guiding novices along, both indentured and modern apprentices learn to think on their feet.

One striking difference between the types of apprenticeship is the visibility of women. Young women were excluded from becoming indentured apprenticeships and, although there does not appear to have been a legal ban in operation, conditions of work were such that it was almost impossible for young women to be indentured and so learn to become stable 'women'. This has changed significantly with the majority of modern apprentices at the BRS being young women. This has resulted in a feminisation of modern apprenticeships when compared to indentured apprenticeship although, as I have shown, this has not yet resulted in women being equally represented amongst 'stable staff' or jockeys.

The career trajectory of the racing modern apprentice is framed by credentialism, in the form of NVQs and the completion of key skills, which are components that have gradually been added from the post 1930s apprenticeships onwards; this is highlighted in the contrast between the ideal types with formal learning being part of the 'lifelong apprenticeship' but not the '(old)' classical apprenticeship. This reliance on more formal methods of learning, that is, in a classroom, for instance, completing on-line tests, is moving away from the second model of learning identified by Hager (2004) and as such has different characteristics. It is the informal model that is commonly

found in the workplace and it is about being involved and engaged in what is happening. My interviewees found the classroom based learning one of the harder parts of their training, bemoaning the fact that they had to do it as majority preferred, practical, informal learning, being engaged and learning by doing.

Indentured apprenticeship did not provide the opportunity to gain any qualifications as none existed. Modern apprentices complete competence based qualifications although there is little time for further off the job training once in the workplace. For the indentured apprentice there was little in the way of career progression although their apprenticeship was a 'rite of passage', (van Gennep, 1960), a transition from 'boy' to man whilst gaining a specialised training in a single trade as in (old) classical apprenticeships.

Apprenticeship has a different meaning and nature dependent on the organisational structure in which it is embedded. Whilst the indentured apprentices who were interviewed had a pride and a sense of achievement in serving their apprenticeship and learning to become 'horsemen', the trainees, when asked, seemed unaware that they were on any sort of apprenticeship apart from completing their NVQ level 2. The 'lifelong apprenticeship' typology sets apprenticeship within a lifelong learning context and trajectory, with transferable skills allowing movement between industrial sectors and companies. Such transferability is limited for the racing modern apprentices who may be able to move between yards but are unlikely to move beyond being stable grooms. Their skills are industry-specific with the transferable element being of little value to them. Whether this is the case for other modern apprenticeships is something that might merit further research. The working patterns that yards have now adopted and the increasing fragmentation of tasks mean that the all round role and wide craft skill base once associated with indentured apprenticeship has disappeared and modern apprenticeships take place in the context of increased specialisation of skills. It is these changes in the organisation of work that I want to move onto next to explore the research question: how has the nature of work changed with the shift from indentured to modern apprenticeship? I am using indentured and modern

apprenticeship as markers to indicate the changes and the timespan I am referring to, rather than seeing them as causing change. The next section draws on data collected through retrospective interviews with eight modern apprentices in their new workplaces. Although it is not usual to introduce new empirical data in the conclusion, I am incorporating it here to flesh out what was highlighted in chapter four, which focused on the production process in a racing yard.

How has the nature of work changed with the shift from indentured to modern apprenticeship?

Writing in 1987, Mike Filby highlights the fact that many of his respondents, who were former indentured apprentices, regretted the demise of apprenticeship and the changing organisation of work that they were witnessing. These changes coincided with the abolition of indentured apprenticeships, women's increasing employment as stable 'lads', the introduction of equalities legislation, labour shortages and an influx of women into the workforce nationally. This set in train a process of feminisation and deskilling and, latterly, an increasing use of migrant labour.

As chapter five shows processes of de-skilling and work intensification characterise the work processes in the racing industry. The shift from indentured and modern apprenticeship signals other important changes in the nature of work, including an increasingly specialised division of labour, an increasing reliance on migrant labour and women's entry into the racing industry. There has been a separation of the occupations of stable 'lad' and jockey, and a feminisation of the job of stable 'lad'. The job of a jockey is seen as more skilled and has not been feminised. It is no coincidence that the job of stable 'lad' is seen as less skilled than that of a jockey, and with the further separation of riding out from mucking out, the process of deskilling is continuing and is associated with the introduction of migrant labour.

How is a racing habitus formed and embodied?

In this section I address the research question of how is a racing habitus formed and embodied? Throughout the thesis I have used habitus as a concept to explain how an individual or organisation develops dispositions and attitudes how, for instance, the 'lad' become themselves and how they engage in practices. Thus, a racing habitus disposes the 'lad' to display behaviours such as deference, subservience and obedience, and develop bodily qualities, such as toughness, strength, stoicism and stamina, all of which express the historically and culturally constituted values of the racing field. How then are these qualities taken in and embodied? I have argued that they are taken in through practice, which brings the concepts of capital, in the form of resources, and field, in the form of individual and institutional power, into the picture. The habitus is 'the social made body' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 127). Whilst the habitus expresses itself through posture, movements and the way the body is used, the body is also a repository for social experience, and as such, constitutes an essential part of the habitus. As Kraus (2006) highlights, bodily experience is profoundly influenced by gender although, as a process, this bodily experience is completely hidden from consciousness. Thus the habitus of the first women to apply for accreditation, then train, as racehorse trainers was different from that of an indentured apprentice. The female trainers have embodied in their habitus the values and sense of entitlement they saw as 'natural' because of the social, economic and cultural capital they possessed. Male Jockey Club members, although initially opposed to women as trainers, accepted 'suitable' women as they had similar attitudes and dispositions to them; the only problem was that they were challenging a male-dominated hegemony whose absolute power to rule had never been questioned by women before. This is not to say that other women of their 'class' agreed with women becoming trainers. There were some women who embodied the doxic values of the racing field, felt comfortable in their positions within the racing field and were not conscious of the symbolic violence women were subjected to. Wrapped up in the illusion of the racing field they

saw it as one that should be left as it was, where women fulfilled stereotypical roles associated with their class and gender.

I have illustrated how the racing habitus of an indentured apprentice was acquired and embodied and how young 'boys' were signed over to their trainer, their employer, into an occupation built around a feudal system of master and servant. Immersed in a total institution, values, discourses, traditions and rituals were inculcated in their minds and inscribed onto their bodies. The community of practice, which they entered was governed through unwritten rules whereby the indentured apprentice learnt to embody deference, subservience, respect for those above them in the employment hierarchy as well as unquestioning obedience. This development and absorption of the attitudes and dispositions of the field were reproduced within the community of practice through an 'old timer' (Lave and Wenger, 1991:29) whose guidance and help was 'structured' (Bourdieu, 1977:72) by their past history so helping to shape the 'boy's habitus as he adapted to his new workplace. The 'old timers' (ibid, 1991:29) knew 'intuitively' what they were doing and in this fashion the 'structuring' (ibid, 1977:72) of the boy's habitus helped to shape his present and future practices and may explain why Arthur (former indentured apprentice, chapter six) found it very difficult to call his new trainer by his first name, as Arthur had the principles of deference and respect for authority embodied beyond his grasp of consciousness.

Analytically, the link between the two apprenticeships are the terms structure and disposition. (Bourdieu, 1977:86). The racing field has, for the last 250 years, been controlled by the Jockey Club, as a classed and gendered, self perpetuating and self selected gentlemen's club. It can be seen as a collective body which 'speaks inseparably and simultaneously...' (Bourdieu, 1977:87). It has a collective habitus which is generated by the dispositions, practices and perceptions of its members and those within the racing field, and has been reproduced and modified over its history. Dispositions are a way of being both durable, in that they last over time, and

transposable, in that they are active within different areas and different aspects of social arenas. The Jockey Club's collective habitus reflected its position, a disposition that was inscribed in it as a collective body in terms of the gendered and classed social bodies of its members and in its relation to other organisations and practices. These structures and dispositions were then reproduced in the dispositions and habitus of indentured apprentices and in the Apprentice School Charitable School, now the BRS, which 'structure' (ibid, 1977:72) the learning and training experiences of modern apprentices. The trainees are subjected to a deculturation and reculturation, absorbing and embodying the knowledge, values and dispositions of the BRS and are subject to the symbolic violence that is exercised upon women within the racing field. The trainees start to expand their competence as stable 'lads', which will continue to develop in the workplace. At the same time this collective habitus also explains the conflict between the Jockey Club and the HBLB. As explained, the Jockey Club has a collective history as a specific classed and gendered organisation. The HBLB had a fledgling collective history, which was seen as discordant to many in the Jockey Club. The HBLB had a system of dispositions, seen as 'structural variants' (Bourdieu, 1977:80) and as such was representative of a different class with more commercial and financial interests than those of the Jockey Club. The social space between the two organisations was made up of an uneasy affiliation between the positions and paths of different classes and I would suggest that this is one of the reasons that the two organisations, especially those whose power was being threatened, the Jockey Club, found it difficult to work with the HBLB.

Can women embody a racing habitus which is gendered masculine?

As yet, little has been said about how women embody a racing habitus in a male dominated field and it is this I want to move on to next, answering the last research question: can women embody a racing habitus which is gendered masculine? Of all the research questions this is the one that has proved the most problematic to answer, partly because the answer is paradoxical and complicated. It is also because I am using habitus, itself a contradictory concept, to analyse the workings of the racing field

through empirical investigation. My understanding of embodying a masculine habitus draws upon my own experiences working in racing, my research, my observations and the theoretical and conceptual material I have referred to, which gives conflicting interpretations of what habitus means.

At a superficial level there are some women who work in racing who can embody a type of masculinity that is developed around their physical capital; as children, they were often tomboys (see chapter one, Scraton et al, 1999; Cox and Thompson, 2000; Sisjord and Kristiansen, 2009). It may be argued that they have the dispositions that predispose, incline them towards, developing a masculine habitus. From my evidence, there are some women however; who did not need to embody a masculinity because of their privileged position in the racing field and it is this I want to explore using Bourdieu's concepts of 'having a feel for the game' and 'practical reason' (Bourdieu, 1998). I first consider the upper-class women who were the vanguard in terms of challenging the orthodoxy of the Jockey Club with regard to women becoming trainers. These women had a field-habitus match which meant they were like 'fish in water', they were unaware of the water and its value to them until they wanted to become racehorse trainers when their field-habitus match now became a clash. They did, however, have three factors in their favour in challenging the Jockey Club. First, they had the economic, social and cultural capital that enabled them to fight the Jockey Club in court; they were of the right class and understood the practices of the racing field. Second, they had a 'practical sense' (Bourdieu, 1998) in that they could comprehend and negotiate the structures of the racing field since they knew the rules of the 'game' and so could make strategic decisions as to how to get the rules changed. The third factor is an extension of practical sense in that their capitals and positioning in the field saw them exploiting their 'practical sense' through their sense of entitlement, which resulted in their taking the Jockey Club to the High Court in a bid to get the rules of racing changed. Their habitus was one which meant they partly shared the doxa of the racing field yet, as a repository of their social experiences, it

enabled them to make choices which questioned the power of the Jockey Club, putting some of the power in the hands of these women.

Working-class women, however, who entered the racing field as stable 'lads' did not have access to the same capitals as the upper-class women. They were like 'fish out of water' when they first entered the racing field. They were visibly different on a horse from men, were paid more than the indentured apprentices and were entering what had always been a man's world. They had to develop a 'feel for the game' through a practical sense which saw them embody the attitudes and dispositions needed to work in a male-dominated field. As mentioned earlier, the habitus is a 'structure' (Bourdieu, 1994:53) defined as a system of dispositions. Dispositions are described in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977:214n) as a predisposition, tendency, propensity, inclination and as a way of being, as an organising action, and a habitual state (especially of the body). Taking each of these ideas in turn I argue that working-class women could partly embody a masculine habitus.

The predisposition of a racing habitus is shown, I would argue, through the number of young women who enrol at the BRS wanting to work in racing and with horses. The organising action, referred to as structure, refers to the way in which the social world is organised by rules and systems which produce individuals with a particular view of 'reality'; and how all the objects and ideas within a culture only have meaning in that particular culture. From a gendered perspective, I would suggest that working-class women had an unconscious relationship between their habitus and the racing field as illustrated by Ruth (chapter four) who 'knew she was not going to go far' in racing. What she means relates to the doxa of the field which defines women as weaker than men and as unsuitable bodily material to be jockeys unless they had the economic, social and cultural capital that meant they could ride as amateurs. The symbolic violence of the racing field that denied women the opportunities open to men meant that she unconsciously knew, in her 'social body', that she needed another way to

prove herself, to show that whilst she never would, in her eyes, be a jockey, she had other qualities of equivalent value. These could be achieved by replicating a bodily hexis similar to that of her male co-workers. This habitual state of the body was expressed by a physical attitude that was tough, hard working, gave as good as it got, was stoical and was impervious to pain. Working-class women could embody masculinity in this way and by so doing could develop their 'feel for the game'. Through 'practice' and responding to the masculine racing field, working-class women worked like men, where the men gave no quarter; women were expected to do the same work as men if they wanted to be accepted. Working in such a way creates a contradiction in that women develop a muscularity that is in opposition to how women are expected to look, it is seen as part of a 'feminine' body and possibly also implies homosexuality. This has been found in other male-dominated sports (see chapter one). It points to a complicated relationship between embodying masculinity and femininity, and I would suggest that women in the racing field embody elements of both masculinity and femininity rather than embodying a completely 'masculine' habitus. This may help to explain why, even though they work alongside men performing exactly the same labour, their bodies 'look wrong' (i.e., not masculine) on a horse.

The area I want to consider next is physical capital and its relevance and importance for women. The body for Bourdieu is an unfinished entity which develops alongside various social forces and is integral to maintaining social inequalities (Shilling, 2005). In the racing field, physical capital is an important factor in the interrelationship of the body and an individual's social location. As women tend to be smaller and lighter than men, it should work in their favour, but women's physical capital is devalued by their gender capital and this leads to them being seen as weaker and less durable than men. For working-class women who have aspirations to race ride their gender capital devalues their abilities as professional jockeys. Like professional male jockeys women need the patronage of a trainer and owner before they can be given rides and for this to happen their gender capital has to have a universally exchangeable value rather than one that devalues their potential as professional jockeys and thus their

physical capital. Middle and upper-class women have other capitals that they can use if they want to be able to ride as jockeys and, as has been illustrated, women tend to ride as amateurs. This implies that the woman has the economic and cultural capital to do so and may indicate that women see the professional route as one that is virtually closed to them as an occupation, especially in National Hunt racing. However, amateur racing is looked down on within the racing field and women's lack of physical capital is the subject of ribald and degrading humour, as we saw in chapter four.

This research question has highlighted the contradictions that are made apparent by asking whether women can embody a habitus that is gendered masculine. I would argue that the answer is not as simple as yes or no. As mentioned earlier, there are more women entering the racing industry as trainees than men, yet male staff and male jockeys outnumber female jockeys. In order to be accepted within the work place the women who stay in the racing field develop their physical capital; they become strong, tough and able to hold their own in a male-dominated environment. The doxic values of the field are such that some horses are said to be better behaved and perform better, in training and on the racecourse, for women riders as women are said to have a lighter, more sensitive touch; they do not use physical force in the way that men do. This implies that within the racing field women are seen as having an embodied feminine, as well as masculine, habitus. Or, to put it another way, gender capital which is also embodied detracts from the value of the physical capital that working-class women who want to race-ride develop, and means that they have to work exceptionally hard to be accepted as a jockey (see chapter four). This may explain why professional women jockeys want to be seen as 'one of the lads' which, on observation, they are; their bodies resemble those of small boys and they want to achieve success through hard work and determination rather than any special treatment. Women who have the economic, social and cultural capital are at an advantage and, whilst they need to be light, physical capital is not the only asset they

have; this means that their gender capital does not have such a negative side effect and means it is easier for them to race ride although only as amateurs.

In concluding this discussion I must first confess that the question itself has been extremely hard to answer. In light of my data I would suggest that women, rather than embodying a masculine habitus, embody those elements of masculinity which give them acceptability within the racing field but that these are combined with elements and fragments of femininity, which ensure that their (hetero) sexuality is not called into question within the work place and when race riding. Their habitus is both masculine and feminine and, as part of the 'social body'; it is dependent on the environment in which they find themselves. Working-class women who have only their physical capital to exchange embody a masculinity that is tough, not 'girly-girly', one that does not draw attention to itself and so avoids them being singled out for sexual harassment or being seen as fulfilling stereotypical notions of being a 'useless bird', a phrase I have observed being used of women in a racing yard. They also need to embody femininity, so they are not labelled as 'butch' or 'like a man'. Professional women jockeys must overcome the doxic values of the racing field, which categorises them as having a more feminine touch when riding a horse, that is they are perceived as softer, more gentle, when riding and having more of an empathy with the horse. Their gender capital puts them in a double-bind; they are given rides on horses that are said to 'go better for a girl' but it puts them at a disadvantage when they are trying to establish themselves on an equal footing with men, riding horses that are said to be 'lazy' or very strong. These women have to display a masculinity that is physically embodied so they ride and look like men on a horse, but they still need to be seen as feminine off the horse to conform to the doxic values of the racing field.

Contribution to knowledge

In this final section I consider the extent to which my work on this thesis has contributed to knowledge and its limitations through the completion of this thesis. As

mentioned in the literature review, very little has been written sociologically about the racing industry, especially those who work in it and produce the race horse. My research therefore fills a significant gap in the research literature, exploring the working lives of those in racing and how they have changed, both in terms of the work done and who does it. In order to carry out this exploration I have used Bourdieu's concept of habitus, capital and field, which I applied to the racing field from a gendered and classed perspective. I have shown how gender operates, intersecting with class, and how social actors struggle for position and recognition. I have also pointed out the ways in which the racing field is 'raced', as well as classed and gendered. The concepts of embodiment and gender have played a substantial part within the research; I have suggested that the habitus as a concept contains elements of both masculinity and femininity.

Both types of apprentices learnt within a community of practice that was structured like a total institution, through participation and 'doing', although the 'doing' of key skills and NVQs has added a formal credential-based element to the learning process for modern apprentices.

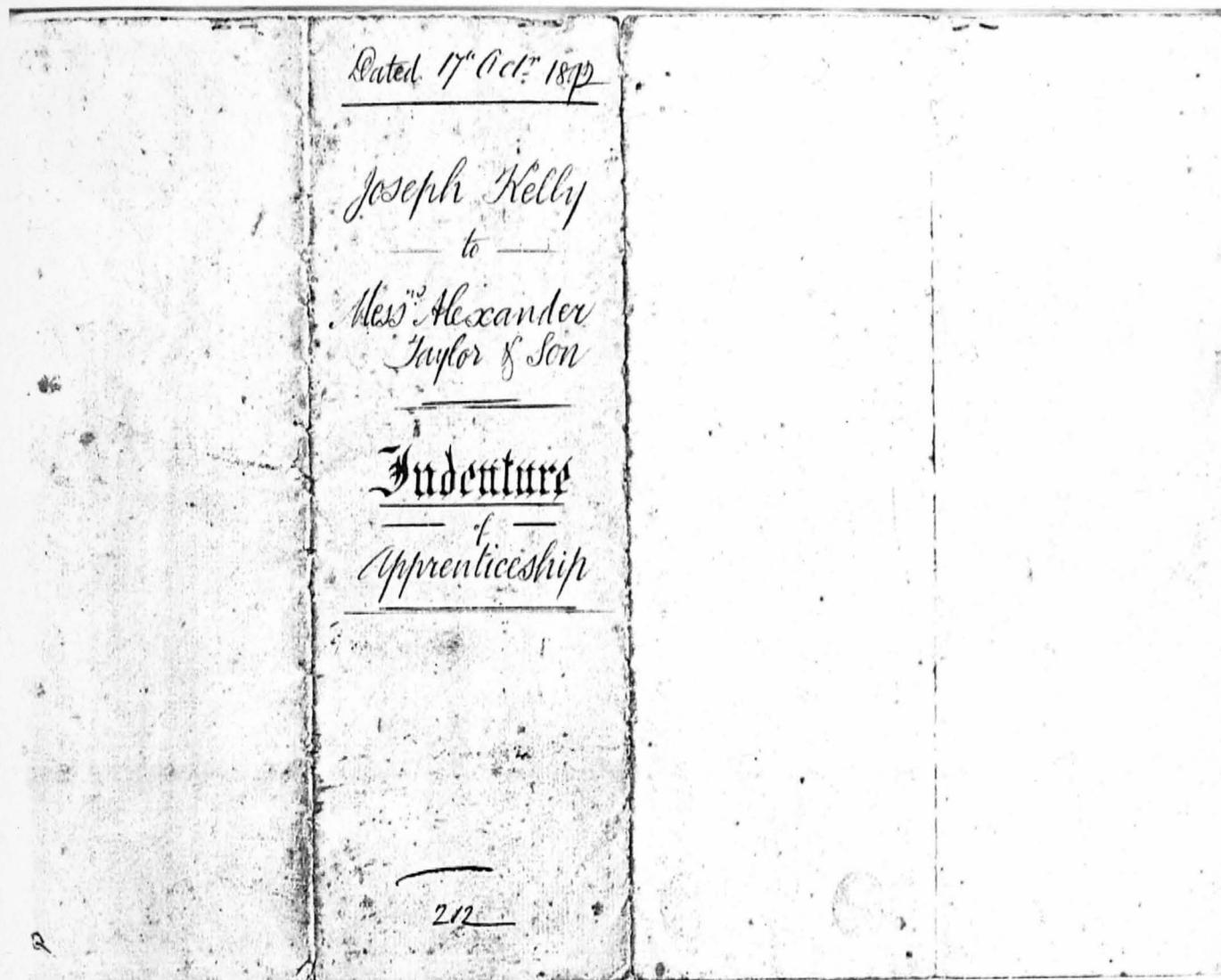
The nature of work has been affected by an increasing division of labour and task specialisation, a feminisation of the work force, and increasing reliance on migrant labour alongside processes of de-skilling. The emphasis on physical capital has declined as small light bodies are needed only for riding out. Despite the work itself is still embodied, whether it is manual labour or riding a horse. I have shown how physical capital and gender capital are contradictory; gender capital devalues physical capital even when being light, small and strong are valued.

I have also developed an analytical understanding of how a habitus is contradictorily gendered. A racing habitus is formed and embodied through the stable 'lad' taking in

the attitudes and dispositions of the racing field and of the yard where they work. For working-class women it contains elements of masculinity and femininity which must be used according to the situation the woman finds herself in, although the embodied habitus creates visible contradictions. Women's bodies are both 'too feminine' and 'too masculine'. Gender capital reduces the exchange value of the physical capital working-class women have, but I have also developed the notion that upper-class women have the economic, social and cultural capital which means they do not have to rely on physical capital, and the impact of gender capital is lessened.

There are, inevitably, limitations to my research and possibly the most significant is my 'insider' status. I discussed this at length in chapter two. Having reached the point where my thesis is complete I am now aware that my 'insider' status is also reflected in my writing style. When writing the data chapters I tend to use the language of the field, this contrasts with the style in which I have written the more theoretical and methodological chapters. There are other limitations which relate to my sample. My samples of modern apprentices and 'lads' were overwhelmingly female. This may have had an impact on my findings and, were I to do the research again I would try and include a more balanced sample. One of the outcomes of this research is that it has thrown up other questions to which I do not yet know the answers. These relate to the contradictions of gendered embodiment and the relations between habitus, embodiment and women's access to different forms of capital in the racing field. These questions are worthy of future research, particularly as they point to the possibility of a contradictory and partial gendering of habitus and the body.

Appendix One. Indenture documents for Joseph Kelly, 1892, front page





This Indenture Witnesseth that Joseph Kelly (a Minor) Son of John Kelly of N^o. 183 Church Street Saddleton Manchester Foot & Maker of his own free will and accord and by and with the consent and approbation of his said Father (testified by his executing these presents) Doth put himself Apprentice to Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the Younger both of Manton House in the County of Will Racehorse Trainers to learn the Art Trade or Business of a Racehorse Trainer and with them and the survivor of them after the manner of an Apprentice to serve from the first day of October One thousand eight hundred and ninety-two until the full end and term of Five years during which time the said Apprentice his Masters and Master faithfully shall serve their and his secrets keep and their and his lawful commands; they he shall not nor will do any damage to his said Masters or Master or their or his horses or goods nor to the horses or goods of others entrusted to their or his care or suffer any damage to be done by others but shall use forthwith good advice to his said Masters or Master of the same and shall not nor will divulge any secret or give any information connected with any of the horses under the care of his Masters or Master as to their respective merits or demerits nor give any information in anyway affecting the establishment or interest of his said Masters or Master and shall not nor will do any act whereby his said Masters or Master may sustain any loss damage or detriment with their or his own goods or horses or with the goods or horses of others entrusted to the care of his said Masters or Master during the said term and shall not nor will absent himself from the service of his said Masters or Master day or night without the consent of his said Masters or Master but in all things as a faithful Apprentice shall behave himself towards his said Masters and Master and all their and his during the said Term And the said Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the Younger for the considerations aforesaid do and each of them doth hereby covenant promise and agree to and with the said John Kelly that their or his said Apprentice in the Art Trade or Business of a Racehorse Trainer which they use by the best means that they can they or he or

Appendix One. Indentures for Joseph Kelly, 1892, page 3

5-14
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page 1

shall teach or instruct or cause to be taught or instructed And also shall and will pay unto the said Apprentice the sum of Five pounds for the first year of the said Term Six pounds for the second year thereof Seven pounds for the third year thereof Eight pounds for the fourth year thereof nine pounds for the fifth year thereof and Ten pounds for the sixth and last year thereof And also shall and will during the said term feed and provide unto the said Apprentice sufficient meat drink and lodging washing medicine and medical and surgical attendance in case of sickness or accident And the said John Kelly doth hereby covenant with the said Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the younger their and his executors and administrators that he the said Joseph Kelly shall and will from henceforth at all times during the said term well and truly serve the said Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the younger and the survivor of them as their and his Apprentice in the Art trade or business aforesaid and behave himself honestly secretly and faithfully in all respects according to the stipulations hereinbefore on the part of the said Joseph Kelly contained and the true intent and meaning of these presents And that if the said Joseph Kelly shall at any time before the expiration or other sooner determination of the said Term do any damage to his said Masters or Master or their or his horses or goods or to the horses or goods of others entrusted to their or his care or suffer any to be done by others without forthwith giving notice to his said Masters or Master of the same or shall divulge any secret or give any information conferred with any of the horses under the care of his said Masters or Master as to their respective merits or demerits or give any information in anyway affecting the establishment or interest of his said Masters or Master or absent himself from the service of his Masters or Master without their or his consent for the space of Three whole days or absent therefrom altogether the said John Kelly will in any and every such case pay unto the said Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the younger or the Survivor of them as the case may be the sum of Five Pounds as and by way of liquidated damages And that he the said Joseph Kelly shall during the said Term regularly attend once on every Sunday some place of Divine Worship And also that the said John Kelly will during the said Term provide the said Apprentice with all necessary clothing Apparel provided always and it is hereby declared and these presents are upon the express condition that if the

Appendix One. Indentures for Joseph Kelly, 1892, page 4

said Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the younger or the survivor of them shall at any time during the said Term have any just cause to be dissatisfied with the conduct of their or his said Apprentice that then and in such case they the said Alexander Taylor and Alexander Taylor the younger and the survivor of them shall have full power and authority by choice in writing to the said Joseph Kelly to put an end to these presents and the same shall from thenceforth be null and void any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding first for the true performance of all and every the covenants and agreements herein contained either of the said parties binds to himself and the other by these presents in witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the Twentieth day of October One thousand eight hundred and ninety two

Signed sealed and delivered by the above named Joseph Kelly in the presence of
W. Walwyn
 Clerk & Notary Public in and for the County of Marlborough

Joseph Kelly.

Signed sealed and delivered by the above named John Kelly in the presence of
 a B
 of

John Kelly
 William Burrows
 Notary Public

Signed sealed and delivered by the above named Alexander Taylor in the presence of
W. Walwyn
 Clerk & Notary Public in and for the County of Marlborough

Alex Taylor

Signed sealed and delivered by the above named Alexander Taylor the Younger in the presence of
W. Walwyn

Alex Taylor junr

Appendix Two. Indenture documents for Anthony Bowles, 1946

DATED January 1st 1946

Charles Bettie Bell.

-and-
Anthony Joseph Bowles

APPRENTICESHIP INDENTURE

For Six years Years.
Expires December 31st 1952

Appendix Two. Indenture documents for Anthony Bowles, 1946, page 2

THIS INDENTURE made the
day of *January 1st* One thousand nine hundred and
forty six WITNESSETH That
of *Anthony Joseph Bowles*
in the County of *Surrey* Son of *Cecily Anne*
Bowles (Widow)
Anthony Joseph Bowles by and with the consent
and approbation of *Cecily Anne Bowles* testified
by her executing these Presents, doth put himself
Apprentice to *Charles Pettie Bell*
of *Far End 138 Albert Road* in the County of
Surrey *Exeter* Trainer of Race Horses, to learn the Art,
Trade, or Business of a Jockey and Trainer, and with
him after the manner of an Apprentice to serve from
the *1st* day of *January 1946*
until the full end and term of *Six* years
from thence next following, fully to be complete and
ended. During which term the said Apprentice his Master
faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, and his lawful
commands obey;- he shall do no damage to his said
Master or his Goods, nor suffer it to be done by others,
but shall forthwith give notice to his said Master of
the same, when necessary;- he shall not waste the Goods
of his said Master, nor lend them unlawfully to any; nor
shall he do any act whereby his said Master may sustain
any loss, with his own Goods or others' during the said
term;- without Licence of his said Master, he shall
neither buy nor sell during his Apprenticeship, nor shall
he absent himself from his said Master's service day or
night unlawfully; but in all things as a faithful
Apprentice shall behave himself towards his said Master

Appendix Two. Indenture documents for Anthony Bowles, 1946, page 3

and others, during the said term. And the said
• *Charles Bittie Bell* in consideration of such faithful
services as aforesaid doth hereby for himself, his
executors and administrators covenant with the said
• *Anthony Joseph Bowles* his executors and administrators,
his said Apprentice in the Art, Trade, or Business of
a Jockey and Trainer, which he useth by the best means
in his power, shall teach and instruct or cause to be
taught and instructed; and will pay the said Apprentice
the Wages following - that is to say
per week during the first year of the said term, *ten shillings*
• *twelve shillings & sixpence* per week during the second
year, _____ per week during the
third year, *fifteen shillings* per week during the
fourth year, and *twenty shillings & sixpence* per week
during the remainder of the said term. Also that he
the said *Charles Bittie Bell* will allow and pay to the
said Apprentice one half part of the riding fees which
may be earned by the said Apprentice during the said
term and received by the said *Charles Bittie Bell*
except in any case where it shall be proved that the said
Apprentice shall have divulged the result of any trial
in connection with any race, and except any such riding
fees in respect of any horses owned by the said
• *Charles Bittie Bell* which the said Apprentice shall in
all cases ride without any payment whatsoever. Also
that he the said *Charles Bittie Bell* will pay to the
said Apprentice a fee of _____ for
riding any horse at a trial race, and also a fee of
• *five pounds* for every race that may be
run by any horse that may at the time of such race be

Appendix Two. Indenture documents for Anthony Bowles, 1946, page 4

in the special charge of the said Apprentice (provided he does not illtreat such horse). And also will provide his said Apprentice with sufficient Meat, Drink, Lodging, and all other necessaries (except clothing and washing) during the said term,

January 1st 1946 until December 31st 1952

the aforesaid Wages, however, shall not be paid for any period of time during which the said Apprentice shall be absent from the business of his said Master, either from illness, accident, holiday, or any other cause whatsoever so long as such absence shall continue. These Presents shall be handed over to the said Apprentice on the completion of the said term, with a fair Certificate of service indorsed thereon. AND for the true performance of all and every of the said Covenants and Agreements the said Parties bind themselves by these Presents I N W I T N E S S whereof the said Parties have hereunto set their Hands and Seals the day and year first above written

SIGNED SEALED AND DELIVERED

Cecilia Anne Bowles,
15th Orinholme Drive,
West Lwelly,
Dumfriesshire

Joseph Kelly,
7th Llan Road

Appendix 3. Interview Guide

Indentured apprentices

Family background, racing? horses?

Would you be able to give me a brief life history of your time in racing, starting from when you first were signed up as an apprentice.

The year you started.

Your age and what weight were you?

What your parents thought of you going into racing?

Whose idea was it?

Could you ride?

Who were you first apprenticed to?

What were work and living conditions like?

How much were you paid?

Did you get any rides?

Was the discipline strict, harsh?

Was there an initiation for you as an apprentice, i.e. greasing you up?

Articles have been written about lads leaving racing in the 1970s because of not been paid a living wage. How true do you think this is?

Did you feel that your apprenticeship gave you a broad education that you could use in other walks of life?

When finishing your apprenticeship did it feel like a transition into the 'adult' world of work?

Was being an apprentice more than just learning to look after horses?

Did you always work in racing?

How do you think the training that the trainees get today compares with how you learnt, were taught?

When did you first see 'girls' begin to work in racing?

Were there any in your yard?

If so, how many? What year (roughly)

Were they treated the same as the lads and apprentices?

Was their working routine the same as yours?

There are very few professional women who ride as professional jockeys, especially jumping. Why do you think this might be?

What makes a good lad?

Would these qualities be the same for a girl if she is to get on in racing?

Interview guide for female stable 'lads'

Parental background

Where the interest in horses came from.

Career guidance. Did you have any career goals?

What interested you in working in racing specifically?

How did you find out about where to work?

How many 'girls' were employed in the yard?

Were you doing the same things as the 'lads'?

Were there the opportunities to ride?

Have things changed? Why is that do you think?

Would you do it again? Why?

Did you have to work hard to be accepted by the 'lads'?

If you had to tell someone what it was like to work in the racing industry, as a 'girl', how would you describe it?

What do see as the main issues for 'girls' working in racing?

Why do men make it to the top as jockeys rather than women?

What do you think needs to be done?

What particular issues relate to 'girls' in racing?

What happens to the 'girl' trainees who enter racing? Why do you they leave?

Do you think it's a 'man's world'?

What affect does this have on 'girls'?

Interview guide for modern apprentices when at the BRS

Family background.

Parents occupation

Parents interest in horseracing/ equestrianism/ racing background?

Their name, any nickname, age

School and how long they had been finished?

Any qualifications, did they enjoy it?

Did they get any career guidance?

If not, how did they find out about the BRS?

Horse background?

Previous experience?

Personal contacts that suggested working in racing?

Do you know anyone from a racing background?

Are they here from their yard?

Why horseracing in the first place?

Do you know what to expect?

Will this be their first job?

What do you think it has to offer?

Do you know anything about the kind of training scheme you will be enrolled onto?

What sort of career do you want to achieve? (Don't want to ask if they want to be jockeys as they usually say yes anyway)

Living in the Hostel. 1st few weeks

How do you find living here, altogether?

Are you/were you homesick?

Do you find it hard not being allowed out?

Is it stricter than you thought?

By wk4/5

How do you feel being in here, altogether?

Do you all get on as well?

Have the advanced group helped you?

By Presentation Day

Glad to get out?

Get your privacy back?

Will you keep in touch?

Are you apprehensive about going to work in the yard you have been found?

Where will you live?

On the BRS yard.

Have you worked with horses before?

What was it like to ride for the 1st time?

Can you describe it?

Similar questions for when they canter for the 1st time in wk 5/6 on the gallop.

How do find you learn all the stuff you are being shown?

Do the advanced group help?

Is it a job you have got to like?

Is it something that builds up in you?

Where do you want to work?

Do you feel you are developing an identity/ an understanding of the work yet?

Do you know how the modern apprenticeship works?

Any idea of your wage, NASS representation?

Out in the work place

View of current workplace.

What happened on your 1st morning on the yard?

Were you nervous or not?

Who explained the routine to you?

Did you work with them to start with?

Could you describe your daily work routine?

How many do you 'do' now?

What is your role now you are here?

What happens at weekends?

Who does the feeding, vet work?

Will you ask for help if you are unsure?

What sort of advice have you been given?

Do you all do the same work

Do the more experienced staff have different roles?

What was your 1st morning of riding out like?

Who rides the stronger horses?

Learning.

When you were at the BRS how do you think you learnt, took things in best?

In the 'chicken shed' –lecture, practical demos, watching, asking others. Just doing it yourself?

Are you learning anything from other people here at your new yard?

How?

Who, if anyone has shown you what to do – Head lad, other staff?

Is there any difference between the way you learn things here and how you learnt at the BRS.

How do you think you picked up the riding part?

Did this come naturally?

How do you learn here?

Had you worked anywhere before the BRS?

Has anything about your previous work helped you at the BRS?

How would you describe your work here? – limited, non-challenging, boring, repetitive, monotonous or stimulating, challenging, interesting, motivational?

What non –horsey based skills do you think you have that help you do your job?

Questions around the concept of modern apprenticeship.

Key skills? Technical certificate?

What do you know about the modern apprentice scheme?

Does it have any importance to you?

Can you explain to me how qualifications are linked to racing?

Appendix four. Evening Stables and weekend working

This section describes the working practices that were followed in the afternoons. It shows that, whilst staff were conscientious, there were times when there was a resistance that built up because of poor working practices and the lack of recognition from Mike for what they were doing.

Evening stables start at three, when everyone congregates in the tack room to see if there are any extra jobs to do. Lindy, a part time member of staff who only does evening stables, will be there too. If people are away racing then there will be extra horses for each person to look after, which Ruth will have allocated and posted on the 'horse board'³⁴. If the horses are turned out everyone will go out to the field armed with a lead rope and lead a horse back in to the stable. The horses are led in a specific order, as some will get quite agitated if their 'friend' goes in and leaves them behind. The staff, working as a collective unit, know the order so any potential problems are avoided. Once the horses are all in, if it is muddy they will be taken to the washing down box and have the mud washed off their feet and the bottom of their legs. The staff make this process easier by communicating with each other as there are plenty of other things that can be done while waiting for the horse. Each person will follow a similar routine once their horses are back in their stables, removing outdoor rugs and hoods, then hanging the rugs in the rug room where each horse has a peg for its 'clothing'. The horses will be left tied up and with their under rugs still to stop them getting cold.

³⁴ The 'horseboard lists which horses an individual 'does' plus any extra horses they might have been allocated to look after for that particular day.

Once in their boxes, the horses will be 'dressed over'. This involves giving the horse a thorough grooming, removing any mud they have got on them out in the field and brushing off any sweat that was not removed after exercise. This task was once considered a major part of evening stables when lads only 'did' two horses. It was also a part of the ritualistic 'looking round' process trainers followed that reinforced deference, power and position. That said, the practical principles behind it remain the same. It is a way of checking the horse over and at the same time massaging their skin and improving circulation through brushing. It is also when any rider outers who have not done their horse up properly will be cursed, as it will mean extra work for the person who looks after that horse, another disadvantage of not riding your own horse. Ruth would be summoned 'to look at this cut' 'got a lump here, Ruth' or 'bloody Richard, rubbed him on his shoulder with his boot, it's ok though, I think?' (10/02/08, field notes) There is little time for any other general chatting, though, as getting five horses clean and tidy by five p.m. means working quickly and efficiently with comments being traded over box walls to each other. Some sing (badly) along to the radio which is on in the evening, swearing at the tedious adverts and listening out for the weather forecast, especially in the winter. Once the horse is finished they will have their indoor rugs replaced and their feet picked out to remove any mud and stones that may have accumulated in them. If the horses have not been turned out, then their beds will need mucking out again, although not as thoroughly as in the morning as there is not time, but any muck and wet bedding will be removed and the beds put tidy with banks in place around the walls and plenty of bedding on the floor. Once the process of dressing over is completed the horses will be left tied up until everyone has finished and it is time to feed, something Ruth will ultimately decide. As well as doing her own horses she will have been doing 'the legs' which involves putting on any bandages or poultices that may be needed where a horse may have an infection. Between 5 and 5.30 p.m. the other staff will make sure there is enough haylage bagged up for the next day, and the central passage of the yard will be swept so it is left tidy once the working day is done. The daily routine will be repeated, with each day following what should be a similar pattern, even weekends. The only difference is

that Saturday afternoon and Sunday are completed with half the staff, who should work slightly shorter hours.

Each person will look after four or five horses in the afternoon, but some of the tasks and routines that used to be carried out when more staff were employed who could 'do their two' are no longer done. There is simply not the time if working time legislation, the paying of overtime and a set working hourly week³⁵ is adhered to. This has meant that trainers cannot legally expect their staff to work longer hours than stipulated although in practice, at this yard they do. For instance, the trainer will arrange for a trailer load of 300 bales of straw to be delivered at 12 p.m. which needs unloading. The vet will be scheduled in for a visit at 1 p.m. which meant that it was invariably Ruth who had to help him as she stayed over the afternoon break. Most times were due to the Mike's lack of thought and consideration of the working practices in the yard. There is also the fact that trainers 'naturally' expect their staff to do extra without openly questioning it as it is part of the habitus of the racing 'lad'. The yard routine is disciplined by time and anything that disrupts this affects the staff quite profoundly. They were always more than willing to do extra when needed, but it was the lack of consideration of their needs that provoked a need to resist in some way, although none did openly, but just downing tools and walking out at 12.30 p.m. was mentioned on occasions. The frustration, resentment and dissatisfaction would sometimes build up during the day through not being able to work a 'normal' morning as dictated by the number of lots and the clock. This might be caused by having to wait for owners to arrive before the horses were ridden out for first or second lot. The lost time could not be caught up, so another morning would finish later than planned.

Weekend working

³⁵ The NTF and NASS have reached a collective agreement that staff's total annual hours (including time away from the yard and overtime) should not exceed an average of 48hrs /week

Staff in the yard work every other weekend with the trainer, Brenda, Milena and Mary working one weekend and Ruth, David and Lindy working the other. When there were fewer runners, and the trainer and Mary were not away racing, weekend working was quite straightforward, but as the yard expanded, with more runners on both a Saturday and a Sunday, finding staff to cover weekends was problematic. It also meant that staff, if they went racing on the Sunday of their weekend off, would not have a day off until their next weekend. For staff who are 'off' on the weekend, their weekend starts on a Saturday afternoon, about 12.30 p.m., once morning stables has finished. Those who are working will start back at 4 p.m. and if horses are turned out they will have to be brought in, although the process takes a lot longer as there are fewer people available. Horses do not get brushed at a weekend but will still have to be mucked out and have their rugs changed and clean water put in. The staff will decide between them which of the 'spare' horses they are going to muck out as well as their own. A 'spare' is a horse looked after by staff who are 'off' that weekend. It is usually decided on the basis of which horses are closest to the ones they muck out so as to try and make the process more efficient. It is usually the way that on a weekend the 'spares' only get a quick mucking out (skipped out) although your own are mucked out properly. Weekend working revolves around getting everything done as quickly as possible so there is some of the day free. Evening feeds are put up ready in the morning by Ruth or Mike so only need to be put into each horse's stable once the most senior member of staff has checked the horses over. The horses have their haylage and water put in, rugs will have been changed and extra ones added if needed. Evening stables finish around 5.30 p.m. but this can happen later especially if there is a member of staff away racing, as is often the case. Their work then has to be spread between the remaining members of staff. Staff do not start until 8 a.m. on a Sunday morning, when the daily routine of mucking out begins. If the horses are to be turned out all their outdoor rugs and hoods must first be brought around from the rug box then indoor rugs taken off and outdoor ones put on, which can be a time-consuming and tiring job as in the winter each horse will have at least four rugs on to keep them warm. When there are double the number of horses to rug up and turn out it is not

surprising that the staff are more than happy if the horses stay in their boxes on a Sunday. Occasionally, if there are horses due to run on a Monday, they will be exercised leaving even fewer people in the yard and sometimes none at all. This in itself can get frustrating and demoralising as there will still be all the routine work to do after riding out has finished. Sunday morning stables can finish any time between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 a.m. with the staff due back at 4 p.m. when the same evening routine as Saturday is followed³⁶.

at weekend hours may vary but are calculated as 2

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