A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN RODEO

A Thesis

by

GENE LOUIS THEODORI

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

August 1996

Major Subject: Sociology

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ABSTRACT

A Study of the Social Organization of Contemporary American Rodeo. (August 1996)

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American rodeo has undergone a dramatic metamorphosis over the past century, as it evolved from a small-time attraction in rural Western communities into a large-scale social and economic institution. One result of this evolution has been the formation of functionally specialized types of rodeo. Using the epigenetic theoretical perspective as an analytical tool, this study examines the "initiation" and "take-off" of twelve types of contemporary rodeo (i.e., professional, women's, collegiate, high school, youth, senior, gay, military, black, Indian, prison, and ranch) into self-sustained institutions. It identifies and describes the organizational characteristics of the different types of rodeo, and identifies, describes, and assesses the various functions and possible dysfunctions rodeo serves.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Mary Gail and Gene Theodori. Over the years I watched you toil so that you could provide the best life possible for your children. Mom and dad, my gratitude is immeasurable. What words cannot express, my love and admiration for you will. Thank you both.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my committee members, John K. Thomas, William Alex McIntosh, and Don E. Albrecht, I will always be grateful. I especially wish to thank Dr. Thomas who guided, yet challenged me through all phases of this research and, in doing so, put up with my endless questions and concerns. Likewise, I am grateful to Professor William Rawlings who sparked my interest in sociology and encouraged me to pursue graduate studies.

I thank the representatives of the various rodeo associations and professional organizations who provided me with the data needed to complete this study. To my family who provided me with the opportunity to fulfill my dreams go many thanks. Furthermore, I wish to thank Larry Gatts who taught me the fundamentals about riding bareback horses and helped me mount my first bronc. Last, but not least, I want to thank Melissa Pletcher for her much needed encouragement, emotional support, and technical assistance.

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INTRODUCTION

Rodeo has existed in America for well over a century. The substance and forms of early American rodeo were an outgrowth of a twenty-year time span, lasting from 1866 to 1885, when the range-cattle industry began, matured, and collapsed. During that brief era, an estimated 40,000 cowboys trailed 10 million head of cattle out of Texas to the railheads in Kansas and Missouri (Forbis 1973). However, accelerated changes caused by the Industrial Revolution significantly altered the Western range and the ranch cattle culture (Webb 1931). During the 1880s, with barbed wire and selective breeding redefining the cattle industry, open-range ranching was coming to a close. As the railroads began to penetrate all regions of the country, especially into Texas, long cattle drives to northern stockyards and railroad depots in the Great Plains gradually ceased to exist (Webb 1931). By 1890, the practice of open-range ranching had almost ceased. In fact, in 1890 the United States Census Bureau declared the official closing of the American frontier (Lawrence 1982; Martin 1983). With the end of the cattle-drive era came the end of the cowboy's utility.

Although the collapse of the cattle frontier in 1885 "converted ranching from an adventure into a business...there clings about ranching more of a romance than is found appertaining to any other occupation in America" (Webb 1931: 240). Writers left lasting impressions upon the American consciousness with their romantic literary cowboy heroes (DuBose 1962). As Skinner (1973: 4) noted, although the days of the open range were

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This thesis follows the style and format of Rural Sociology.

over, "cowboys and cattle drives, round-ups and stampedes, Abilene and Dodge City, became parts of an imperishable American myth." Dime-novel publishers instilled upon the American public the image of rugged men on half-wild horses riding the rough and isolated ranges, driving wild cattle out of Texas. In an effort to save the frontier West, these publishers and writers reincarnated the traditional cowboy as an American cultural hero and whetted the adventuresome appetites and imaginations of a large urban readership, especially in the East. In due time, as Stoeltje (1989: 247) expressed, "the American public developed such a fascination with the cowboy that a stage and audience for a cowboy performance was available even when cowboy work was not." Rodeo is one such performance.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Folklorists, historians, and laypersons interested in "cowboy culture" published numerous articles on American rodeo throughout its existence. However, much of this literature was narrowly focused. An overwhelming majority of all publications is descriptive and narrative in nature. The focus of this empirical literature was the structural and organizational ingredients of one major type of rodeo, the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA) rodeo. Several researchers (e.g., Hall 1976; Kegley 1942; Norbury 1993; Robertson 1961) described the seven most common events of PRCA rodeo -- bareback bronc riding, saddle bronc riding, bull riding, calf roping, team roping, steer wrestling, and women's barrel racing -- and the specialty acts (i.e., clown performances, trick riding and trick roping). Furthermore, scholarly historical accounts of rodeo were

primarily limited to the history of the PRCA and/or its predecessors -- the Rodeo Cowboys Association (RCA) and the Cowboys Turtle Association (CTA) (see Deaton 1952; Fredriksson 1985; Westermeier 1946, 1947).

Social scientists have recently developed an interest in rodeo. Within the last twenty years, several anthropological studies focused on American rodeo (Errington 1990; Lawrence 1982; Stoeltje 1979, 1993). These few ethnomethodological studies of rodeo were also limited and narrowly focused. They addressed primarily the symbolic and ideological levels of rodeo. With the exception of Stoeltje, who examined the cultural performance of the Texas Cowboy Reunion's memorial service and non-professional rodeo, the other two ethnomethodological studies examined only PRCA rodeo.

Contemporary American rodeo has many organizational types (i.e., professional, amateur, college, high school, youth, women's, gay, black, Indian, senior, nudist, prison, military, ranch, and others). The existing literature has conveyed little information about the social organization of these different types of modern rodeo other than PRCA rodeo. To fill this void, the research conducted here describes and assesses the structure of these different types of rodeo, the social and economic functions they serve, and their participants.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Rodeo is one of America's fastest growing sports. Because of their sociological and economic significance, rodeos have been held in all 50 states. Today, the PRCA is the most dominant association in rodeo, with nearly 10,000 members, including contestants, stock

contractors, bullfighters, and other non-contestant members (PRCA Media Guide 1995). In 1994 the PRCA sanctioned 782 rodeos in 46 states and 4 Canadian Provinces, in which a total of 9,761 PRCA card holders and permit holders competed for $23,063,793 in prize money (PRCA Media Guide 1995). In 1990, according to Weisman (1991), the PRCA and the International Professional Rodeo Association (IPRA) together sanctioned 1,100 rodeos, which attracted 18 million spectators and produced $80 million in ticket sales. Like other professional sports, PRCA rodeo, and to a lesser degree IPRA rodeo, has become recognized in the athletic mainstream due to an increase in media exposure and major corporate sponsorship. However, many other rodeo associations hold thousands of rodeos each year of which society knows little about. With the exception of LeCompte's (1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1993) studies on the Women's Professional Rodeo Association and Dubin's (1989) ethnography of Native American rodeo, types of rodeo other than PRCA rodeo have been ignored in the scientific literature.

OBJECTIVES

This research furthers the scientific work on rodeo begun by anthropologists. It has two major objectives. One objective is to identify and describe the social organization of the different types of contemporary rodeo. The organizational framework of each rodeo association is described in terms of its participants, structure, and activities (Olsen 1968). Moreover, the research addresses the social and economic factors that were responsible for the formation of the various types of rodeo. The second objective is to identify, describe,

and assess the functions (i.e., the contributions rodeos make to the communities in which they are staged) and possible dysfunctions different types of rodeo perform.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

THEORETICAL STRUCTURE

The theoretical strategy that is the basis of this study is a functionalist evolutionary approach (Olsen 1968; Sanderson 1991; Smith 1973). The most common theoretical perspective in the social evolutionary literature is the differentiation, or performism, model (Etzioni 1966; Olsen 1968). According to this perspective, social evolution occurs as an original social unit becomes structurally differentiated into new social units or subunits. Etzioni (1963) claimed, however, that differentiation models (see Eisenstadt 1964; Parsons 1973; Parsons and Bales 1955; Smelser 1959, 1973) could not adequately account for the formation of several social units. Therefore, using the epigenesis (or accumulation) perspective advanced by philosophers and biologists (e.g., Harvey, Wolff, Goethe), Etzioni (1963) proposed the application of an alternative model of social evolution to the study of international political unification. Unlike differentiation, according to Etzioni (1963: 407), "epigenesis deals with the formation of units that acquire functions not previously serviced by the unit...[and] includes statements about the sector in which the process starts; the functional sequence in which other sectors are added; and the relationship between growth in performances, power, and communication capabilities."

Epigenetic concepts such as "initiation" and "take off" were used to produce an analytical framework to assess the social organization of the various types of rodeo. According to Etzioni (1963: 413), "[t]he concept of take-off, borrowed from aerodynamics, is applied to the first stage of epigenesis to distinguish the initiation point from that where

the continuation of the process becomes self-sustained." In other words, take-off denotes that the initiated social unit has become institutionalized. Institutionalization occurs when a social unit's practices and activities become accepted as a formal and relatively stable part of society. Following Etzioni's model, this research examines the social and economic conditions responsible for the formation of the various types of rodeo, and the social and economic functions these "new" types of rodeo serve.

Epigenesis provided the basis for an organizational analysis of American rodeo, and along with the concepts of "commodification" and "agrarianism" produced a theoretical model explaining the metamorphosis of rodeo at all levels. This thesis traces the initiation, organization, institutionalization, idealization, and commodification of contemporary American rodeo, as it evolved from the nineteenth-century range-cattle industry. Moreover, this research examines a theoretical link between rodeo, which grew out of the rural way of life, and the quest for agrarian fundamentalism in our contemporary urban industrialized, manufacturing, and technological state.

PROCEDURES

This research is an in-depth investigation of the various levels of contemporary American rodeo. The history of rodeo is discussed first, followed by an identification and description of the various types of contemporary rodeo. The various types of rodeo examined include: professional, collegiate, high school, youth, women's, gay, black, Indian, senior, military, prison, and ranch. Structural and functional elements of the various types of rodeo are identified and discussed. Structural elements are identified and described

according to: (1) associations, (2) participants, and (3) activities. Functional elements are identified and described according to: (1) ideological functions, (2) economic functions, and (3) social functions. Such an investigation explains the genesis and development of the various types of contemporary rodeo from an epigenetic, or functionalist evolutionary, perspective.

SOURCES OF DATA

Data collection techniques included: archival and historical investigation, document analyses, and in-depth interviewing of representatives of selected rodeo associations and unique types of rodeo. Furthermore, community level data (e.g., economic impact estimates) were obtained through telephone conversations with representatives of chambers of commerce and professional organizations in communities that conduct a rodeo association's finals or championship rodeo.

The Louisiana and Oklahoma state penitentiaries were purposely selected to study the social organization of prison rodeo. These penitentiaries were chosen because they are the only two state prisons currently producing inmate rodeos.

As shown in Table 1, one association from each of the following types of rodeo was purposely selected to study its social organization: women's, collegiate, high school, senior, gay, military, and ranch. These associations were selected because each is the only national or international organization of its kind.

Table 1. Types of Rodeo with One National or International Association

Type of Rodeo	Association
Women's	Women's Professional Rodeo Association/ Professional Women's Rodeo Association
Collegiate	National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association
High School	National High School Rodeo Association
Senior	National Senior Pro Rodeo Association
Gay	International Gay Rodeo Association
Military	Military Rodeo Cowboys Association
Ranch	Working Ranch Cowboys Association

Simple random sampling techniques were used to acquire a representative sample of professional and youth rodeo associations. The professional and youth rodeo associations listed in Table 2 were randomly selected from the following publications: *Rodeo News*, a national rodeo news magazine; *Cowboy Sports News*, the official newsletter of the Cowboys Professional Rodeo Association; and *The Wrangler*, the official publication of 29 horse and rodeo associations. As noted in Table 2, only those professional and youth rodeo organizations that responded to the researcher's request for published association rule books during the telephone interview were included in this study.

Table 2. A Sample of Professional and Youth Rodeo Associations

Professional Rodeo Associations

American Cowboys Association
American Professional Rodeo Association
Colorado Professional Rodeo Association*
Cowboys Professional Rodeo Association
Cowboys Regional Rodeo Association*
International Professional Rodeo Association*
Missouri Rodeo Cowboys Association*
New Mexico Rodeo Association*
Professional Cowboy Association*
Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association*
Southwest Professional Rodeo Association
Texas Professional Rodeo Association
United Rodeo Association
Wyoming Rodeo Association*

Youth Rodeo Associations

American Junior Rodeo Association*
Arizona Junior Rodeo Association
Central Texas Youth Rodeo Association*
Midsouth Youth Rodeo Cowboys Association*
National Little Britches Rodeo Association*
Oklahoma Youth Rodeo Association
Pineywoods Youth Rodeo Association*
Texas Youth Rodeo Association
Wyoming Junior Rodeo Association*

* Indicates rodeo associations included in this study.

Lastly, unanticipated difficulties were encountered in obtaining data on Indian and black rodeos. Such problems included procuring telephone numbers and addresses of all-Indian rodeo associations and a lack of response from the all-black Bill Pickett Invitational Rodeo. Hence, one unique Indian rodeo (i.e., the Indian National Finals Rodeo) and one predominately black rodeo organization (i.e., the Cowboys of Color Invitational Rodeo) were purposely selected to provide insight into the organization of these types.

ORIGINS OF RODEO

Lawrence (1982) and Fredriksson (1985), among other rodeo writers, assert that the origin of rodeo is rooted in a combination of elements traceable to two post-Civil War era activities: (1) the roping, riding, and racing exhibitions staged among working cowboys for entertainment, and (2) the wild west shows.

Rodeo evolved as a natural result of the cowboy's need for play and recreation (see Deaton 1952; Kegley 1942; Norbury 1993). After months of strenuous labor moving cattle throughout the country, cowboys would get together and celebrate. For amusement at the end of the trail, cowboys would gather and compare their roping and riding skills. These early celebrations were exhibitions; they were a place where cowboys could show off the skills they had acquired on the range. Soon afterwards, though, these exhibitions turned into competitive matches, staged among both intra-ranch and inter-ranch cowboys. Impromptu competitions became commonplace as cowboys competed for their share of the prize pot, or at other times simply "just for the hell or glory of it" (Durham and Jones 1965: 206). As Lawrence (1982) noted, these early contests were one element in the dual origin of American rodeo.

The other element in the genesis of American rodeo was the development of the wild west show. William F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill," introduced the public to a new type of outdoor entertainment. After a decade as a producer and star of Western melodramas, Cody returned to his hometown of North Platte, Nebraska, in 1882. Upon hearing that nothing was planned in observance of Independence Day, Cody arranged to hold an "Old Glory Blowout" on the Fourth of July. He persuaded local business owners to

offer prizes for roping, shooting, riding, and bronco breaking exhibitions, and sent out 5,000 handbills inviting local cowboys to partake (Russell 1970). Cody projected that he might get 100 cowboy entrants; however, he got 10 times that number (Russell 1970). In May of the following year, Cody staged an even larger extravaganza in his home state at the Omaha Fair Grounds. This two-day Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition attracted eight thousand spectators the first day and nine thousand the second (Fredriksson 1985). After his second successful performance, Cody decided to turn this new form of live entertainment into a commercial enterprise, and announced that he was taking his show on the road (Fredriksson 1985).

Cody sold his Wild West to U.S. and European audiences as an authentic representation of life as it existed on the vanishing American frontier. His show included a cast of Indians, homesteaders, skilled sharpshooters, stagecoach drivers, scouts, trick riders, rough riders, and a mounted cavalry. Audiences were thrilled with exciting exhibitions such as an attack on the Deadwood stagecoach, a Grand Hunt on the Plains, and the crowd pleasing "Cow-Boy Fun" events, the roping and riding exhibitions by daring cowboys (Harris 1986). Other entrepreneurs also saw economic advantage in staging similar shows. Such shows were aimed primarily at Eastern city dwellers and Europeans who were unfamiliar with the "cowboy culture" of the West. By 1885, the number of traveling shows totaled more than fifty (Fredriksson 1985). Russell (1970) identified 116 wild west shows that existed between 1883 and 1944, yet noted that his list might be incomplete.

Early informal cowboy exhibitions and contests and the wild west shows were intimately related. Accordingly, Westermeier (1947: 37) asserted that "[t]he riders of those

early shows were, or had been, working cowboys..." By the late 1880s, with changing practices in the range-cattle industry, many working cowboys were becoming seasonal ranch employees. During the winter months, out-of-work cowboys found employment as bartenders, butchers, or blacksmiths (Forbis 1973; Harris 1986). Others found employment with the traveling shows (Fredriksson 1985). For approximately forty years, until their demise after World War I, the wild west shows employed out-of-work cowboys.

EARLY ORGANIZATION

Since few records remain, determination of when and where the first exhibitions, and later the contests, of cowboys' skills took place, and whether they were staged within one camp or between rival outfits are difficult (Westermeier 1946, 1947, 1955). However, among the earliest recorded events is the Santa Fe show in 1847 (Deaton 1952; Van Steenwyk 1978; Westermeier 1955). In a letter to Samuel Arnold of Drumnakelly, Seaford, county Down, Ireland, dated June 10, 1847, Captain Mayne Reid in Santa Fe, New Mexico, wrote:

> ...You have cows in Ireland, but you never saw cows. Yes, millions of them here, I am sure, browsing on the sweet long grass of the ranges that roll from horizon to horizon. At this time of year the cowmen have what is called the round-up, when the calves are branded and the fat beasts selected to be driven to a fair hundreds of miles away.
>
> This round-up is a great time for the cowhands, a Donneybrook fair it is indeed. They contest with each other for the best roping and throwing, and there are horse races and whisky and wines. At night in the clear moonlight there is much dancing on the streets (Westermeier 1955: 344).

Over the next four decades, cowboy exhibitions and competitions became commonplace throughout the Southwest. Enterprising showmen recognized the popularity and spectator appeal of the cowboy sport, and by the 1890s rodeos had been established as public entertainment.

Beginning in the early 1880s, communities throughout the West began planning and promoting cowboy shows. Communities that staged shows as part of town fairs, western pageants, or Fourth of July celebrations before 1890 included: Deer Trail, Colorado, 1869; Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1873; Austin, Texas, 1882; Galveston, Texas, 1883; Pecos, Texas,

1883; San Antonio, Texas, 1883, 1888; Mobeetie, Texas, 1883; Miles City, Montana, 1885; Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1886; Montrose, Colorado, 1887; Denver, Colorado, 1887; Canadian, Texas, 1888; Prescott, Arizona, 1888; San Angelo, Texas, 1889 (Boatright 1964; Deaton 1952; Westermeier 1955). These early cowboy shows were not yet known as rodeos. Instead, early names included such terms as cowboy tournaments, roundups, stampedes, frontier days, fiestas, frontier contests, carnivals, and roping and riding contests (Armstrong 1966; Clancy 1952; Freeman 1988; Harris 1986; Ol' Waddy 1952; Taillon 1952). The earliest recorded use of the word *rodeo*, which came from the Spanish verb "rodear," meaning to roundup or to surround, to describe the cowboy sport was in 1912. Guy Weadick wrote, "Frontier Days at Cheyenne, the Roping at El Paso, the Rodeo at Los Angeles, and the Round-Up at Pendleton, each have attained with the years the dignity of an institution and are the mecca to which each year thousands of the faithful turn their eyes" (Armstrong 1966: 88).

The first cowboy contest on record to award cash prizes to the winners was held on July 4, 1883, in Pecos, Texas (Boatright 1964; Christopherson 1956; Deaton 1952; Munn 1982; Taillon 1952). Discrepancies exist in the literature, however, with regard to the first paid admission contest. Weston (1985) contended that the first paid admission contest was in 1893 at Lander, Wyoming. Deaton (1952) also recognizes Lander as the first to charge an admittance fee; however, she stated that it occurred in 1894. Munn (1982) stated that spectators were charged a fee to watch the events in Prescott, Arizona, on July 4, 1887. However, Clancy (1952) and Fredriksson (1985), among a majority of others, credited the July 4th celebration of 1888 in Prescott, Arizona, as the first paid admission contest.

Freeman (1988) and Jordan (1994) noted that the committee members responsible for planning and conducting the Prescott event in 1888 established the criteria for modern, organized rodeo without realizing it -- they organized and produced the rodeo, invited cowboys to compete, charged admission to pay expenses, awarded prizes, and documented the event.

In the early 1900s, interest in the wild west shows began to wane. Conversely, at that time the popularity of rodeo exploded. The 1920s was a period of rapid growth for rodeo, as producers began staging contests in cities and towns throughout the country. With this tremendous expansion came a period of rampant disorganization. Fraudulent producers failed to pay the winning contestants; rules and events lacked uniformity. Furthermore, touring groups, complete with producers, announcers, livestock, and an assortment of cowboys and cowgirls, began staging fake rodeos, simply rotating the victories among themselves (LeCompte 1993). The combination of these elements quickly began to undermine the status of legitimate producers and rodeos. If rodeo was going to maintain its popularity, some type of organization and coordination among rodeo committees was necessary.

In January, 1929, the Rodeo Association of America (RAA) was formed in Salinas, California. The RAA was the first formal organization in American rodeo. It was not an association of rodeo cowboys. Instead, it was a rodeo management organization. Almost immediately, the RAA "set out to put rodeo on a sounder footing than it had enjoyed to date" (Fredriksson 1985: 22). The RAA developed a point-award system based on dollars won at sanctioned rodeos. The purpose of this system was to name world champions. To

qualify as a RAA-member rodeo, contests had to include at least four of the following events: bareback riding, [saddle] bronc riding, bull or steer riding, calf roping, steer roping, steer decorating, steer wrestling, team roping, and wild cow milking (Westermeier 1947).

The RAA planned to insure harmony among the various rodeo committees and "perpetuate traditions connected with the livestock industry and cowboy sports incident thereto; to standardize the same and adopt rules looking towards the holding of contests upon uniform basis; to minimize as far as possible conflict in dates of contest; and place such sports so nearly as may be possible on a par with amateur athletic events" (RAA 1940: 17). Prior to 1929, the rodeo management association had been in the process of formation (Clancy 1952). However, it was not until a group for the prevention of cruelty to animals introduced a bill into the California legislature to abolish rodeos on the grounds that they were inhumane that progress was made. That legislative action prompted the need for cooperation among rodeo managements, ahd through their combined efforts, the proposed legislation was defeated. The RAA made every effort to improve the conditions of rodeo, which it did for the most part.

Membership in the RAA excluded rodeo cowboys, leaving the contestants almost powerless in their relationship with rodeo committees. Seven years after the formation of the RAA, cowboys attained a say in matters concerning their profession. On October 30, 1936, sixty-one contestants organized and staged a walkout at a rodeo in Boston Garden to protest the unfair distribution of prize money, the inequality in judging, and the dishonesty in advertising that was still plaguing rodeo. The following week, on November 6, 1936,

members from that same group formed the United Cowboy's Turtle Association.[1] Four months later, at a meeting during the 1937 Fort Worth rodeo, the word *United* was dropped from the name of the organization, and Everett Bowman was elected as the first president of the Cowboys Turtle Association (CTA). The Turtles organized "to raise the standards of rodeo as a whole and to give them undisputed place in the foremost rank of American sports...by classing as 'unfair' those shows which use rules unfair to the contestants and those which offer purses so small as to make it impossible for contestants to make expenses" (CTA 1936: 24). The CTA, as Westermeier (1946, 1947) noted, was not the first attempt at organizing cowboys; but, it was the first successful one.

Through the efforts of both the Rodeo Association of America and the Cowboys Turtle Association, rodeo became established upon a solid foundation. The RAA represented the rodeo managements, while the CTA represented the cowboys. However, neither association represented 100 percent of either group. In the late 1930s, the RAA was principally represented in the Northwest and California (Westermeier 1946, 1947). During that time a new management association, serving new functions, emerged in the Southwest. In 1938, rodeo managements in that part of the country organized and formed the Southwest Rodeo Association (SRA), which in 1942 changed its name to the National Rodeo Association (NRA). The SRA was not formed to compete against the RAA, nor did it require that RAA-member rodeos in the Southwest relinquish their membership with that association and join the SRA. The SRA encouraged membership in both organizations, and provided benefits to the numerous small rodeos in the Southwest that were not members of

[1] The cowboys called themselves "Turtles" because they were 'slow but sure' to organize.

the RAA. These actions enabled contestants from that area of the country who only competed regionally to win prizes and awards. Structurally, the SRA and the RAA were similar. Like the RAA, the SRA developed a point-award system to name event champions and an all-around champion, and also vowed to cooperate with the Turtles. Moreover, the membership fee for the SRA was only half as much as the RAA, and the SRA gave a larger percentage of the membership dues back to the contestants as awards (Fredriksson 1985). On April 28, 1946, after months of discussion, the RAA and the NRA merged to form the International Rodeo Association (IRA). From 1946 through the mid-1980s, the IRA, which became known as International Rodeo Management, maintained its status as a rodeo management organization (Fredriksson 1985).

MAINSTREAM PROFESSIONAL RODEO

On November 6, 1936, the Cowboys Turtle Association laid down four rules, three of which dealt with strikes and a fourth with the problem of selecting judges, to improve the conditions of rodeo contestants and to insure honest cooperation on their part by working harmoniously with rodeo promoters. Despite the Turtles' intentions, the latter years of the 1930s were fraught with arguments and controversies among contestants and between contestants and organizers.[2] The cowboys' initial victory at Boston Garden, as Fredriksson (1985: 43) found, "inspired an overnight confidence, which, on occasion, caused their

[2] See Fredriksson (1985) and Westermeier (1946, 1947) for detailed explanations of significant disagreements (e.g., CTA strikes and status of amateurs) between the Turtles and rodeo organizers.

newly discovered strength to be misused over the next few years." Regardless of the fact that the CTA was not an immediate success, it did set a precedent for rodeo in general.

The CTA reorganized on March 15, 1945, and became known as the Rodeo Cowboys Association (RCA), which in 1975 changed its name to the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA). During the transition from the CTA to the RCA, the association moved its office from Phoenix, Arizona, to Fort Worth, Texas, and developed a point-award system similar to the RAA's to determine world champions.[3] The RCA/PRCA has named world champions in each major event -- bareback bronc riding, bull riding, calf roping, saddle bronc riding, steer wrestling, and team roping -- plus steer roping since 1945, and an all-around world champion since 1947.[4]

Many of the original concerns of the Turtles are manifest in the stated purposes of the PRCA. Such goals are to:

- o encourage, promote and advance information and knowledge concerning rodeos, including the dates of rodeos, names of contestants, prize money, and other particulars in which members are interested;
- o promote the professional sport of rodeo through the organization of rodeo participants for their mutual benefit;
- o ensure a just amount of prize money;
- o require that all entrance fees be added to prize money;

---

[3] Annually, from 1929 to 1937, the cowboy who earned the most points in each event under the RAA point-award system was declared the "World's Champion." The SRA then began naming champions in 1938. In 1945, with the introduction of the RCA point-award system, there were three sets of champions via three point systems. The following year, the NRA (formerly the SRA) abolished its point system. In mid-1946, the NRA and the RAA consolidated and formed the IRA. The newly organized association maintained the point-award system already in use by the RAA. Two sets of mainstream rodeo *world* champions were named until 1955, when the IRA dropped the word "champion" from its year-end awards.

[4] The original RCA point-award system did not name an all-around world champion. However, after the 1947 rodeo season, at the request of national trophy donor Levi Strauss & Company, Todd Whatley was named the RCA's first all-around world champion cowboy.

- secure competent, honest judges and officials in all rodeo events;
- encourage cooperation between rodeo contestants and managements of all rodeos at which members participate;
- protect against unfairness in the sport of professional rodeo;
- raise the standards of cowboy contests so they shall rank among the foremost of American sports; and
- bring honest advertising by the rodeo committees, so that the public may rely upon the truth of advertised events in which it is claimed that members of the Association participate (PRCA 1995: A1-1 - A1-2).

Since the formation of the parent organization, various non-PRCA professional rodeo associations have formed on local, state, regional, national, and international levels. The organizational characteristics of the PRCA and seven additional contemporary professional rodeo associations are presented in Appendix A with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. The other associations examined include: Colorado Professional Rodeo Association (CPRA), Cowboys Regional Rodeo Association (CRRA), International Professional Rodeo Association (IPRA), Missouri Rodeo Cowboys Association (MRCA), New Mexico Rodeo Association (NMRA), Professional Cowboy Association (PCA), and Wyoming Rodeo Association (WRA).

Membership in these professional organizations range from approximately 350 in the WRA to approximately 10,000 in the PRCA. Standard events included at rodeos sanctioned by these associations are reported in Table 3. Each association annually stages a finals rodeo to name event champions and, with the exception of the NMRA, the all-around champion cowboy and/or all-around champion cowgirl. Throughout the regular rodeo

Table 3. Standard Rodeo Events of Eight Professional Rodeo Associations

Events	Rodeo Associations[1]							
	CPRA	CRRA	IPRA	MRCA	NMRA	PCA	PRCA	WRA[2]
Bareback bronc riding[3]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Saddle bronc riding[3]	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Bull riding[3]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Calf roping	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Steer wrestling	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Team roping	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Barrel racing[4]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Breakaway calf roping[4]	X			X	X	X		X
Mixed team roping	X							X
Over 40 calf roping				X				

[1] X indicates standard rodeo event.

[2] CPRA (Colorado Professional Rodeo Association); CRRA (Cowboys Regional Rodeo Association); IPRA (International Professional Rodeo Association); MRCA (Missouri Rodeo Cowboys Association); NMRA (New Mexico Rodeo Association); PCA (Professional Cowboy Association); PRCA (Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association); WRA (Wyoming Rodeo Association).

[3] Must ride 8 seconds in order to qualify for a score from the judges.

[4] Women's events.

season, one point is awarded for each dollar won. At season's end, the top 12 point earners in each event in the CPRA, NMRA, and WRA, and the top 15 in the CRRA, IPRA, MRCA, PCA, and PRCA are invited to enter their respective association's finals rodeo.[5] The one contestant who earns the most cumulative points in 2 or more events is named the association's all-around champion. Unlike the others, the CPRA, MRCA, and WRA name both an all-around cowboy and an all-around cowgirl.

[5] When applicable, the CRRA takes one rookie contestant in each event to the finals for a total of 16 finalists.

THE EPIGENESIS OF AMERICAN RODEO

American rodeo has undergone a dramatic sociocultural evolution over the past century. One result of this evolution has been the formation of functionally specialized types of rodeo. Below the social organization of 11 types of contemporary American rodeo other than mainstream professional rodeo is examined, and the epigenesis of these types is discussed following Etzioni's model. The social and economic factors responsible for the initiation and take-off (i.e., institutionalization) of each type of rodeo are analyzed. Structural elements of each type of rodeo are identified and described. After the formation and organizational characteristics are presented, functional and potential dysfunctional elements of rodeo are identified, described, and assessed.

TYPES OF RODEO

Women's Rodeo

The origin of women's rodeo is rooted in the early wild west shows, when women such as Little Annie Oakley and May Lillie, among others, whetted the public's interest for daring, skilled female performers. From the mid-1880s until 1900, at least twelve women performed in the wild west shows (LeCompte 1993). Near the turn of the century, rodeos also began to feature cowgirl exhibitions. Records indicated that in 1896, Annie Shaffer rode a bronc at a rodeo in Fort Smith, Arkansas (see Jordan 1983, 1992).

Several rodeo writers, including Jordan (1983, 1992), Westermeier (1946, 1947), and Weston (1985), assert that the first woman to enter a rodeo as a contestant was Prairie Rose Henderson, who competed in 1901 in the bronc riding at the Cheyenne Frontier Days

celebration. LeCompte (1993) disputed this claim. After thoroughly examining primary sources such as Cheyenne newspapers and early Frontier Days archives, LeCompte (1993) found that no mention was made of Prairie Rose Henderson at Cheyenne before 1910. Instead, she found that the first lady bronc "exhibition" at Cheyenne was in 1904, and Bertha Kapernick was the rider (see LeCompte 1993: 40-41). Furthermore, LeCompte (1993) found that the cow pony race was the first "contest" for women at the Frontier Days, and it was introduced in 1899.

By the 1920s women had firmly established their niche in the sport, as rodeos regularly began to feature three cowgirl events -- ladies' bronc riding, trick riding, and relay race (Jordan 1983, 1992). During the 1930s, though, rodeo producers began to eliminate the traditional cowgirl events at the professional shows. Only the larger rodeos such as Boston and New York continued to feature cowgirls' bronc riding into the 1940s. As LeCompte (1993) noted, a major factor responsible for the displacement of women's events in mainstream American rodeo was the introduction of the "sponsor contest." Sponsor contests required beautiful girls dressed in brightly colored outfits to ride around barrels, usually arranged in a figure eight or a cloverleaf pattern. The concept of "sponsor girls" originated in 1931 at the Texas Cowboy Reunion in Stamford, Texas (Mahood 1956). Soon these contests spread rapidly across Texas and the Southwest, and by 1939 they appeared in New York City's Madison Square Garden Rodeo.

In 1938, cowgirls became honorary members of the Cowboys Turtle Association. The CTA, like the RAA which never sanctioned cowgirl's events, did not work to protect the women's interests, and by 1942, with the exception of the sponsor contests, ladies'

events were all but dropped from the professional rodeo circuit. Madison Square Garden last featured cowgirl bronc riding in 1941. In the summer of 1942, though, three all-girl rodeos were staged in north Texas "to entertain the troops and give cowgirls a chance to continue their profession" (LeCompte 1993: 129). Fay Kirkwood organized and produced the first of these rodeos on June 26 through 29, 1942, at the Fannin County Fairgrounds in Bonham, Texas. One month later, from July 28 to August 2, Kirkwood staged another all-girl contest in Wichita Falls, Texas. The program of events at Wichita Falls included eleven exhibitions, four professional contests -- calf roping, bronc riding, steer riding, and bulldogging -- and four amateur, or sponsor, contests -- musical chairs, flag race, reining, and cutting (LeCompte 1993). Also that year, Vaughn Krieg, the 1934 Madison Square Garden cowgirl bronc riding champion and former contestant at Kirkwood's rodeos, organized the Vaughn Krieg's Flying All Cow-Girl Rodeo Company. Like Kirkwood, Krieg planned to entertain at military bases. In September of 1942, at the Lamar County Fairgrounds near Paris, Texas, Krieg staged her one and only show, which included three contract acts, a sponsor contest, and six professional events -- calf roping, wild cow milking, bronc riding, bulldogging, cutting, and steer riding (LeCompte 1993).

Not much all-girl rodeo activity occurred between 1943 and 1946. Audiences became accustomed to seeing only sponsor contests listed on professional rodeo programs. Then from September 23 to 26, 1947, Jackie Worthington, Thena Mae Farr, and Nancy Binford staged a highly successful all-girl rodeo at the Tri-State Fair in Amarillo, Texas. Seventy-five contestants from 25 communities in Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Missouri paid their entry fees to compete for prize money in bareback bronc riding, calf

roping, barrel racing, cutting, and team tying (LeCompte 1993). Other events included saddle bronc and steer riding for mount money only, and a bulldogging exhibition (LeCompte 1993).

Five months later, on February 28, 1948, at the San Angelus Hotel in San Angelo, Texas, a group of rodeo cowgirls, many of whom competed at the Tri-State All Girl Rodeo, formed the Girls Rodeo Association (GRA), and elected Margaret Owens Montgomery of Ozona, Texas, as their first president. The all-female association, which became institutionalized on May 1, 1948, organized to combat the gender discrimination that surfaced during the 1930s and early 1940s in mainstream rodeo. As LeCompte (1993: 155) noted, the GRA formed to standardize the cowgirl's events and "to provide women with legitimate opportunities to compete both in all-girl rodeos and in RCA rodeos."

In 1981, the Girls Rodeo Association changed its name to the Women's Professional Rodeo Association (WPRA). The stated purposes of the Women's Professional Rodeo Association are to:

- organize the female professional rodeo contestants for their mutual protection and benefit;
- raise the standards of cowgirl contests so they shall rank among the foremost American sports;
- cooperate with the management of all rodeos at which the members of WPRA contest;
- bring about honest advertising by the rodeo sponsoring agents of the events in which members of the WPRA contest;
- work for the betterment of conditions and of rules governing rodeo events in which members of WPRA contest;
- protect the members against unfairness on the part of any rodeo management;

- insure a just amount of prize money;
- publish information concerning dates of rodeos, names of contestants, prize money, and other particulars in which members are interested; and
- secure competent, honest judges and officials in all events (WPRA 1995: 1).

Today, as was the case in 1948, two groups exist within the all-woman association. Some members of the WPRA compete only in barrel racing, which through the efforts of the GRA became included in 1948 at a majority of RCA approved rodeos. The second segment of the original organization currently exists under the umbrella of the WPRA as the Professional Women's Rodeo Association (PWRA). Approximately 2,000 women presently belong to the WPRA, and approximately 85 of those are members of the PWRA.

The organizational characteristics of the PWRA are reported in Appendix B, with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. Members of the PWRA compete in five standard events which include bareback bronc riding (6 second ride), bull or steer riding (6 second ride), breakaway calf roping, tie down calf roping, and team roping. Goat tying, steer undecorating, and steer stopping may be included in PWRA rodeos as optional events. The PWRA annually takes the top 15 point earners in each of the 5 standard events to the PWRA National Finals.

Collegiate Rodeo

Exactly when and where collegiate rodeo began is unknown. Some evidence suggests that during the early decades of the twentieth century rodeo-related activities were held on college campuses, usually in conjunction with school functions. At the University

of Nebraska in the late 1930s, for example, a student agricultural organization sponsored during the spring a campus-wide celebration called the "Farmers' Fair." The Fair included such activities as a beard growing contest, a livestock show, inter-sorority riding contests, donkey polo, flour-dough rassling, and also a few rodeo events (Ranney 1960).

Also during the late 1930s, student rodeo clubs at a small number of colleges and universities throughout the Southwest and the West began participation in intercollegiate rodeo competitions. The University of Arizona staged the first intercollegiate rodeo in 1938 (Freeman 1988; Menchinger 1942). In 1942, Arizona's annual intercollegiate rodeo included steer riding, calf roping, bronc riding, team tying, wild cow milking, and a wild mule race, and drew contestants from Texas A&M, New Mexico A&M, Colorado State, New Mexico University, California Polytechnic, and the University of Wyoming. The four-man team from Arizona won the rodeo, thus earning the national intercollegiate title. The Arizona club was awarded the Sears Roebuck revolving trophy, a prize which they could keep as long as they held the national title.

After World War II, a rash of college rodeos broke out (Muir 1951). Like professional rodeo two decades earlier, college rodeo lacked organizational structure. Realizing the need for a national intercollegiate rodeo association, representatives from twelve schools throughout Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Colorado assembled during the intercollegiate rodeo at Sul Ross State College in Apline, Texas, in November, 1948, to discuss the problems plaguing the sport (Nelson 1979). Hank Finger, president of the Bar SB Bar Rodeo Association at Sul Ross, presided over the meeting. It was decided that another meeting, which would be open to all interested colleges and universities nationwide,

be held in Dallas in late January, 1949. Each of the twelve schools was to draft a constitution for a national organization and take it to the Dallas convention.

Representatives from thirteen schools collaborated in Dallas and wrote a constitution officially establishing the National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association (NIRA) on February 1, 1949. Charlie Rankin of Texas A&M University was appointed acting president. The main purposes of the association, as Bruce (1949: 21) noted, were "to promote intercollegiate rodeoing on a national scale, and work toward this by bringing national recognition to this activity as an organized and standard college activity; to promote the highest type of conduct and sportsmanship at the various rodeos by setting up standards to be met; to increase and maintain interest of the college students in rodeos and other functions of the West."

The first national finals intercollegiate rodeo was held from April 9 to 11, 1949, in conjunction with the Grand National Junior Livestock Exposition at the San Francisco Cow Palace. Fourteen schools from nine Western states fielded rodeo teams and competed in bareback bronc riding, saddle bronc riding, bull riding, calf roping, steer wrestling, and wild cow milking events. The championship team was Sul Ross State, which had accumulated a total of 345 points over the three day period. Following Sul Ross was California Polytechnic (300 points), the University of Wyoming (235 points), New Mexico A&M (225 points), the University of New Mexico (190 points), Colorado A&M (165 points), Oklahoma A&M (165 points), and Texas A&M (110 points). The remaining schools in the scoring included: Montana State, Texas Tech, Fresno State, Kansas State, Arizona State,

and Pierce College. Among the corporate sponsors donating awards, Levi Strauss and Company presented a Perpetual Trophy to the winning team.

Following the finals, an NIRA convention was held in Denver on April 14 and 15, 1949, to revise the constitution and elect national officers. At the meeting, Texas A&M University's Charlie Rankin was elected president. Furthermore, the western states were organized into three regions -- the Southern, the Rocky Mountain, and the Pacific and Northwest. The Southern Region included affiliated rodeo clubs at schools in Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and Louisiana; the Rocky Mountain Region included those in Colorado, Kansas, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska; and the Pacific and Northwest Region included those in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Nevada (Bruce 1949). Dick Kelly of New Mexico A&M University, Perry Clay of the University of Wyoming, and J.H. Foss of Washington State University were chosen to represent their respective regions.

As of June 1949, twenty-eight college rodeo clubs had joined the NIRA (Bruce 1949). In 1958, the NIRA had fifty-five affiliated rodeo clubs (Schauf 1958). With the exception of an organization known as the American College Rodeo Association (ACRA), the National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association has been the sole organizer of intercollegiate rodeo on the national level. The short-lived ACRA was comprised of rodeo clubs from North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and the eastern half of Oregon that had split from the NIRA, and vowed to dismantle only after immediate changes were made in the NIRA (see Porter 1960).

The organizational characteristics of contemporary collegiate rodeo are reported in Appendix B with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. There are eleven standard events in NIRA rodeo competition for which points are awarded -- five men's events, three women's events, and one men's/women's event. Men's events include: bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, and steer wrestling. Women's events include: barrel racing, breakaway calf roping, and goat tying. Team roping is the one event in which men and women can compete together. At the end of the school year, qualifying teams and individuals meet at the College National Finals Rodeo (CNFR) to determine the national champions. In order to qualify for the team competition at the CNFR, teams must place either first or second in the final regional standings, based on the total points accumulated at the ten regional rodeos. Individuals also must have placed first or second in the final standings in an event or the all-around to qualify for the CNFR. Both team champions and individual champions are determined by points won at the CNFR.

Currently, the NIRA is divided into 11 regions as shown in Table 4. At the end of the 1994-1995 academic year, individual student membership in the NIRA totaled 3,196, among 133 participating collegiate rodeo clubs. Basic membership requirements include: attending an accredited institution of post secondary education, enrollment in at least 12 credit hours each semester (9 of which must be academic credits), and maintaining at least a 2.0 grade point average. Students are eligible to purchase four NIRA membership cards over a six-year period from the date of their high school graduation.

Table 4. Regions of the National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association

Regions	Recognized Rodeo Clubs at Schools in:
Big Sky Region	Montana, and Northwest Community College in Powell, Wyoming
Central Plains Region	Kansas, Oklahoma, and the northwest corner of Missouri, west of Interstate 35
Central Rocky Mountain Region	Wyoming, Colorado, and Chadron State College in Chadron, Nebraska
Grand Canyon Region	Arizona, and the University of Nevada--Las Vegas, New Mexico State University, San Juan College in Farmington, New Mexico, and Western New Mexico in Silver City, New Mexico
Great Plains Region	North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin
Northwest Region	Washington, Oregon, northern Idaho
Ozark Region	Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Georgia, and northern and eastern Louisiana
Rocky Mountain Region	Utah and southern Idaho
Southern Region	Eastern Texas (all schools east of Interstate 35) and western Louisiana
Southwest Region	New Mexico and western Texas (all schools west of Interstate 35)
West Coast Region	California and Nevada

The stated purposes of the National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association have remained almost unchanged. They are to:

- promote intercollegiate rodeo on a national scale as an organized, standard collegiate sport;
- establish and maintain an operating code for intercollegiate competition;
- promote collegiate rodeo as a collegiate sport representing an educational institution on individual campuses throughout the nation; and
- encourage prospective college students to enroll in the various institutions of higher education represented in the membership of the NIRA (NIRA 1995: 1).

High School Rodeo

Organized high school rodeo had its beginnings in Hallettsville, Texas. School superintendent and rodeo contestant Claude Mullins noticed that many students had an interest in rodeo, and, along with help from attorney Alton Allen and politician Leon Kahanek, organized the first state high school rodeo in June, 1947. One hundred Texas high school students participated as others had to be turned away.

The following year, organizers in New Mexico also staged a similar event for high school students. By 1949, other states were holding high school rodeos, thus creating the need to determine national champions. On August 25-27, 1949, the problem was solved when the first national high school championship rodeo was held in Hallettsville, Texas.

In 1950, a second national high school championship rodeo was held in Santa Rosa, New Mexico, from August 11 to 13. The following year, the National Championship High School Rodeo Association (NCHSRA) was organized, with Texas, New Mexico, Montana,

Louisiana, and South Dakota as charter-member states. In May of 1961, the NCHSRA was incorporated as a non-profit organization and became known as the National High School Rodeo Association (NHSRA). The original charter-member states included: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming (NHSRA 1995). In 1961, two hundred and eighty contestants from those 20 states competed at the National Championship Rodeo in Douglas, Wyoming. By 1974, membership in the NHSRA represented 28 U.S. states and 2 Canadian provinces (Livingston 1974). Currently, the National High School Rodeo Association has approximately 12,500 members in 38 states and 4 Canadian provinces as shown in Table 5. NHSRA rules state that there can only be one member association from any one state or province, and that all member associations must be state- or province-wide (NHSRA 1995).

Claude Mullins founded high school rodeo not to produce rodeo performers, but to develop character among our country's youth by promoting sportsmanship, horsemanship, and scholarship, and encouraging them to stay in school. Today the goals of the NHSRA reflect the standards that Mullin's set in 1947. Among the 12 stated purposes and aims of the NHSRA, the first 7 are to:

- maintain order and standards set up by the National High School Rodeo Association among members at their functions. The National High School Rodeo Association, Inc. is organized exclusively for charitable and educational purposes;

- promote high school rodeo on a National scale and work toward this by bringing national recognition to this activity for students who are under 20 at the first of the National High School Rodeo year and are or have been enrolled in the 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th, grade the year just preceding the National High School Finals Rodeo the contestant is entering, as long as

Table 5. National High School Rodeo Association Membership

United States				Canada
Alabama	Indiana	Montana	South Carolina	Alberta
Arizona	Iowa	Nebraska	South Dakota	British Columbia
Arkansas	Kansas	Nevada	Tennessee	Manitoba
California	Kentucky	New Mexico	Texas	Saskatchewan
Colorado	Louisiana	North Carolina	Utah	
Florida	Michigan	North Dakota	Virginia	
Georgia	Minnesota	Ohio	Washington	
Hawaii	Mississippi	Oklahoma	Wisconsin	
Idaho	Missouri	Oregon	Wyoming	
Illinois		Pennsylvania		

they have met their grade requirements, even if they have graduated in the middle of the year, or have attended school on half-days, they will be eligible to compete in the National High School Rodeo through National High School Finals Rodeo;

- promote the highest type of conduct and sportsmanship at the various rodeos by setting up standards to be met to reach this end;
- keep the Western heritage alive in America;
- promote closer relationship among the people interested in this activity and the organizations they represent, and promote the humane treatment of animals;
- increase and maintain interest of the high school student in rodeos and other functions of the nation; and
- encourage any student to continue in school as a regularly enrolled student, and improve his/her education (see NHSRA 1995: 1-3).

In Appendix B, the organizational characteristics of the NHSRA are presented with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. There are twelve standard events in the NHSRA -- five boys' events, five girls' events, and two coed events. Cowboys' events include: bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, and steer wrestling. Cowgirls' events include: barrel racing, pole bending, goat tying, breakaway roping, and the queen contest. The coed events include team roping and cutting. The top four contestants in each event at the local level qualify for the National High School Finals Rodeo (NHSFR). In the queen contest, however, only one contestant from each local level can qualify for the NHSFR. The NHSRA does not offer cash awards to event winners. Instead, students compete for scholarships and prizes donated by major corporate sponsors. Each year at the NHSFR, students compete for college scholarships totaling in excess of $106,000.

Senior Rodeo

Throughout the 1970s, individuals and state organizations began producing "old timers" rodeos. In May of 1979, individuals from Montana, Nebraska, and South Dakota held a meeting in Denver to discuss plans for organizing old timers rodeo on a national level. Among those present was Stan McKilip of Nebraska, who is regarded as the originator of old timers rodeo. At the first meeting, the National Old Timers Rodeo Association (NOTRA) was established for cowboys and cowgirls over the age of forty. Also, plans were begun for a national finals rodeo to be held in Las Vegas in the fall.

A second meeting was held the following month in Las Vegas, with delegate from seven state associations present. Qualifying contestants from those seven states -- Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming -- would be eligible for the first finals in October of 1979.

In 1993, the organization's name was changed to the National Senior Pro Rodeo Association (NSPRA). Currently, the NSPRA has approximately 1,500 members. The stated purposes of the NSPRA are to:

- act benevolently and charitably;
- promote rodeo as an enjoyable sport in the lives of those who participate;
- protect the older cowboy and cowgirl who no longer makes rodeo their livelihood but yet likes to rodeo as a sport or hobby;
- promote the welfare of the members and increase the number of members hereto;
- promote more rodeos and to strive for the betterment of conditions and rules governing all rodeos and rodeo events;

- o cooperate with the management of all association approved rodeos to attain better and faster rodeos;
- o insure that all members' entry fees are added to the respective purses in which they have entered; and
- o publish information advertising and reporting rodeos: dates, prize money, results, standings, and other particulars of interest to members (NSPRA 1996: 16).

The organizational characteristics of the NSPRA are presented in Appendix B with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. Senior rodeo contestants compete in 8 standard events -- six of which are for men, one for women, and one for both men and women. Men's events include: bareback bronc riding (7 second ride), saddle bronc riding (7 second ride), bull riding (7 second ride), steer wrestling, calf roping, and team roping. Women compete in the ladies barrel race, and with men in ribbon roping. In the bareback bronc, saddle bronc, and bull riding events, all contestants compete in one age category, 40 and over, for the same prize money. Points, however, in those three riding events are awarded to the top six contestants in two age groups: 40-50 and 50 and over. Contestants in the steer wrestling event compete for prize money and points in two age groups, 40-50 and 50 and over. The remaining four events consist of three age categories: 40-50, 50-60, and 60 and older. Purse money is divided equally among the age groups, and points are awarded to the top six contestants in each category.

At the end of each rodeo season, the NSPRA holds the National Senior Pro Rodeo Finals (NSPRF) to determine event champions and name a men's and women's all-around champion in each age category.[6] The top 30 contestants in the standings of each age

[6] Points won by men in ribbon roping do not count towards the all-around title.

category in the timed events, with the exception of steer wrestling which is limited to the top 20, and the combined top 20 contestants in the riding events are eligible to enter the finals, provided certain requirements have been met. Requirements include participation in at least five sanctioned rodeos and the accumulation of at least ten points over the course of the season.

Gay Rodeo

The first gay rodeo was staged on October 2, 1976, in Reno, Nevada. It was sponsored by the Reno gay community as a means to raise funds for the Muscular Dystrophy Association. From 1977 through 1984, the National Reno Gay Rodeo continued as a charitable fund-raising event, attracting contestants from gay communities.

In 1981, Wayne Jakino and Ron Jesser, along with seven other men in Colorado, formed the first formal gay rodeo organization, the Colorado Gay Rodeo Association (CGRA), to ensure that their state would be well represented the following year in Reno. At the National Reno Gay Rodeo in 1982, forty-three contestants, or two-thirds of the total number of entries, were from the state of Colorado. That year, members of the CGRA, along with contestants from other states, began to push for a quality rodeo with standardized rules. In June of 1983, a second gay rodeo organization, the Texas Gay Rodeo Association (TGRA), was formed. It was followed in 1984 by the formation of two other gay rodeo association -- the Golden State Gay Rodeo Association (GSGRA) and the Arizona Gay Rodeo Association (AGRA).

In January of 1985, representatives from the four state associations met in Phoenix to discuss plans for a national organization. Two months later at a meeting in Denver the four organizations formed the International Gay Rodeo Association (IGRA). In September, 1985, the IGRA held its first annual convention in Denver, with the four founding state associations represented, along with the newly formed Oklahoma Gay Rodeo Association (OGRA). Wayne Jakino was elected as the first IGRA president.

Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, the IGRA and the concept of gay rodeo experienced tremendous growth and change. State and regional gay rodeo organizations began to form nationwide, and quickly became member associations of the IGRA. At the third-annual IGRA convention in 1987, nine member associations were represented, and they were divided into two divisions. Members agreed that as more associations joined the IGRA, new divisions would be added to accommodate them. As shown in Table 6, the IGRA is currently comprised of 21 member associations consisting of 25 states, Washington D.C., and 2 Canadian provinces, which are divided among 4 Divisions. Individual membership in the IGRA exceeds 4,000. The IGRA recognizes only one association per state, territory, or province.

The organizational characteristics of the International Gay Rodeo Association are presented in Appendix B with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. A standard IGRA rodeo includes 13 events divided into four categories -- rough stock, roping, speed, and camp events. Rough stock events include: bull riding (6 second ride), steer riding (6 second ride), bareback bronc riding (6 second ride), and chute dogging. Roping events include: team roping, mounted breakaway calf roping, and calf roping on

Table 6. Divisions and Member Associations of the International Gay Rodeo Association

Divisions	States/Provinces
DIVISION 1	
Golden State Gay Rodeo Association (GSGRA)	California
Nevada Gay Rodeo Association (NGRA)	Nevada
Northwest Gay Rodeo Association (NWGRA)	Washington, Oregon, Idaho, British Columbia
DIVISION 2	
Arizona Gay Rodeo Association (AGRA)	Arizona
Alberta Rockies Gay Rodeo Association (ARGRA)	Alberta
Big Sky Gay Rodeo Association (BSGRA)	Montana
Colorado Gay Rodeo Association (CGRA)	Colorado
New Mexico Gay Rodeo Association (NMGRA)	New Mexico
Utah Gay Rodeo Association (UGRA)	Utah
DIVISION 3	
Diamond State Rodeo Association (DSRA)	Arkansas
Heartland Gay Rodeo Association (HGRA)	Nebraska, Iowa
Kansas Gay Rodeo Association (KGRA)	Kansas
Missouri Gay Rodeo Association (MGRA)	Missouri
Oklahoma Gay Rodeo Association (OGRA)	Oklahoma
Texas Gay Rodeo Association (TGRA)	Texas
DIVISION 4	
Atlantic States Gay Rodeo Association (ASGRA)	Virginia, Maryland, Washington D.C.
Illinois Gay Rodeo Association (ILGRA)	Illinois
Michigan International Gay Rodeo Association (MIGRA)	Michigan
North Star Gay Rodeo Association (NSGRA)	Minnesota, Wisconsin
Pennsylvania Gay Rodeo Association (PGRA)	Pennsylvania
Southeast Gay Rodeo Association (SEGRA)	Georgia

foot. Speed events include: barrel race, flag race, and pole bending. Camp events include: steer decorating, goat dressing, and wild drag race. Males and females compete together in all events. However, they are judged separately in all events except in team events, which includes the three camp events and team roping. At the end of the rodeo season, the top 5 contestants in each Division in each event are invited to compete in the IGRA Rodeo Finals. Event champions and both the all-around cowboy and all-around cowgirl are determined based on points earned at the IGRA Rodeo Finals.

The stated purpose of the IGRA is "the fostering of national and international amateur rodeo and other equestrian competition and related arts, crafts, and activities to develop amateur athletes and activities for such competition and other activities which encourage the education on or preservation of 'Country-Western' lifestyle heritage, such as dance" (IGRA 1996: 1). Consequently, the IGRA holds an international country/western dance competition in conjunction with the annual convention.

Military Rodeo

World War II offered rodeo producers a lucrative new field of operation. Beginning in 1942, wartime rodeos were successfully staged as a means of entertainment for U.S. and allied troops at military bases all over the world (see Deaton 1952; Fredriksson 1985; Westermeier 1946, 1947). After the war, military rodeo continued, as service camps primarily in the western United States, produced rodeos for various purposes. In 1949, for example, the marines at Camp Pendleton, California, staged the first of a number of fund-raising rodeos for the Navy Relief Society (Upjohn 1958).

Currently, the Military Rodeo Cowboys Association (MRCA), which was organized in 1989, is the only all-military rodeo cowboys association. The organizational characteristics of the approximately 300 member MRCA are presented in Appendix B with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. MRCA contestants must be of active duty status, active reserve status, retired from active duty, or a dependent of any active duty or retired member of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, National Guard, or Coast Guard. Standard MRCA events include: bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, steer wrestling, chute dogging, team tying, and barrel racing. Women can compete in all events; however, they generally participate only in barrel racing.

Youth Rodeo

Although independent junior rodeos had been staged for decades, it was not until the early 1950s that organized youth rodeo associations began to form. At that time, the National Championship High School Rodeo Association was the only formal youth rodeo organization which addressed the concerns of junior contestants. Membership in the NCHSRA was limited, however, to high school students who competed at state championship rodeos and then at the national high school championship. Therefore, junior cowboys and cowgirls not yet in high school and those who competed in non-NCHSRA high school rodeos were excluded from the benefits provided by the national association. In 1952 two junior rodeo associations were organized to fill the recognized need in youth rodeo. That year the National Little Britches Rodeo Association (NLBRA) was formed in

Littleton, Colorado, and the American Junior Rodeo Association (AJRA) was started in Levelland, Texas.

The organizational characteristics of six youth rodeo associations are reported in Appendix C with an "X" indicating the presence of a characteristic. In addition to the above mentioned NLBRA and the AJRA, the following four youth rodeo organizations are examined: Central Texas Youth Rodeo Association (CTYRA), Midsouth Youth Rodeo Cowboys Association (MRCA), Pineywoods Youth Rodeo Association (PYRA), and Wyoming Junior Rodeo Association (WJRA). All persons who meet the requirements specified in the by-laws of each youth rodeo association are eligible for membership. Two eligibility requirements for contestants in all sample youth rodeo associations include marital status and age. Membership is open to any boy or girl who has never been married or annulled and meets the following age requirements: AJRA and PYRA -- 19 years of age and under; CTYRA -- 20 years of age and under; MRCA -- 16 years of age and under; NLBRA -- ages 8 through 18; and WJRA -- 8th grade and under, but not over 15 years of age.

The standard events included at rodeos sanctioned by these youth associations are reported in Table 7. Youth events are organized into gender and age categories, and the breakdown of each per association is presented in Appendix D. The youth associations examined include both riding and timed events at their rodeos, except for the PYRA which only includes timed contests.

Table 7. Standard Rodeo Events of Six Youth Rodeo Associations

Events	Youth Rodeo Associations[1]					
	AJRA	CTYRA	MRCA	NLBRA	PYRA	WJRA[2]
Bareback bronc riding	X			X		
Breakaway roping	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bull riding	X	X	X	X		
Calf riding		X	X			
Calf roping	X	X	X	X	X	
Chute dogging		X	X			
Cloverleaf barrel race	X	X	X	X	X	X
Flag race				X		
Goat ribbon pulling		X				
Goat tail tying						X
Goat tying	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pole bending	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ribbon roping	X	X	X	X	X	
Saddle bronc riding	X			X		
Speed race					X	
Steer riding	X	X	X	X		X
Steer wrestling	X	X		X	X	
Straightaway barrel race					X	
Team roping	X	X	X	X	X	X
Trail course				X		

[1] X indicates standard rodeo event.

[2] AJRA (American Junior Rodeo Association); CTYRA (Central Texas Youth Rodeo Association); MRCA (Midsouth Youth Rodeo Cowboys Association); NLBRA (National Little Britches Rodeo Association); PYRA (Pineywoods Youth Rodeo Association); WJRA (Wyoming Junior Rodeo Association).

Black Rodeo

Black cowboys played a significant role in the Old West. Estimates show that between 5,000 and 8,000 black cowboys rode the range during the late nineteenth century (Durham and Jones 1965, 1966; Jordan 1994; Katz 1987; Porter 1969; Watriss 1980). Two of the eight cowboys in a typical trail crew were usually black (Katz 1987). Most were former slaves who had mastered the skills of roping and riding before they became free men. Still others had journeyed westward after emancipation in search of a new life.

Black cowhands were renowned for their horsemanship. Watriss (1980) reported that black cowboys often broke the horses that their white comrades would not touch. After the cattle drives had ended, a number of black cowboys, the most notable of whom being Bill Pickett, joined the wild west shows, while others planned to take their extraordinary skills to the rodeo arenas. However, during the early years of the twentieth century, *de facto* discrimination and lack of money barred many blacks from rodeo competition.

Although there was never a policy of institutional racism in the CTA/RCA, by the mid-1940s, blacks, along with females and Hispanics, nearly disappeared from mainstream rodeo (Ehringer 1993; LeCompte 1993). To combat that situation, black cowboys began staging their own rodeos. In 1947, for example, Willie (Smokey) Lornes, a professional black rodeo cowboy, staged an all-black rodeo in Denver. Lornes staged the rodeo intentionally "to help some of the colored cowboys get a start and prove that the white people weren't the only ones to be able to successfully put on a show" (Stewart and Ponce 1986: 190). That same year, a group of black ranchers and rodeo cowboys in Houston

formed the country's first black cowboy organization, the Negro Cowboys Rodeo Association (Watriss 1980; Weston 1985). Before it dissolved, the association sanctioned and produced all-black rodeos on a circuit which included small towns in Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, and also the big arenas in San Antonio and Fort Worth (Watriss 1980). The Negro Cowboys Rodeo Association, along with other early black organizations such as the Colored Rodeo Association of Denver and the Southwestern Colored Cowboys Association, developed as a response to an underlying racism in mainstream rodeo that kept most blacks from competing with whites.

Today, the sole producer of large-scale, all-black rodeo is the Bill Pickett Invitational Rodeo, headquartered in Aurora, Colorado. Several unsuccessful attempts were made at contacting the office; therefore, the organizational characteristics of the all-black association are not included in this study. However, an analysis of Cleo Hearn's predominately black rodeo featuring "cowboys of color" provides insight into the organization of black rodeo. At Cowboys of Color Invitational Rodeos, black, Indian, and Hispanic cowboys compete in bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, and steer wrestling, while the cowgirls compete in barrel racing. Currently, Cleo has approximately 1,100 members on his invitational list, and produces between 7 and 10 rodeos each year.

Indian Rodeo

Native American participation in competitive rodeo began during the range-cattle era of the late 1800s, when Indian cowboys rode and worked alongside Anglo, Mexican,

and black cowhands. Around the turn of the century, Indian cowboys competed in rodeos, and at least one or more were listed among the money winners at nearly every big contest (see Hoofs and Horns 3(6): 12, November 1933). By the 1920s, when mainstream rodeo was becoming engulfed in commercialism, all-Indian rodeo had developed on the reservations primarily as a community and a family affair. Rodeos on the Navajo reservation provided, for example, extended families the opportunity to gather and tell stories, and compete in old Native games and events such as the chicken pull, races among women, and dancing (Iverson 1994). Enthusiasm for rodeo soon swept across the reservations, and by the 1950s Native rodeo had become the main type of entertainment on the Dakota reservations for young Indians (Koller 1953).

A group of Navajo rodeo cowboys is credited with the formation of the first all-Indian rodeo organization, the All-Indian Rodeo Cowboys Association (AIRCA), in the 1950s. Differences in the literature exist with regard to the year of formation of the AIRCA. Dubin (1989) noted that this all-Indian rodeo association was established in 1955. Iverson (1994), on the other hand, noted that the formation of the AIRCA dates to 1958. Representatives of the AIRCA were contacted in order to determine the association's year of formation. However, all attempts were futile.

Today, the AIRCA is one of thirteen independent regional all-Indian rodeo cowboy associations throughout the United States and Canada, as shown in Table 8, that participates in the Indian National Finals Rodeo (INFR). The first finals was held in 1976 in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in conjunction with the American Bicentennial celebration. In 1995, at the 20th annual INFR in Rapid City, South Dakota, the top two regional qualifiers

in the eight standard events -- bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, steer wrestling, team roping, ladies barrel racing, and ladies breakaway roping -- competed for over $150,000 in prize money and awards (INFR 1995). Major corporate sponsors such as Wrangler, Copenhagen/Skoal, Dodge, Tony Lama, and Resistol Hats, along with local sponsors, including Sodak Gaming, Rapid City Visitors Bureau, and the State of South Dakota Tourism, all contributed to what so far has been the largest purse in the history of Indian rodeo (*ibid*).

Table 8. Independent Regional Indian Rodeo Associations That Participate in the Indian National Finals Rodeo

All Indian Rodeo Association of Oklahoma
All Indian Rodeo Cowboys Association
Eastern Indian Rodeo Association
Great Plains Indian Rodeo Association
Indian Rodeo Cowboys Association
Navajo Nation Rodeo Cowboy Association
North American Native Cowboy Association
Prairie Indian Rodeo Association
Rocky Mountain Indian Rodeo Association
Southwest Indian Rodeo Association
United Indian Rodeo Association
Western Indian Rodeo & Exhibition
Western States Indian Rodeo Association

Prison Rodeo

The concept of prison rodeo has its humble beginnings in Huntsville, Texas, where the Texas Department of Corrections staged the first such venture at the penitentiary

ballpark in the fall of 1931. Warden Lee Simmons, along with a handful of men, originally planned the rodeo as a new form of recreation and entertainment for the inmates and employees. News of the upcoming event spread throughout the community, and a small group of enthusiastic townspeople gathered outside the prison to watch (Boyington 1955; Texas Department of Corrections 1979). Each year thereafter, public interest in the rodeo grew. By 1937, a lumber grandstand had been erected, and an admission fee of 50 cents was charged (Davis 1966). A new arena, constructed with prison-made bricks and inmate labor, was completed in 1950 (Texas Department of Corrections 1979), and soon afterwards annual attendance figures exceeded 100,000 (Boyington 1955).

From 1931 to 1986, with the exception of the canceled show in 1943 due to the war, the Texas Prison Rodeo was staged annually. Early rodeo events included inmate bareback bronc riding, saddle bronc riding, bull riding, wild cow milking, cow belling, bulldogging, goat roping, and wild mare milking. Soon other inmate events such as the "mad scramble" and "hard money," events unique to prison rodeo, were included on the program. Barrel racing for freeworld cowgirls was introduced in 1961 (Texas Department of Corrections 1980), and then in 1972, a greased pig sacking and a calf scramble -- both events for inmate women -- were added to the rodeo agenda (Texas Department of Corrections 1979). Throughout the rodeo's existence, additional activities have included: professional country and western entertainment, along with inmate country and western bands, drill teams, specialty acts, craft shops, and a wanted poster booth (Texas Department of Corrections 1979, 1980).

In addition to Texas, state penitentiaries in other states, such as Mississippi, Louisiana, Arizona, and Oklahoma, have staged rodeos over the years. Among that group, Louisiana and Oklahoma are the only two state prisons currently producing annual rodeos. The rodeo events from the 1995 Oklahoma State Penitentiary Outlaw Rodeo and the 1995 Angola Prison Rodeo are listed in Table 9. Last year, 1995, marked the 31st anniversary of the Angola Prison Rodeo in Angola, Louisiana. The Louisiana State Penitentiary's inmate rodeo, which is billed as the "Wildest Show in the South," annually draws nearly 20,000 spectators and generates approximately $240,000 in revenue (Glover and Nelson 1995). The Oklahoma State Penitentiary, on the other hand, staged its first rodeo in McAlester in 1940. Performances were held through 1943, at which time the rodeo was discontinued. A few years later, however, after C.P. Burford became warden in 1947, the rodeo was started again, and by 1956 estimated annual attendance reached 55 to 60 thousand.

Proceeds at both prison rodeos are used to supplement state appropriated monies. In Angola, for example, all proceeds go into the Inmate Welfare Fund (IWF), which pays for items not covered by the state budget. The IWF purchases books and word processors for the prison law library, augments the prison recreation budget, and pays for other items that benefit the inmates (Louisiana State Penitentiary 1995).

Ranch Rodeo

Ranching still exists as a way of life for some in the American West, and the closest epitome of the traditional cowboy in modern society is the working ranch cowboy. Beginning in the early 1980s, communities throughout Texas and the Southwest began

Table 9. Rodeo Events at the 1995 Oklahoma State Penitentiary (OSP) Outlaw Rodeo and the 1995 Angola Prison Rodeo

OSP Outlaw Rodeo	**Angola Prison Rodeo**
Inmates' Events:	Inmates' Events:
Mad scramble	Bust out
Bareback bronc riding	Bareback bronc riding
Tub ride	Wild horse race
Wild horse race	Bulldogging
Double mugging	Buddy pick-up
Bull riding	Bull riding
Money the hard way	Wild cow milking
	Guts & glory
WPRA Event:	WPRA Event:
Barrel racing	Barrel racing
PRCA Events:	
Calf roping	
Steer wrestling	
Steer roping	

staging successful ranch rodeos, rodeos with organizational characteristics different from the mainstream for working ranch cowhands. Although the organization of ranch rodeos vary from community to community and state to state, they generally pit teams of working ranch hands against each other in events such as team penning, calf branding, and double mugging, events resembling their daily ranch chores.

Organizational characteristics of two annual ranch rodeos -- the 1995 Kansas Championship Ranch Rodeo and the 1995 Texas Ranch Roundup -- are reported in Table 10. Ranch participation at both rodeos is by invitation only. Eligibility criteria require that

Table 10. Organizational Characteristics of Two 1995 Ranch Rodeos

Rodeo	Participants	Events
Texas Ranch Roundup	R.A. Brown Ranch	Ranch bronc riding[1]
	Burnett (6666) Ranches	Team roping
	Green Land & Cattle Company	Wild cow milking
	Johnson Ranches	Team penning
	Kokernot 06 Ranch	Team branding
	Moorhouse Ranch Co.	Wild horse race
	Pitchfork Land & Cattle Co.	Ranch cookin'[2]
	Renderbrook-Spade Ranch	Ranch talent[3]
	W.T. Waggoner Estate	
Kansas Championship Ranch Rodeo	Adcock Cattle Company	Bronc riding[1]
	Christiansen Ranch	Cattle doctoring
	Circle Land and Cattle Corp.	Wild cow milking
	Dewey Ranch	Calf branding
	Diamond R Ranch	Ranch cutting
	Kuhn Ranch	Double mugging
	Les Cooper Cattle Company	
	Mashed -O- Ranch	
	Rolling Hills Ranch	
	S-Bar Ranch	
	Tate Ranch	
	Warner Ranch	

[1] Contestants must use a standard stock saddle and "ride as ride can" for 8 seconds.

[2] This competition is broken into four categories: painting, photography, crafts, and music.

[3] This competition is broken into four categories: meat, vegetable, bread, and dessert.

competitors at the Kansas Championship Ranch Rodeo be full-time Kansas ranch employees, owners, family members, and/or part-time employees who have worked for the ranch for at least one year, or have established minimum earnings with the rodeo committee (Kansas Championship Ranch Rodeo 1995). On the other hand, contestants and alternates at the Texas Ranch Roundup must be full-time employees of current working Texas ranches, which have met the following eligibility criteria: each ranch must still belong to the founding family and have historical significance (Texas Ranch Roundup 1995). Table 11 includes a list of the original participating ranches and the additional ranches that have been invited to partake since the first Texas Ranch Roundup in 1981.

Table 11. Original Participants in the Texas Ranch Roundup

Ranch	Location
R.A. Brown Ranch	Throckmorton
Coldwater Cattle Company	Borger
Cowan & Son Circle Bar Ranch	Seymour
Double U Ranch	Post
Lewis Ranches	Clarendon
Moorhouse Ranch Co.	Benjamin
Pitchfork	Guthrie
Renderbrook-Spade Ranch	Colorado City
Scharbauer Cattle Company	Midland
Swenson Ranches	Stamford
Tongue River & Spur Headquarters	Dumont & Spur
U Lazy S Ranch	Post
W.T. Waggoner Estate	Vernon

As suggested, each ranch rodeo operates independently with its own set of events and rules. In recent years, however, attempts have been made to establish a national organization of ranch rodeos (Arnold 1985). The latest attempt, and what appears to be the most successful to date, is the Working Ranch Cowboys Association (WRCA). In March of 1995, in Amarillo, Texas, the WRCA was formed with the intention "to promote ranching and agriculture on a national level and educate the American people to the fact that this is our heritage and a valuable way of life to preserve" (Kansas Championship Ranch Rodeo 1995). One way the WRCA plans to educate the public about working ranch cowboys and the Western lifestyle is through a nationally sponsored and televised championship ranch rodeo. The WRCA is planning to invite the top teams from sanctioned ranch rodeos across the country to compete in a first-ever World Championship Ranch Rodeo, which is scheduled for November 14, 15, and 16, 1996, in Amarillo, Texas. According to the WRCA, the six events planned for the World Championship Ranch Rodeo include: saddle bronc riding, team doctoring, wild cow milking, team branding, and wild horse race.[7]

[7] A WRCA sanctioned rodeo must include 5 of the 6 events. WRCA approved rodeos are not required to follow the same rules as the World Championship Ranch Rodeo, and they may include other events in addition to those listed by the WRCA.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

DISCUSSION

Impromptu roping, riding, and racing affairs and western pageantries whetted the public's appetite for a competitive cowboy sport. Historical data revealed that the sport of rodeo lacked centralized control throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. Each rodeo was conducted individually with its own rules and regulations, and there was no assurance beyond the spoken word of organizers that the winners would be paid. As a response to these and other extant concerns, rodeo managers formed in 1929 the Rodeo Association of America to standardize rules and the conditions under which rodeos were held. Rodeo cowboys organized in 1936 the Cowboys Turtle Association to further protect the interests of the contestants. These two associations laid the foundation for what has become known as mainstream American rodeo.

Shortly thereafter, new types of rodeo with "new" functions began to evolve. An analysis of the evolution of the various types of rodeo from an epigenetic perspective showed that each had functional elements that distinguished it from its mainstream professional counterpart. These elements were responsible for the initiation and institutionalization of each type. Several types originated to combat the latent issues of age, racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination in early rodeo. Others developed to satisfy the urge to compete and/or encourage participation in the sport by certain groups in society.

Ideological, economic, and social functions permeate contemporary American rodeo. The symbolic content of rodeo is embedded in the concept of agrarianism, an

ideology rooted deeply in American culture. The dissemination and mobilization of the agrarian value system in America is credited to the writings of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson's articulation of the agrarian creed nourished a belief system advocating that there is a morally virtuous quality attached to agriculture, and that *rural* life is the natural and good life (see Dalecki and Coughenour 1992). A number of studies (e.g., Buttel and Flinn 1975; Dalecki and Coughenour 1992; Flinn and Johnson 1974; Molnar and Wu 1989) have concluded that an agrarian ideology continues to be widespread among the American public.

In a study of popular images of rurality among Pennsylvania residents, Willits et al. (1990) concluded that people tend to associate positive images with rural life and reject negative images of rurality. They term this imagery the *rural mystique* "because it involves an aura of treasured and almost sacred elements" (1990: 575). Rodeo is part of the "rural mystique" and serves to preserve America's rural Western narrative. To a degree, the rural rodeo meta-narrative symbolizes what the West was, and concomitantly what our contemporary urban, industrialized society idealistically and romantically wishes it could continue to be. As a ritual (see Stoeltje 1989, 1993), rodeo perpetuates the late nineteenth-century Western frontier ideology in contemporary American society. At a deeper level, symbolic themes, such as control and lack of control over nature and the conquest of the "wild" West by culture, are manifest in rodeo (Boatright 1964; Errington 1990; Lawrence 1982).

Contemporary rodeo is big business. In fact, as early as 1936, the terms "Big-Time Business" and "Big-Time Sport" were applied to rodeo (see Clinton 1936). Professional

contestants, contract personnel, arena workers, and concessionaires may depend wholly or partially on rodeo for their earnings. Moreover, rodeo stimulates economic growth in other markets (e.g., the western apparel and the Quarter Horse industries). While most organizers have not assessed the total economic impact of rodeos on their community, several communities that host a finals rodeo have estimated its economic impact. Las Vegas estimated in 1995 that the PRCA's National Finals Rodeo produced a $24.0 million economic impact, up slightly from a $23.4 million economic impact in 1994 (telephone conversation with Terry Jicinsky, Las Vegas Convention & Visitors Authority). In 1995 Oklahoma City estimated that the IPRA's International Finals Rodeo produced a $3.0 million economic impact (telephone conversation with Stanley Draper, Jr., Oklahoma City All Sports Association). The estimated economic impact of both the 1995 Indian National Finals Rodeo on Rapid City, South Dakota, and the 1995 College National Finals Rodeo on Bozeman, Montana, were between $1.5 million and $2.0 million (telephone conversations with Julie Jensen, Rapid City Convention & Visitors Bureau, Rapid City, South Dakota, and Racene Friede, Chamber of Commerce, Bozeman, Montana). Obviously, not all communities that produce rodeos experience the level of economic impact associated with a finals rodeo.

While all rodeos share similar social functions such as sport/athletic competition, recreation/leisure, and entertainment, several types of rodeo maintain a functional niche that distinguishes them from mainstream professional rodeo. For example, aside from the functions of determining Indian champions and the all-around cowboy, the Indian National Finals Rodeo operates as a social and educational event. At the INFR, members of

different racial and ethnic groups share in Native American history and culture, attending various activities which include an Indian arts and crafts market, a pow-wow, a trade show, ceremonial dancing, and a church service. Likewise, today's black rodeos complement the now-integrated mainstream rodeo circuits. In addition to sport and entertainment functions, black rodeos are designed for educational and cultural purposes. Rodeo contestant and promoter Cleo Hearn stages his predominately black "Cowboys of Color" invitational rodeos to educate the public about the "forgotten cowboys" of the American West, and help blacks, Indians, and Hispanics who aspire to become professional rodeo cowboys gain confidence and vital experience in the arena.

CONCLUSION

Although the United States has become increasingly urbanized throughout the twentieth century, American society at large continues to identify with and endorse fundamental agrarian principles. American rodeo, which evolved from the athletic exhibitions and contests of the nineteenth-century range cowboys and the wild west shows, is one institution that fills the void in society created by the rural to urban transformation in the United States.

Before the pretentious Wild West, there was a natural, wild American West. Like all segments of nature, the Old West has been commodified. During the late 1800s, Buffalo Bill and other wild west entrepreneurs commodified gloriously romantic and glamorous versions of the American frontier. They packaged the culture of the nineteenth-century rural American West and sold their frontier-Americana fabrications, complete with longhorn

cattle, savage Indians, and heroic cowboys, to ranchless metropolitan markets on the east coast and in Europe.

In the early 1900s, the popularity of this indigenous form of American entertainment began to decline. Factors such as vaudeville, Hollywood, and new forms of transportation contributed to the demise of the wild west shows (Johnson 1994). At the same time, interest in rodeo exploded. Cowboy contests were staged at Fourth of July celebrations and county and state agricultural fairs throughout the West. As industrial attributes from the East began to infiltrate and affect Western cow towns, rodeo, with its blend of fact and imagination, was one element that linked them to their cultural heritage in a rapidly changing society. By the early 1920s, rodeo surpassed the stage of being a small-time attraction in rural Western communities, as producers and promoters, driven by economic motives, removed the cowboy sport from its regional origins and, like the wild west entrepreneurs, wrapped the rural Western epic into a marketable commodity and sold it to eastern urbanites in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York.

Although the days of free riding, open ranges, great cattle drives, and unexplored frontiers have long past, positive images about agrarian values, rural living, and the cowboy lifestyle have maintained a firm grip upon the minds and emotions of the American public. Dime novels, wild west shows, folk songs, western movies, dude ranches, and rodeos have contributed to the widespread acceptance of a rural American mystique. Contemporary rodeo packages realistic notions and romantic sentiments of the Old West, and sells the "frontier ethos" in small rural towns and major urban centers across the country. The wild West is dead, yet the *Wild West* still lives.

The purpose of this study has been to identify and describe the social organization of the different types of contemporary American rodeo, and to identify, describe, and assess the social and economic factors responsible for the epigenesis of eleven types of non-mainstream rodeo. The foregoing analysis dealt primarily with the initiation and take-off of each type of rodeo into self-sustained institutions, and each type's current organizational characteristics. A more thorough examination of the relationship between former societal movements (e.g., women's suffrage) and the institutionalization of the different types of rodeo should be conducted. Furthermore, additional quantitative and qualitative studies are needed to determine similarities and differences among the structure, functions, and possible dysfunctions of the various types of rodeo. In-depth case studies, for example, would provide valuable information on the symbolic and functional utilities of each type. Moreover, further research should address the organization of the charreada, or Mexican-style rodeo, and event-specific contests (e.g., the 1996 $2.0 million Bud Light Pro Bull Riders Tour).

Additional studies should address such important sociological issues as the demographics of rodeo contestants, the socioeconomic characteristics of rodeo contestants, supporting participants (i.e., announcers, clowns, bullfighters, arena workers, specialty-act performers) and spectators, and the attraction and kind of corporate sponsorship. An overwhelming majority of people who participate in rodeo do so as hobbyists or part-time rodeo contestants. Surveys could collect data on place of residency (rural/urban), primary occupation, annual income, and educational level of rodeo participants and spectators.

Rodeo, like other contemporary sports, has become recognized in the athletic mainstream due to an increase in media exposure and major corporate sponsorship. Qualitative research addressing the publicity, attraction, and kind of corporate sponsorship and the influence that these sponsors have upon the decisions and choices of individuals in the rodeo marketplace is needed. Economic impact studies on rodeos other than finals rodeos could provide valuable community-level data. Lastly, to the degree that contemporary rodeo enhances agrarian fundamentalist attitudes and values in American society is an empirical question and one that should be addressed.

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APPENDIX A

THE ORGANIZATION OF EIGHT PROFESSIONAL RODEO ASSOCIATIONS

Organizational Characteristics	Rodeo Associations[1]							
	CPRA	CRRA	IPRA	MRCA	NMRA	PCA	PRCA	WRA[2]
STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS								
Administrative Structure:								
Local								
State	X			X	X			X
Regional		X				X		
National								
International			X				X	
Individual membership dues	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Medical insurance			X				X	
Journal/Newsletter	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo queen		X	X			X	X	
Co-sanctions with other rodeo associations	X	X	X	X	X			X
Finals rodeo	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sponsors:								
Civic organizations (e.g., Lions Clubs, Jaycees)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Commercial (national)	X	X	X		X		X	
Commercial (regional/local)	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Activities:								
Grand entry	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Riding events	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Timed events	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Entertainment[3]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Organizational Characteristics	Rodeo Associations[1]							
	CPRA	CRRA	IPRA	MRCA	NMRA	PCA	PRCA	WRA[2]
Primary Participants:								
Contestants:								
Members	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Non-members	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Contract Personnel:								
Stock contractor	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo announcer	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo secretary	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pickup men	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Timers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Judges/Officials	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Specialty-act performers[3]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Other Participants:								
Paramedics[4]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Veterinarians[4]		X	X			X	X	
Local media	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National media	X		X				X	
Protest groups[5]			X		X	X	X	
Vendors/Concessions	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

[1] X indicate presence of characteristic.

[2] CPRA (Colorado Professional Rodeo Association); CRRA (Cowboys Regional Rodeo Association); IPRA (International Professional Rodeo Association); MRCA (Missouri Rodeo Cowboys Association); NMRA (New Mexico Rodeo Association); PCA (Professional Cowboy Association); PRCA (Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association); WRA (Wyoming Rodeo Association).

[3] Dependent upon the local committee and/or rodeo producer.

[4] X indicates associations that require paramedics and/or veterinarians to be on the ground.

[5] X indicates respondent's recollection of recent protest-group activity.

APPENDIX B

THE ORGANIZATION OF SIX NON-MAINSTREAM RODEO ASSOCIATIONS

Organizational Characteristics	Rodeo Associations[1]					
	PWRA	NIRA	NHSRA	IGRA	NSPRA	MRCA[2]
STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS						
Administrative Structure:						
Local						
State						
Regional						
National		X				
International	X		X	X	X	X
Individual membership dues	X	X	X	X	X	X
Medical insurance	X	X	X			X
Journal/Newsletter	X	X	X		X	X
Rodeo queen			X	X	X	X
Co-sanctions rodeos with other rodeo associations						X
Finals rodeo	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sponsors:						
Civic organizations (e.g., Lions Clubs, Jaycees)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Commercial (national)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Commercial (regional/local)	X	X	X	X	X	
Activities:						
Grand entry	X	X	X	X	X	X
Riding events	X	X	X	X	X	X
Timed events	X	X	X	X	X	X
Entertainment[3]	X	X	X	X	X	X

Organizational Characteristics	Rodeo Associations[1]					
	PWRA	NIRA	NHSRA	IGRA	NSPRA	MRCA[2]
Primary Participants:						
Contestants:						
Members	X	X	X	X	X	X
Non-members	X			X	X	
Contract Personnel:						
Stock contractor	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo announcer	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo secretary	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pickup men	X	X	X	X	X	X
Timers	X	X	X	X	X	X
Judges/Officials	X	X	X	X	X	X
Specialty-act performers[3]	X	X	X	X	X	X
Other Participants:						
Paramedics[4]	X	X	X	X	X	
Veterinarians[4]	X	X	X	X	X	
Local media	X	X	X	X	X	X
National media	X	X	X	X	X	
Protest groups[5]			X	X	X	X
Vendors/Concessions	X	X	X	X	X	X

[1] X indicates presence of characteristic.

[2] PWRA (Professional Women's Rodeo Association); NIRA (National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association); NHSRA (National High School Rodeo Association); IGRA (International Gay Rodeo Association); NSPRA (National Senior Pro Rodeo Association); MRCA (Military Rodeo Cowboys Association).

[3] Dependent upon the local committee and/or rodeo producer.

[4] X indicates associations that require paramedics and/or veterinarians to be on the rodeo grounds.

[5] X indicates respondent's recollection of recent protest-group activity.

APPENDIX C

THE ORGANIZATION OF SIX YOUTH RODEO ASSOCIATIONS

Organizational Characteristics	Youth Rodeo Associations[1]					
	AJRA	CTYRA	MRCA	NLBRA	PYRA	WJRA[2]
STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS						
Administrative Structure:						
Local						
State		X	X		X	X
Regional						
National	X			X		
International						
Individual membership dues	X	X	X	X	X	X
Medical insurance				X		
Journal/Newsletter	X	X		X		X
Rodeo queen	X			X		
Co-sanctions with other rodeo associations						
Finals rodeo	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sponsors:						
Civic organizations (e.g., Lions Clubs, Jaycees)	X	X		X		X
Commercial (national)	X			X		X
Commercial (regional/local)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Activities:						
Grand entry	X	X	X	X		X
Riding events	X	X	X	X		X
Timed events	X	X	X	X	X	X
Entertainment[3]	X	X	X	X		

Organizational Characteristics	Youth Rodeo Associations[1]					
	AJRA	CTYRA	MRCA	NLBRA	PYRA	WJRA[2]
Primary Participants:						
Contestants:						
Members	X	X	X	X	X	X
Non-members	X	X	X	X		X
Contract Personnel:						
Stock contractor	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo announcer	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rodeo secretary	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pickup men	X	X		X		
Timers	X	X	X	X	X	X
Judges/Officials	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clowns/Bullfighters	X	X	X	X		
Specialty-act performers[3]				X		
Other Participants:						
Paramedics[4]	X	X		X		
Veterinarians[4]						
Local media	X	X	X	X		X
National media	X	X		X		
Protest groups[5]						
Vendors/Concessions	X	X	X	X	X	X

[1] X indicates presence of characteristic.

[2] AJRA (American Junior Rodeo Association); CTYRA (Central Texas Youth Rodeo Association); MRCA (Midsouth Youth Rodeo Cowboys Association); NLBRA (National Little Britches Rodeo Association); PYRA (Pineywoods Youth Rodeo Association); WJRA (Wyoming Junior Rodeo Association).

[3] Dependent upon the local committee and/or rodeo producer.

[4] X indicates associations that require paramedics and/or veterinarians to be on the rodeo grounds.

[5] Respondents had no recollection of recent protest-group activity.

APPENDIX D

STANDARD EVENTS OF SIX YOUTH RODEO ASSOCIATIONS BY AGE AND GENDER

American Junior Rodeo Association

8 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

9-12 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Ribbon roping

9-12 Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Pole bending
- Ribbon roping
- Steer riding (8 second ride)

13-15 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Ribbon roping

13-15 Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Calf roping
- Junior bull riding (8 second ride)
- Ribbon roping

13-15 Girls/Boys
- Team roping

16-19 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Ribbon roping

16-19 Boys
- Bareback bronc riding (8 second ride)
- Bull riding (8 second ride)
- Calf roping
- Ribbon roping
- Saddle bronc riding (8 second ride)
- Steer wrestling

16-19 Girls/Boys
- Team roping

Central Texas Youth Rodeo Association

6 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

7-9 Girls
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

7-9 Boys
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

7-9 Girls/Boys
- Calf riding (6 second ride)

10-12 Girls
- Breakaway roping (12 and under)
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

10-12 Boys
- Breakaway roping (12 and under)
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Steer riding (6 second ride)

10-12 Girls/Boys
- Ribbon roping with mugger

13-15 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

13-15 Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Bull riding (8 second ride)
- Calf roping
- Chute dogging

13-15 Girls/Boys
- Ribbon roping

16-19 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

16-19 Boys
- Bull riding (8 second ride)
- Calf roping
- Steer wrestling

16-19 Girls/Boys
- Ribbon roping

All Ages (Coed)
- Team roping (header)
- Team roping (heeler)

Midsouth Youth Rodeo Cowboys Association

6 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Barrel race
- Pole bending

7-9 Girls/Boys
- Barrel race
- Breakaway roping
- Calf riding (6 second ride)
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

10-13 Girls
- Barrel race
- Breakaway roping
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

10-13 Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Calf roping
- Junior bull riding (8 second ride)
- Ribbon roping

14-16 Girls
- Barrel race
- Breakaway roping
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

14-16 Boys
- Bull riding (8 second ride)
- Calf roping
- Chute dogging
- Ribbon roping

All Ages (Coed)
- Team roping

National Little Britches Rodeo Association

8-13 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Trail course

8-13 Boys
- Bareback bronc riding (6 second ride)
- Breakaway roping
- Flag race
- Goat tying
- Steer-bull riding (6 second ride)

8-13 Girls/Boys
- Ribbon roping

14-18 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Trail course

14-18 Boys
- Bareback bronc riding (8 second ride)
- Bull riding (8 second ride)
- Calf roping
- Saddle bronc riding (8 second ride)
- Steer wrestling

14-18 Girls/Boys
- Team roping

Pineywoods Youth Rodeo Association

6 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Pole bending
- Speed race
- Straightaway barrel race

9 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Straightaway barrel race

12 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending
- Ribbon roping
- Straightaway barrel race

12 and Under Girls
- Breakaway roping

12 and Under Boys
- Breakaway roping

13-15 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

13-15 Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Calf roping
- Ribbon roping

16-19 Girls
- Breakaway roping
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

16-19 Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Calf roping
- Ribbon roping

All Ages (Coed)
- Steer wrestling
- Team roping

Wyoming Junior Rodeo Association

6 and Under (Girls/Boys)
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tail tying
- Pole bending

7-10 Girls
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

7-10 Boys
- Goat tying
- Steer riding (4 second ride)

7-10 Girls/Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Team roping

11-15 Girls
- Cloverleaf barrel race
- Goat tying
- Pole bending

11-15 Boys
- Goat tying
- Steer riding (6 second ride)

11-15 Girls/Boys
- Breakaway roping
- Team roping

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