

Women Skating on the Edge: Marketplace Performances as Ideological Edgework

CRAIG J. THOMPSON
TUBA ÜSTÜNER

This study analyzes the marketplace performances that are enacted in the field of women's flat track roller derby using the theoretical lens of gender performativity. Rather than treating the roller derby field as an autonomous enclave of gender resistance, this study focuses on the interrelationships between derby grrrls' resignifying performances of femininity and the gender constraints that have been naturalized in their everyday lives. The market-mediated nature of derby grrrls' ideological edgework enables them to challenge orthodox gender boundaries, without losing sociocultural legitimacy. This analysis casts new theoretical light on the gendered habitus and reveals key differences to the outcomes that would follow from Bourdieusian assumptions about the deployment of cultural capital in zero-sum status competitions. The concept of ideological edgework also presents a theoretical alternative to critical arguments, such as the commodity feminism thesis, that assume an inherently paradoxical and, ultimately co-opting, relationship exists between practices of countercultural resistance and marketplace performances. We further argue that ideological edgework redresses some of the conceptual ambiguities that can lead gender researchers to conflate gender performativity with social performances.

Keywords: consumer culture theory, marketplace performances, gender, consumer identity projects, the sociology of consumption, consumer resistance

"It is important to understand performativity—which is distinct from performance—through the more limited notion of resignification . . . I begin with the Foucauldian premise that power works in part through discourse and it works in part to produce and destabilize

subjects . . . So, what I'm trying to do is think about performativity as that aspect of discourse that has the capacity to produce what it names" (Butler 1994, 111).

Craig J. Thompson is the Gilbert and Helen Churchill Professor of Marketing, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 4251 Grainger Hall, 975 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53706 (cthompson@bus.wisc.edu). Tuba Üstüner is associate professor of Marketing at Colorado State University, 1278 Campus Delivery, Fort Collins, CO 80523-1278 (tuba.ustuner@colostate.edu) and also associate professor (part-time) of Marketing at Southern Denmark University, Campusvej 55, 5230 Odense M, Denmark.

The authors thank the editor, the associate editor, and the three reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions. In addition, the authors also extend their appreciation to participants in research seminars held at Royal Holloway, University of London, and the University of Southern Denmark–Odense for their provocative questions and insights.

Ann McGill and Eileen Fischer served as editor and Guliz Ger served as associate editor for this article.

Advance Access publication May 28, 2015

Consumer researchers have frequently analyzed social interactions that unfold in the marketplace as social performances organized by cultural scripts, roles, staging activities, and improvisational practices (Arnould 2005; Arnould and Price 1993; Borghini et al. 2009; Chronis, Arnould, and Hampton 2012; Deighton 1992; Deighton and Grayson 1995; Goulding and Saren 2009; Goulding et al. 2009; Kozinets et al. 2004; Peñaloza 2001; Sherry et al. 2004; Üstüner and Thompson 2012; Williams and Anderson 2005). Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model of social action and Victor Turner's (1974) writings on liminality and social drama (Giesler 2008) have provided theoretical inspiration for many of these studies. As discussed by Üstüner and Thompson (2012), however, these theoretical frameworks are not attuned to the influences that prevailing social hierarchies, status distinctions, and power relations exert

upon marketplace performances and, reciprocally, the sociocultural and ideological reverberations that can accrue from marketplace performances (i.e., societal effects that transcend liminal boundaries).

For example, consider the different mixes of brand and gender meanings manifest in the marketplace performances of a buxom and scantily clad waitress at Hooters (Jaramillo 2006) and a self-sufficient, risk-taking, motorcycle mama confidently piloting her Harley in the Sturgis rally (Martin, Schouten, and McAlexander 2006). From a conventional marketplace performance perspective, these differences would be explained as functions of the performative script, the respective balance of fantasy to reality elements that are incorporated into the performative roles, the extent to which co-creative practices are integral to the performance's success, and the types of experiences that emerge from the corresponding social interactions (Arnould and Price 1993; Deighton 1992; Kozinets et al. 2004). However, these marketplace performances also express very different ideological constructions of femininity that can serve to either reinforce or subvert conventional gender categories and distinctions and, in turn, motivate different degrees of reflexive awareness toward taken-for-granted gender norms.

Our analysis focuses on the interrelationships that arise between gender resignifications (Butler 1994) that are undertaken through marketplace performances and the broader matrix of cultural conventions, norms, symbolic distinctions, and expectations that regulate consumers' gender practices and that also shape social perceptions of legitimate (or illegitimate) ways of doing femininity and masculinity. In the theoretical vernacular of gender performativity, resignifications contest conventional gender norms and masculine–feminine binaries through parody, ironic juxtapositions, and subversions of naturalized symbolic boundaries (Butler 1990, 1993, 1997; McNay 1999a; Salih 2002). Resignifications confront orthodox gender assumptions and raise reflexive questions about the roles and behaviors that are commonly deemed to be appropriate for men and women and the social hierarchies that organize different masculinities and femininities (Bell 2006; Butler 2004; Hey 2006).

Resignifying practices, and the reflexive awareness they may generate, do not magically absolve performers or their audiences from the broader relations of power that regulate gender identities and that can impose censures upon those who diverge from a prevailing normative order. To elaborate, a consumer may engage in practices of gender resignification in a bounded marketplace setting—particularly ones that promote ritualistic deviations from dominant cultural norms and mores (Belk and Costa 1998; Goulding and Saren 2009; Goulding et al. 2009; Kates and Belk 2001; Kozinets 2002; Minahan and Cox 2007; Visconti 2008)—while still having to negotiate social pressures to, more or less, conform to a status quo gender order in other social fields (i.e., domestic/family life, work, and public

spaces such retail stores, churches, parent–teacher meetings, and so on). How do consumers who become vested in these market-mediated resignifying performances manage the disparities that may arise as they continue to participate in other social fields where a gamut of social and institutional structures encourage conformity to orthodox gender norms? And can marketplace performances, such as roller derby, play a role in facilitating consumers' reflexive efforts to reconfigure at least some aspects of their orthodox gender practices?

We investigate these interlinked questions in the context of women's flat track roller derby. Since its invention in the 1930s, the sport of roller derby has gone through many incarnations, each marked by waxing and waning periods of popularity. In the early 2000s, roller derby was again reborn as a grassroots, women-run competitive sport steeped in a third-wave feminist ethos of inclusiveness, self-accepting body politics, and ironic gender play (Crawford 2007; Groeneveld 2010; Joulwan 2007; Malick 2012; Pavlidis 2012). In roller derby bouts, competitors battle around a flat track outfitted in roller skates, fishnet stockings, short shorts, tattoos, piercings, and hair streaked in colors from the punk rock palette and brandishing an ironically named persona typically invoking a blend of sexual provocativeness and physical aggression, such as Ditta Von Terror, Femme Fatality, Lolita LeBruise, Pussy LaGore, Sin-dee Vicious, Vajenna Warrior, and Whoretopsy (all persona names from the International Rollergrrrls' master roster of skater names).

This rapidly growing and globally diffused grassroots reinvention of women's flat track roller derby has sparked a number of ethnographic and videographic studies of the identity work that women undertake through their involvement in this sport. A major interpretive motif across these ethnographies is that women, through their roller derby personas, subversively rework the ideological meanings, cultural categories, and gender norms that place feminine signifiers in a subordinated sociocultural position relative to masculine ones. These ethnographic accounts, like many other studies of consumer resistance found in the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) literature (see Izberk-Bilgin 2010 for a review), interpret the roller derby field in terms that resemble what Dholakia and Firat (2003, 154) discuss as theaters of consumption: “permeable but distinct enclaves that allow a free flow of people in and out, but maintain a fair degree of autonomy from the mainstream market culture.”

As a few illustrations of this autonomous enclave framing, Finley (2010) argues that roller derby's celebratory reclamation of pariah femininities—as exemplified by its ironic redeployments of pejorative cultural categories such as bitch, whore, and slut—is a subversive challenge to the patriarchal subordination of women and its concomitant stigmatization of female sexuality. Similarly, Carlson (2010) asserts that roller derby grrrls are contesting gender

meanings and categories that serve to disempower and marginalize women—such as those that cast women as fragile, weak, or passive objects of the male gaze—thereby exposing their ideologically contingent meanings and creating a space for the negotiation of extant gender norms. Pavlidis and Fullagar (2012, 12) proclaim that “through roller derby, women can challenge sexist assumptions or feelings of marginalisation within the social.” Pavlidis (2012, 174) analyzes roller derby as a gendered leisure space that melds potent masculine signifiers with third-wave feminist sensibilities in ways that “subvert, disrupt and ‘jam’ the cultural hegemony found in many sports and leisure practices available to women.” Malick (2012, 76) argues that roller derby bouts are carnivalesque performances that “flip expectations of what the female athlete should look like, how she should act, and how she can define her sexuality.” In much the same spirit, Peluso (2011, 45) argues that flat track roller derby is a grass roots, third-wave feminist sport that enables women to “challenge traditional femininity through their bodies” in ways that “constitute a feminist act of embodied resistance.”

Paralleling these studies of roller derby, consumer researchers have often analyzed performative spaces as relatively autonomous enclaves in which consumers-as-performers express resistance toward dominant or mainstream norms—whether in the form of middle-class consumerism (Chen 2012; Kozinets 2002; Mikkonen and Bajde 2013), conventional gender roles and expectations (Goulding and Saren 2009; Martin et al. 2006), the rationalizing and de-skilling forces of modernity (Belk and Costa 1998; Canniford and Karababa 2013), and heteronormative sexuality (Kates 2003; Visconti 2008). In these autonomous enclaves, consumers-as-performers are deemed to have both a freedom to challenge ideological meanings and norms they regard as being oppressive, dehumanizing, or societally detrimental and a temporary freedom from the social censures that would likely accompany these transgressive performances in more mainstream settings.

However, marketplace performances can exhibit different degrees of autonomy. As a case in point, someone who is travelling far from home to a performative enclave, such as the Burning Man festival in the Black Rock Desert, and reveling in the spirit (and relative anonymity) of its hyper community (Kozinets 2002) is socially and structurally distanced from the routines and social norms that govern his/her actions in everyday workplaces, neighborhood interactions, family roles, and so forth. Other types of marketplace performances may exhibit a more pronounced sense of social embeddedness and, hence, harbor sociocultural complexities that are often obscured by an autonomous enclave framing. For example, a woman who publically performs a risqué roller derby persona in a local league may also be, in other proximate social fields, a school teacher, a physician, a manager, or a parent in a teacher’s conference, settings that are all structured by gender norms that are likely

to be more culturally orthodox than those that regulate a roller derby bout.

In the small town and rural contexts we study, the audiences for these performances are generally well aware of derby grrrls’ conventional roles in the broader community. Consider the reflection from one of our participants as she recalls an early encounter with the local roller derby team during a town parade: “I realized I knew a lot of them, like I knew a couple of people I knew did roller derby, but after they got through the parade, a lady who’s a teacher at the elementary school, she sat down beside me to watch the rest of the parade and we started talking about it, and I thought of her at first as a fourth grade teacher, and then I thought of her as a fourth grade teacher who did roller derby” (Maya).

While a given performative setting may afford a reasonable degree of autonomy from the social conventions and gender norms that operate in everyday social settings, its performers (and audiences) remain situated in this broader, prevailing network of sociocultural relations and regulatory constraints. This structural condition raises theoretical questions about the interrelationships between derby grrrls’ resignifying performances and the orthodox gender norms and ideological foreclosures that are institutionalized in their everyday lives. We argue that gender performativity offers an analytic perspective that is better suited than dramaturgical frameworks for addressing the socioculturally embedded aspects of marketplace performances.

In a related theoretical vein, we show that the roller derby script is ideologically tailored to local tastes and tolerances through a market-mediated process of glocalization (Robertson 1995). Rather than denuding these resignifying meanings of their destabilizing potential, these adaptations facilitate what we characterize as ideological edgework whereby derby grrrls can performatively challenge the constraints inherent to naturalized gender norms without losing social legitimacy. We also derive a new theoretical perspective on the inter-relationships among the gendered habitus (Bourdieu 2001; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013; McNay 1999b; Paradis 2012), marketplace performances, and the social reproduction of dominant gender ideologies.

In the following sections, we first provide an overview of Butler’s conceptualization of performativity with an emphasis on its key points of theoretical distinction to the more conventional view of social performances that has gained theoretical traction in the consumer research literature. Through this comparison, we aim to circumvent the common tendency to conflate the concepts of performativity and social performances (Lloyd 2007; Salih 2002) and thereby create a framework that allows marketplace performances to be analyzed through the lens of gender performativity. Following this conceptual overview, we then analyze the gender resignifications that are enacted through derby grrrls’ marketplace performances and the reflexive consequences that ensue for these performers and their fans.

GENDER PERFORMATIVITY ≠ SOCIAL PERFORMANCE

The dramaturgical premise that social life can be analyzed as a social performance is most consistent with an agentic view of consumer identity (Brickell 2003). Consumers are presumed to have a core identity that gives rise to a set of identity goals that they pursue through impression management strategies and other forms of social signaling (Belk 2013; Belk and Costa 1998; Berger and Ward 2010; Oswald 1999; Schau and Gilly 2003). From this standpoint, individuals, much like stage actors, adopt different social roles as they move across various contexts, and their success in achieving their identity goals depends upon the caliber of their performance and their self-monitoring adaptations to the audiences' reactions (Kozinets et al. 2004). Material goods function as props that facilitate the performance and, when used effectively, enhance its credibility to both actor and audience (Belk 2013; Beverland and Farrelly 2010).

Deighton (1992) draws from this dramaturgical framework in his influential argument that social performances are foundational to consumption experiences, with a characteristic Goffmanian emphasis on the tension between perceptions of authenticity and artifice. Deighton's theoretical innovation has subsequently been developed by numerous CCT studies addressing the co-creative interactions between consumers and service providers that unfold in conventional face-to-face marketplace exchanges and, increasingly, those engaged through social media (Arnould and Price 1993; Belk 2013; Deighton and Grayson 1995; Kozinets et al. 2004; Kozinets et al. 2010; McQuarrie, Miller, and Phillips 2013; Moisio and Beruchashvili 2010; Price, Arnould, and Tierney 1995). These studies indicate that marketplace performances enable consumers-as-performers to realize new modes of self-expressiveness, expand their social networks (Arnould and Price 2000; Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993) and incorporate treasured cultural meanings and historical ideals into their life narratives (Chronis et al. 2012).

Across these prior studies, a recurrent assumption is that the consumer-as-performer possesses a core identity that is distinguishable from the performative role that is being volitionally enacted—do I choose to be a Harley-riding weekend warrior (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), a countercultural rebel at the Burning Man gathering (Kozinets 2002), a bawdy Klingon warrior at a Star Trek convention (Kozinets 2001), or a gender-bending Vampire Goth at the Whitby Goth Festival (Goulding and Saren 2009)? Consumer researchers have also documented that such market-mediated social performances may become so well-rehearsed and/or fully internalized that they become incorporated into consumers' core selves (Celsi et al. 1993; Martin et al. 2006; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). This process of incorporation manifests a shift from stylized

performances to what Arnould and Price (2000, 160) describe as authenticating acts that “provide powerful contingent confirmation of a true self.”

In contrast, Butler's conception of gender performativity emanates from a theoretical legacy that highlights theoretical issues quite distinct from self-authenticating experiences. To quote Butler (1990, 25) “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that is, identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.” Gender performativity describes the way in which gender is produced and regulated in a system of structural relations, which Butler (1998) refers to as the heteronormative matrix. Hence, gender distinctions are a sociocultural effect produced through performativity, which in turn has an institutional and cultural existence that transcends any specific subject:

[G]ender is not a performance that a prior subject elects to do, but gender is performative in the sense that it constitutes as an effect the very subject it appears to express. It is a compulsory performance in the sense that acting out of line with heterosexual norms brings with it ostracism, punishment, and violence, not to mention the transgressive pleasures produced by those very prohibitions (Butler 1993, 313–15).

Butler's theoretical distinction between gender performativity and social performances is congruent with post-structural arguments for de-centering the gendered subject (Bristol and Fischer 1993; Schroeder and Borgerson 2004). As Butler (1994, 111) explains this point, “it is important to distinguish performance from performativity: the former presumes a subject, but the latter contests the very notion of the subject” (Borgerson 2005a; Hein and O'Donohoe 2014; McNay 1999a; Salih 2002; Stevens, Cappellini and Smith 2015; Velten 2012). Butler's poststructural agenda of conceptualizing gender as a discursive and material network of power relations, rather than as a loci of agentic subjectivity, is often neglected by studies that conflate gender performativity with theatrically oriented accounts of social performances and their attendant emphasis on the malleability of gender roles (Butler 1994; Nelson 1999; Velten 2012).

Unlike resignifying practices, orthodox expressions of gender—what Butler terms as recitations or reiterations—pass as ordinary, mundane, and unexceptional and, therefore, offer little incentive to reflect upon their underlying sociocultural conditions or the alternative ways of doing gender they may foreclose. Such reiterations are generally not regarded as being culturally contingent, but, rather, they are treated as social facts. Accordingly, their social acceptability and legitimacy conventionally exists as an unquestioned or naturalized state of affairs.

In a performativity framework, reiterative and resignifying expressions of gender are both analogous to performative speech acts (Austin 1962)—that is, they bring gender

into existence through their acts of articulation and material representation (Butler 1994, 2004). However, reiterative expressions are ideologically and institutionally construed as objective states of the world, or what Austin (1962) describes as constative speech acts, and thereby acquire a compulsory force through this naturalized status. To illustrate, a doctor pronouncing “It’s a girl!” at the moment of birth would seem, at face value, to be making an objective statement, free from any ideological framing or imperative. For Butler, however, this proclamation is a performative one that begins the child’s social initiation into the heteronormative matrix:

Consider the medical interpellation which . . . shifts an infant from an “it” to a “she.” In that naming, the girl is “girlled,” brought into the domain of language and kinship through the interpellation of gender. But that girling of the girl does not end there; on the contrary, that founding interpellation is reiterated by various authorities and throughout various intervals of time to reinforce or contest this naturalized effect. The naming is at once the setting of a boundary, and also the repeated inculcation of a norm . . . This is a “girl”, however, who is compelled to cite the norm in order to qualify and remain a viable subject. Femininity is thus not the product of a choice, but the forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, punishment (Butler 1993, 235).

Naturalized gender discourses and distinctions place ideological constraints upon what are deemed to be normatively acceptable actions, and they can foreclose modes of gender practice that fall outside of these regulatory norms. They also imbue deviations from these heteronormative binaries—even relatively innocuous gender parodies—with a symbolic significance because they signal deviance from the institutionalized gender order (Goulding and Saren 2009).

Owing to their morally charged connotations, gender resignifications can become targets for social and legal censures, or less intrusively, they can be ideologically framed as a problematic condition whose legitimacy is placed under perpetual suspicion. These disciplinary forces are most readily apparent in the cultural conflicts and political struggles faced by the LGBT community whose interpersonal orientations, sexual preferences, and, in some cases, bodies do not conform to heteronormative classifications (Butler 2004; Connell 2002). However, disciplinary measures, often of a more subtle form, can also arise for gender resignifications that express challenges toward specific normative constructions of masculinity and femininity but do not diverge from heteronormativity in an all-encompassing fashion. For example, such a scenario is evinced by the backlash toward the performative category of metrosexual masculinity—a resignification that selectively appropriated stylistic and aesthetic identity practices from the gay subcultural while still codifying a decidedly heterosexual outlook on gender relationships (Rinallo 2007; Shugart 2008).

In sum, resignifications serve to destabilize naturalized gender norms, and they can foster reflexive awareness that the institutional and ideological terms of gender performativity are less fixed and more contestable than their reiterative expressions would otherwise indicate. However, this reflexive awareness does not, in of itself, lead consumers to challenge heteronormative categories that are sustained through a range of disciplinary mechanisms (Butler 2004) and, as we discuss in the following section, material relationships.

Materiality and the Gendered Habitus

While emphasizing the discursive construction of gender categories, Butler’s conception of gender performativity also recognizes the role of materiality in the production of gender (Borgerson 2005a; Hey 2006; Lloyd 2007). Echoing Foucault’s (1978) arguments on bio-power, Butler contends that the materiality of the body is central to the institutional production of gender differences:

Take your example of impregnation. Somebody might well say: isn’t it the case that certain bodies go to the gynaecologist for certain kinds of examination and certain bodies do not? And I would obviously affirm that. But the real question here is: to what extent does a body get defined by its capacity for pregnancy? Why is it pregnancy by which that body gets defined? . . . I do not deny certain kinds of biological differences. But I always ask under what conditions, under what discursive and institutional conditions, do certain biological differences become the salient characteristics of sex (Butler 1994, 112–13).

Seen in this light, physiological differences are not the ontological foundation of gender distinctions. On the contrary, heteronormative discourses culturally and institutionally inscribe bodies in networks of gender norms, social classifications, social expectations, and taboos. Hence, the gendered body becomes a central node in the network of power relations that produce gender distinctions and naturalized heteronormative binaries. This material scripting of the gendered body also exemplifies Butler’s focus on what might be called the exteriorization of gender performativity—that is, the heteronormative system of discourses, administrative rules, institutional practices and conventions, and cultural categories that hail social actors to recognize themselves as gendered subjects and that enforce its regulatory norms through institutional censures and incentives.

However, gender discourses also become materially instantiated in bodies through habituated behavioral tendencies, emotional predispositions, and over-socialized perceptual schemas (Illouz 2012; Thorpe 2009). Repeated recitations of dominant cultural norms and meanings (gendered or otherwise) leave enduring marks on the body in ways that have been variously characterized as bodily schemas (Zajonc and Markus 1982) or, in the sociological

tradition, the habitus (Allen 2002; Bourdieu 1984, 1986; Holt 1998). As noted by a number of gender theorists (Brickell 2003; Lloyd 2007; Magnus 2006; McNay 1999b), Butler's project of rethinking gender in nonessentialist terms—as exemplified by her argument “there need not be a ‘doer’ behind the deed. The ‘doer’ is variably constructed in and through the deed” (Butler 1990, 142)—also leads her to discount the sociological condition that over-socialized and embodied predispositions can and do prefigure the doing of gender (Magnus 2006; McNay 2013; Salih 2002).

To flesh out the gender performativity framework, we therefore incorporate some insights from the sociological construct of the gendered habitus (Bourdieu 2001; Lovell 2000; McNay 1999b; Thorpe 2009). While having points of theoretical tangency to performativity, the gendered habitus places a greater emphasis on the enduring patterns of behavior and comportment that are formed through primary socialization and that come to be experienced as second-nature. From this perspective, consumers' actions in a given social field are schematically structured by an embodied history of gender socialization and their material immersion in a system of dominant gender discourses, categories, distinctions, norms, and gendered practices (Hakim 2010; Thorpe 2009). Owing to these embodied tendencies, a given man or woman will tend to enact their habituated gender patterns even in social contexts where these over-socialized norms are not being directly enforced (e.g., the reserved and self-possessed man who shies away from the ecstatic expressiveness of the dance floor).

Given this overview, we can now tease out some noteworthy points of synergy that exist between gender performativity and the gendered habitus. The former draws theoretical attention toward the institutional structures that regulate social expressions of gender, whereas the gendered habitus highlights the ways in which gender socialization predisposes men and women toward certain kinds of practices, emotional orientations, and modes of social interaction (Illouz 2012). Our synthetic perspective is well-suited to analyzing how women competitors become more comfortable (and proficient) in enacting their derby grrrl personas and how they manage disparities that arise between the gender resignifications performed in the roller derby field and more conventional gender norms and expectations that hold sway in other social fields.

Market-Mediated Gender Resignifications

The first two columns of table 1 outline some of the key conceptual differences between gender performativity and marketplace performances. In broad brush terms, gender performativity addresses power relations that regulate expressions of gender and that position social actors within the heteronormative matrix. Hence, gender performativity is most attuned to sociological questions that fall on the

structural side of the structure–agency dialectic. In contrast, the dramaturgical view of marketplace performances highlights issues related to the volitional enactment of a performative script in spatio-temporally bounded settings. Per our earlier discussion of the autonomous enclave assumption, its theoretical propositions align with the agency side of the structure–agency dialectic.

The third column delineates a conceptual framework for analyzing marketplace performances—such as women's flat track roller derby—through the analytic lens of gender performativity. From this perspective, derby grrrls' enactments (and improvisations) of the roller derby script are market-mediated practices of gender resignification. These resignifications are materially manifested through the cultivation of new forms of embodied cultural capital. This process, in turn, inspires an enhanced reflexive awareness toward the naturalized gender norms that organize their everyday lives and, conversely, interpersonal orientations, identity goals, and practices that had been ideologically foreclosed by their gender socialization.

Our performativity lens also calls attention to the socially embedded nature of these market-mediated gender resignifications. For example, our derby grrrls describe various ways in which the roller derby field affords a relative degree of autonomy from the constraining gender norms and expectations that govern other spheres of their lives, most particularly work and family relations. However, their gender resignifications are, nonetheless, tempered in relation to the prevailing gender norms (and constraints) that operate outside the roller derby field. These normative calibrations are most evident in derby grrrls' efforts to promote their bouts as family-friendly entertainment. This promotional frame allows these marketplace performers to enjoy the legitimating frame of being nice girls (who also compete in roller derby) and, as we detail in our findings section, it also facilitates their practices of ideological edgework.

METHOD

We studied roller derby performances in two small towns located in the western United States, one having 140,000 residents and the other having just over 5,000. As part of our year-long data collection process, we followed teams in both locations by attending their bouts, tracking their social media, and receiving their newsletters. Our primary data emerged from in-depth, phenomenological interviews (Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1989) with team members and their fans.

To recruit roller derby competitors, we would go to a bout location during the prematch set-up period. At these times, the roller derby competitors would typically arrive early for the requisite staging activities of setting up the track, arranging seating and ticketing areas, and so on, all

TABLE 1.
THEORETICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENDER PERFORMATIVITY AND MARKETPLACE PERFORMANCES

| | Gender Performativity | Marketplace Performance as Dramaturgy | Roller Derby Performances Analyzed through the Lens of Gender Performativity |
|---|--|--|---|
| What is it? | Compulsory recitation of heteronormative gender discourses | Volitional enactment of a liminal role | Market-mediated gender resignifications |
| Ontology of Self | Subject positions are invoked by institutionalized power structures; no essential gendered self behind the social practice | Subjects possess a core self and can incorporate performed roles and dramaturgical resources into their identities | Subject positions are materially manifested through the gendered habitus |
| Socio-cultural Manifestations | Heteronormative discourses and their reiterations across social contexts | Spatio-temporally bounded settings where social actors perform a co-created script, with corresponding interactional practices | Socially embedded challenges to ideologically foreclosed ways of performing femininity |
| Costs of Deviating from Regulatory Norms | Social ostracization, stigmatization, pathological classifications, discriminatory practices, and violent retribution | Diminishment of capital (economic and field-dependent social and cultural) | Market-mediated legitimation (via glocalizing adaptations of the performative script) |
| Impetuses for Challenging the Normative Status Quo | Discursive tensions across and within performative fields; reflexive awareness that naturalized binaries are contingent and contestable | Backstage areas where the authentic self can be expressed and where all facets of the performance (including the audience) can be critiqued, celebrated, lampooned, etc. | Institutional commitments to the derby field and the cultivation of embodied cultural capital |
| Performative Outcomes | Moralization of gender categories (e.g., moral legitimacy or illegitimacy; different degrees of tolerance toward resignifying practices) | Marketization of cultural categories [e.g., commercial friendships (Price and Arnould 1999); branding of family experiences and memories (Borghini et al. 2009)] | Ideological edgework across interlinked social fields |

while wearing their uniforms and characteristically flamboyant make-up. We would then introduce ourselves as researchers and describe the study. We would give potential participants a card with our contact information and ask those interested to contact us via email. Those who participated in the study were paid \$50. We similarly recruited fans at the bouts. At the entrance door, we would hand out informational flyers that described the study and provided our contact information. Fans who agreed to be interviewed also received a \$50 token payment.

Most respondents preferred that the interviews be conducted at university offices. Six interviews took place at the respondents' homes, and one took place at the respondent's workplace. The interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 1 hour 45 minutes. The interviews were audiotaped. A total of 14 roller derby competitors and 13 fans were interviewed (tables 2 and 3).

All participant names are pseudonyms. Derby grrrls' persona names, which are listed on a publicly available register, present some additional concerns in regard to maintaining our participants' anonymity. Accordingly, we generally have omitted references to derby grrrl's persona names when quoting from the interviews. In some passages, however, our participants' stories about selecting

and enacting their persona names have theoretical relevance to our analysis. For these vignettes, we have created alternative persona names that we believe capture the intended spirit of the actual ones.

In the interviews with derby competitors (who self-identify as derby grrrls), we sought to gain an understanding of their experiences in the roller derby field and how these marketplace performances fit into their life narratives and social networks. The interviews began with general questions about their childhood and family background and then turned to their educational and work experiences as well as important personal relationships. These open-ended questions and follow-up probes enabled us to map out how these women viewed their gender socialization in relation to their derby grrrl personas and experiences. We then asked about their first encounters with the sport and their initial impressions of derby grrrls and roller derby bouts. We further queried on how and when they decided to join the team, their experiences of training sessions and competing in bouts, the various social activities that accompanied their team commitments, their relationships with teammates and fans, and how the roller derby had affected other aspects of their lives, including social relationships outside the derby field.

TABLE 2.
ROLLER GRRRLS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES

| Pseudonym | Father's occupation (education level) | Mother's occupation (education level) | Respondent's highest attained education | Age | Occupation | Time in RD field |
|-----------|---|--|---|-----|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Ann | Respondent raised in single mother household | Real-estate staging (associate's degree) | Bachelor's degree | 32 | Registered nurse | <1 year |
| Charlotte | Machinist (high school) | Bus driver (high school) | High school | 36 | Various blue collar jobs | 3 years |
| Clara | Financial director (high school) | Interior decorator (high school) | Pursuing bachelor's degree | 21 | Student, daycare worker | 1.5 years |
| Cynthia | Manager (MBA) | Teacher and then homemaker | Master's degree | 39 | Counselor at a hospital | 1 year |
| Diane | Electrician (vocational school) | Various blue collar jobs (high school) | Bachelor's degree | 33 | School teacher | 1.5 years |
| Ella | Business consultant (bachelor's degree) | Teacher (bachelor's degree) | Bachelor's degree | 36 | Photographer (owns studio) | 2 years |
| Jane | Owns construction company (high school diploma) | Various blue collar jobs (high school) | Bachelor's degree | 32 | Journalist | 3.5 years |
| Jessica | Factory worker (high school) | Various pink collar jobs (high school) | Bachelor's degree | 39 | Manager at a nonprofit | 1.5 years |
| Karin | Geologist (bachelor's degree) | Bartender (associate's degree) | Master's degree | 43 | Administrator at NGO | <1 year |
| Maya | Blue collar worker (some college) | Homemaker (some college) | Bachelor's degree | 33 | School district administrator | 1 year |
| Mary | Various blue collar Jobs (some college) | Various pink collar jobs (high school) | Trade school certificate | 36 | Various blue collar jobs | <1 year |
| Paula | Military officer (master's degree) | Secretary (some college) | Bachelor's degree | 34 | Entry-level white collar | 2.5 years |
| Sarah | Insurance broker (some college) | School aide (some college) | Working towards PhD in chemistry | 28 | PhD student | 2.5 years |
| Shelby | Hospital Administrator (bachelor's degree) | Dental hygienist (associate's degree) | Bachelor's degree | 32 | School teacher | 1.5 years |

TABLE 3.
ROLLER DERBY FANS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES

| Pseudonym | Gen-der | Father's occupation (education level) | Mother's occupation (education level) | Respondent's highest attained education | Age | Occupation | Time in RD field |
|-----------|---------|---|---------------------------------------|---|-----|---|------------------|
| Caroline | F | U.S. Air Force engineer (bachelor's degree) | Hairdresser (high school) | Studying for BS in wildlife biology | 25 | Student and part-time work | 1 year |
| Diane | M | Salesperson (bachelor's degree) | Homemaker (high school) | MBA | 51 | Accountant at a social services firm | 1 year |
| Douglas | M | Administrative job in US military (high school) | Homemaker (6th grade) | Some high school | 59 | Owns a small company | 1 year |
| Elizabeth | F | Prop master (bachelor's degree) | Homemaker (high school) | Master's degree | 24 | Research scientist | 1 year |
| Frederic | M | Business manager (bachelor's degree) | Homemaker (high school) | Some college | 29 | Software programmer | 4 years |
| John | M | Commodities trader (bachelor's degree) | Accountant (bachelor's degree) | Master's degree | 40 | Truck driver | 1.5 years |
| Jude | F | Businessman (bachelor's degree) | Homemaker (high school) | Bachelor's degree | 40 | Preschool teacher | 10 years |
| Mark | M | Engineer (bachelor's degree) | Public health (bachelor's degree) | Bachelor's degree | 37 | Owns and manages a casual dining restaurant | 1 year |
| Robert | M | Urologist (MD) | Homemaker (high school) | Bachelor's degree | 49 | Owns construction company | <1 year |
| Sofie | F | Lawyer (JD) | Teacher (bachelor's degree) | Some college | 44 | Small business owner | 1 year |
| Todd | M | Corporate CEO, retired (MBA) | College professor (PhD) | Master's degree | 35 | Manager at a nonprofit organization | 1 year |
| Tony | M | Data analyst (high school) | Secretary (some college) | Associate's degree | 31 | Construction worker | 5 years |
| William | M | Teacher (bachelor's degree) | Nurse (bachelor's degree) | MBA | 49 | Currently unemployed | 1 year |

The fan interviews also began with grand-tour questions about their social backgrounds, educational history, work lives, and personal relationships. Next, we asked about their favorite sports, as well as other sports that they found to be less interesting, in order to map the system of distinctions that organized their specific preferences for roller derby. From that point, the interview turned to their experiences as roller derby fans. These questions typically led to dialogues about their favorite players, memorable bouts they had attended, the general atmosphere of the bouts, and views on specific facets of the game, ranging from players' outfits to the nuances of team strategies. We further queried on how they enacted their fandom, what meanings roller derby held for them, and any of their social relationships that more or less revolved around the roller derby field.

Through a series of part-to-whole iterations (Thompson 1997), we next developed provisional understandings of the key emic motifs expressed in the interviews that were, in turn, challenged and modified with each iterative turn. As we shifted to a more etic perspective, we sought to contextualize our participants' narratives in a broader sociocultural context, with an emergent focus on the interrelationships between their derby grrrl resignifications and other social fields in which they had an established history of reiterating orthodox gender norms.

ROLLER DERBY AS MARKET-MEDIATED GENDER RESIGNIFICATIONS

Roller derby's renaissance began in the countercultural hot spot of Austin, Texas, and rapidly spread to major metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, Sydney, London, New York, Chicago, and Denver (Mabe 2008). In 2004, the fledgling sport took a major organizational leap forward with the establishment of the nonprofit Women's Flat Track Roller Derby Association (WFTDA) as the sport's international governing body, espousing a grassroots philosophy of "by the skaters, for the skaters." Currently, the WFTDA encompasses 273 member leagues (regional groupings of multiple teams that compete against each other) and 100 apprentice leagues, which are working toward full-fledged WFTDA membership (<http://www.wftda.com/leagues>). The WFTDA's rules and guidelines also provide an organizational framework for the much larger number of leagues (over 1,000) that are not formally affiliated with the WFTDA (see 2014 WFTDA webkit, <http://www.wftda.com/>).

For member leagues, the WFTDA monitors teams' competitive records, generates international rankings, and offers various benefits such as equipment discounts and reduced-rate insurance policies. The WFTDA also provides extensive guidelines and suggestions on how to start a roller derby league—a process that requires organizers to

recruit a sufficient number of registered competitors; create by-laws and governance documents; locate regular practice and competition facilities; train referees; develop team logos, websites, and merchandise; and complete many other organizational tasks (<http://www.wftda.com/faq/starting-a-league>). [For a brief overview of roller derby's competitive rules, see the Appendix.] Although this degree of institutional governance raises the specter of professionalization, roller derby remains an amateur endeavor in which derby grrrls accept consequential out-of-pocket costs and injury risks (Peluso 2011). For our participants, the small revenues earned through admission tickets and T-shirt sales help to defray some of these costs, but they did not serve as tangible sources of supplemental income.

As women's flat track roller derby has evolved into a grassroots global enterprise, however, its cultural form has been codified in a formal institution sense through rules, league requirements, and, perhaps most important, a gamut of media representations that have set cultural expectations about these marketplace performances and that are now diffused across myriad locales and localized audiences. Roller derby's performative script resignifies conventional gender norms through the embrace of taboo femininities, invocations of gender-bending juxtapositions (coquettish femininity mixed with physical aggression), and enactments of playful eroticism. However, this general cultural template still allows for a high degree of localized adaptation in terms of how it is performed.

Such modifications can be enacted in myriad ways, ranging from the number of risqué touches that a derby grrrl integrates into her persona to the atmosphere that a team (or league) strives to maintain at its bouts. For example, a quintessential derby grrrl persona blends physical aggression with a playful or ironizing take on female eroticism (as represented in the standard roller derby uniform of protective gear embellished with short shorts, fishnet stockings, and other eroticizing touches). However, local communities/audiences may variously set very different boundaries on how far derby grrrls can push their subversive performances before crossing into the realm of morally objectionable and censurable behavior. In our study, for example, our derby grrrls—who all live and compete in smaller towns and rural areas—noted that lewd gestures and foul language are taboo in their home matches while being a common feature of derby bouts held in the nearby metropolitan area.

In the context of our study, these localized adaptations to roller derby performative script are accomplished through two complementary processes—glocalization and institutionally committing to the roller derby field. Derby grrrls' marketplace performances also produce reflexive awareness through processes of cultivating embodied cultural capital and negotiating embodied discontinuities across social fields. We discuss each of these processes in the following sections.

Glocalization of the Roller Derby Script

The contemporary roller derby script is a cultural amalgam that incorporates the DIY industriousness of the riot grrrl and indie music countercultures (Pavlidis 2012; Piano 2003), the broader sociocultural association between athletics and feminine empowerment (Finley 2010; Heywood 2003; Joulwan 2007), and most characteristically, a body politic steeped in third-wave feminist ideals and values (Kelly, Pomerantz, and Currie 2005). Third-wave feminism is sometimes identified with a generational cohort (women born after 1970), but it is most commonly defined through its points of differentiation to second-wave feminism's vision of gender equality. Some characteristics of third-wave feminism that are particularly germane to roller derby's performative script are the efforts to redefine feminism in a manner free of the austere, anti-adornment, anti-eroticism commonly attributed to second-wave feminism (Crawford 2007; Fixmer and Wood 2005; Scott 2005), to reclaim feminine sexuality as a source of pleasure and empowerment (Hakim 2010), and to challenge prevailing gender orthodoxies through a playful and often ironic reworking of traditional femininity and ideals of girliness that second-wave feminism had categorically rejected as modes of patriarchal oppression (Groeneveld 2010; Munford 2007).

This globally diffused cultural script organizes roller derby performances across the gamut of local leagues and bouts. However, these localized enactments of the global script—like many other marketplace expressions of global-local intersections—also exhibit a co-creative process commonly referred to as glocalization (Ger and Belk 1996; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006; Thompson and Arsel 2004). As Robertson (1995) defines the term, glocalization is a blending of global and local cultural elements, with the proviso that what is conventionally deemed to be local also encompasses global influences that have become indigenized over time. As an illustrative example, let us consider Kjeldgaard and Askegaard's (2006) analysis of Greenlandic youth culture. According to these authors, the collective identity performed by Greenlandic youth has been shaped by the normative ideals and practices of global youth culture that have disseminated from its epicenters (New York, Hollywood, Paris, London, etc.), regionalized in Denmark's metropolitan fields, and then infused into Greenlandic culture through media, social networks, and touristic discoveries. Greenland's teens and young adults incorporate these global interpellations into their indigenous cultural heritage in ways that produce a distinctive, glocalized youth culture.

In the roller derby field, this process of glocalization has the structural effect of better aligning its performative script with local mores and tastes. In the small towns and rural communities we studied, glocalizing adaptations to the roller derby script, first and foremost, entailed a tempering

of its more risqué elements. This glocalizing process is described in the following passage from derby grrrl Karin, a 43-year-old biologist who is a blocker on her roller derby team. Her passage elaborates on the moderating influence exerted by her team's family-friendly market positioning:

Karin: Our [home] venues are pretty small, I think we can only accommodate 300 people, so when we fall there is someone like 2 feet away from us. So if we swear or if we say crappy stuff, they are going to hear us. And we'll probably know them, we work with them, we serve them, they come in our business. We're only a town of 5,500 and we don't want to alienate people and after our last bout some girl from the other [Metropolitan area team] team got hit out by one of our girls and called her a cunt and it was like "Oh! why would you do that? We don't act like that here." We never get so mad or so upset that we're calling opposite team members like bad names like that. She did that and it was a big deal to us. We're competitive but we're not like, I don't know the word I'm looking for, we're not bitches. We're nice girls and that's probably not the right mentality for roller derby but it works for us, it works for our league. . . . We do feel constrained at times. When you're in the heat of the moment and something goes really wrong, you're probably going to throw out an F word but overall we try to have a family-friendly atmosphere for the audience.

For Karin, this bout with a larger market team brought into clear relief the social differences between a fairly unadulterated enactment of roller derby's performative script—where coarse language and histrionic (and often obscene) gestures are conventional—and the glocalized one that is deployed in her local venue. Karin's self-monitoring responses to fans' physical proximity—which were similarly described by other members of her team we interviewed—further reflect that normative standards that operate in one field, such as those governing derby grrrls' workplace identities, can place subtle constraints on the gender resignifications that can be legitimately expressed in a roller derby bout:

Karin: We do have a lot of teachers on our team. They work with kids so they're very conscious of children, and parents, and appropriateness, etc. Plus, we're a small community. If you can't bring kids to an event like that, we're going to lose half of our spectators. So it's really respect; we're trying to respect our community, and it's important to us.

For derby grrrls situated in these smaller communities, their collectively shared goal of hosting family-friendly bouts is most explicitly motivated by a practical imperative to not offend their audience (and, hence, to respect specific local standards about what constitutes morally appropriate entertainment for children). This moralistic tempering of the performative script also reflects that derby grrrls' gender resignifications remain interlinked with their professional identities and other social roles they perform in the broader community.

However, these glocalized enactments are not fully bowdlerized. The performative script promoted through mass media and enacted in large market venues still shapes audience expectations about derby grrrl's physical comportment (e.g., tough, confident, playfully seductive), their appearances (including provocative uniforms), and the overall level of physical and emotional intensity displayed in the bouts. Thus, the glocalized script must still fulfill these generalized expectations, even if in a modulated form. By virtue of being a contact sport, in which these women are quite vested, roller derby bouts almost inevitably generate spontaneous, heat-of-the-moment actions (dropping f-bombs, delivering revenge hits, etc.) that are more consistent with globalized representations of roller derby's performative script:

Karin: Well, I just kept getting hit. I was tired of getting knocked down all the time, and I kind of snapped after the 15th time I was on the ground. And I yelled "fuck, fuck, fuck," and I banged my skates on the ground like a little kid. That's inappropriate, and I felt bad about that because we want it to be a family event. There were kids right there, and here I was screaming bad words. But it is roller derby, so you know we all have our little quirks like that.

Karin's passage also reveals some of the cultural complexities posed by the socially embedded nature of roller derby's gender resignifications. While a profane outburst is fairly consistent with broader cultural representations of roller derby—such as in movies like *Whip It*, documentaries like *Brutal Beauty: Tales of the Rose City Rollers*, or the gamut of online videos of bouts between large market teams—it violates the local community standards through which family-friendly entertainment is understood. Although sensitive to this normative transgression—"I felt bad about that"—Karin justifies her outburst as a quirk of the sport. Extrapolating beyond this specific situation, such lapses in their performative decorum serve to affirm the competitive intensity of a derby bout and contribute to the perceived authenticity of the performance. Importantly, derby grrrls' occasional deviations from their family-friendly script are legitimated through a host of self-monitoring practices that help to sustain their social legitimacy as nice girls:

Maya: I think if you asked people to describe me, they'd say that I'm nice. . . . I wouldn't say not interesting, but there's nothing that really stands out about me as being really funny or really athletic or really anything, so with an alter ego, I could create something that's different. My name is PushmePushyou, which my husband helped me think of. . . . And I struggled for a long time because I didn't want a really violent name, I didn't want a sexual name, I didn't want any of the innuendo. And so PushmePushyou is kind of nice and kind of aggressive at the same time, so I thought that was perfect for what I wanted.

Roller derby personas typically blend feminine signifiers, having erotic or risqué connotations, with markers of physical aggressiveness that are conventionally coded as masculine. Maya has adapted this characteristic of the roller derby script in a manner more congruent with her team's family-friendly image. In balancing her nice girl demeanor with the performative demands of the roller derby script, Maya's persona is playfully restrained in its appeal to aggression, and it eschews salacious connotations.

In accordance with this nice girl, performative frame, fans do not view roller derby grrrls as subversive or scandalous characters, but rather as inspirational role models. Consider the reflections of Mark, a male fan, team sponsor (through his small business) and, importantly, father of a teenage daughter:

Mark: I don't think it has anything to do with how they dress, or how their uniforms may look, they're definitely out there to win. They hit hard and skate fast. The underlying message [of roller derby] is that a woman can do anything the same as a man can, a lot of times more, but I think that's important to keep in the forefront of our minds. I think it has a lot more to do with gender equality than anything. I've got a thirteen-year-old daughter, so hopefully we'll be a little bit more advanced in another ten years or five years, or when she enters the workforce, college. And there's all types of sizes of derby girls that are out on the track, and they generally are wearing very sexy, kind of revealing clothing, and I think that's good for my daughter to see that even if you're a larger woman, you can still feel comfortable in clothing like that, just as well as anybody else. . . . I think it's important for her to see that she can feel good about herself and know that other women feel good about themselves and sexy in whatever clothing they choose to wear.

Initially, Mark's passage discounts the carnivalesque sexuality that is encoded in the roller derby script (even in its more tempered, glocalized expressions). Echoing the logic of liberal feminism (Bristor and Fischer 1993), Mark interprets roller derby as a *mise-en-scène* of gender equality that counters the sexist stereotypes and conventions that have historically constrained women's opportunities in the public sphere. Despite his focus on the sport's egalitarian message, roller derby's third-wave feminist ethos is too prevalent in the performative script to be completely ignored. For Mark, this aspect of roller derby is also venerated as providing his daughter with another important life (and gender-empowering) lesson about self-acceptance and personal confidence. As such, Mark's strategic use of roller derby as an instructional space for socializing his daughter inspires a hybridized understanding of gender equality—blending the asexual egalitarianism of liberal feminism and third-wave feminism's valorization of feminine sexuality—that might not otherwise have arisen without witnessing the gender resignifications enacted by local derby grrrls.

Derby grrrls' social capital, as respected members of the community, is also a fungible resource, as exemplified in the comments from Doug, a small business owner who provides team discounts to his local roller derby league:

Doug: I don't see a lot of that (i.e., performing a character for roller derby). I think we saw some at a Halloween event that they did. They kinda dressed up and everything. But I don't see a lot of the persona out there. I don't really see them acting. Maybe I am too personal with them . . . I know them too much. They come in here. I don't see the façade I guess. I don't think they are acting or performing as much as they could be I guess. The girls are out there skating and having fun, and actually trying to win the bouts. I don't see it as an act. This is good family fun.

Interviewer: What do you mean by family fun?

Doug: It is clean. There is not a lot of cursing. Even the beers. Limited alcoholic beverages, nothing real obnoxious. It is a good sport that the whole family can get out to and be entertained in a good clean way.

Doug's passage illustrates that the socially embedded nature of these marketplace performances can blur the expected boundary between women's derby grrrl personas and their identity in the community at large. Derby grrrls' public status as nice girls is seamlessly blended with their competitive personas in a manner that seems genuine, compatible, and, not to be overlooked, appropriate for promotional sponsorship—a synergy that emanates from derby grrrls' market-mediated legitimacy and their concomitant social capital in the broader community.

Institutionally Committing to the Roller Derby Field

Our participants describe their socialization into the roller derby field in remarkably similar terms. First, they became captivated by an exposure to the sport (attending a bout, seeing derby grrrls in the town parade; watching the film *Whip It*), which then motivated their enrollment in the so-called fresh meat tryouts for new recruits and subsequent boot camp training sessions. And all emphasize the extent to which their initial experiences in the roller derby field invoked a sense of culture (and gender) shock:

Jessica: It was very funny because every time we would hit someone and they would fall we would stop and say, "Oh my gosh, I'm so sorry," and we would stop and try to help them up and that's not what derby is about. We learn how to fall and learn how to get back up, so we had to get over that. So the coach for all the fresh meat is like, "If you say you're sorry you have to go do pushups, you can't say you're sorry." I think that that's part of that society being that maternal care giver, we're the girls, so we shouldn't be hitting people and the minute you hit someone or bump someone even though it may not be your fault. In derby you have to

start breaking down this thing of I just hit that girl and she fell down hard so I have to go say I'm sorry. But that's derby, you're supposed to hit them hard and you don't want her to get up.

For Jessica, the unapologetic physicality of roller derby competition stands in stark contrast to her usual tendencies, which she sees as an artifact of her socialization in a system of maternal norms. For the women in our study, the roller derby field presents an entirely different set of performative expectations (and social mores). Their struggles to master this performative script led to reflections on why roller derby performances felt so unnatural and, more generally still, the ideological foreclosures that had been naturalized in their gender socialization.

Following their initiating rites of passage into the derby field, our participants next had to create a persona to enact during roller bouts and other public team events. Through their personas, derby grrrls place a personalizing stamp on roller derby's performative script. The following passage from Sarah reveals the personal significance and institutional complexity that accompanies the selection of a derby grrrl persona:

Sarah: Well I thought about being Miss Agyny. Because I thought that was funny, like Misogyny. Or like Miss Anthropy but I thought that Miss Agyny was more appropriate since you're like hitting other women and stuff like that even though it's just a pun. Then I thought it could be Slim&M-Agyny because I'd just got the *Recovery* CD from one of my friends and was like listening to it constantly. It's by Eminem and his alter-ego is named Slim Shady. I thought I could play off that. The more I thought about it, the more I liked it. I also really liked it because of another song, a Jim Croce song. I can't remember the actual name of it but it goes "you don't tug on Superman's cape, you don't spit into the wind, you don't pull the mask off the old lone ranger, and you don't mess around with Slim." It's this song about this guy named Jim and he's this big bad guy in this town and this other guy named Slim comes into this town and he says, "I'm looking for Jim," and they're like, "don't mess around with Jim, he'll kick your ass." Then Slim kicks Jim's ass so at the end of the song it says you don't mess around with Slim. So I thought that would be awesome and, then a couple of Eminem songs could be my theme songs, and I was super excited about it. So I just registered that one [on the International Roller Girls' Master Roster].

Sarah's reflection exhibits several narrative qualities that are typical among the derby grrrls we interviewed. For these performers, registering their personas on roller derby's international roster imbues this choice with an added degree of institutional commitment. This formalization also encourages more extensive deliberations on the resignifying meanings being enacted. Once a derby grrrl registers and begins to embody her persona, it becomes

integrated into the social practices and social interactions that organize her front-stage and back-stage performances. As we observed, derby grrrls enact their personas during the training sessions, bouts, post-bout parties, and fundraising events. Roller girls are encouraged to address each other using their derby names, and it was clear from our interviews that this mode of address had become routinized, as they consistently referred to teammates by their derby names rather than their given names. In contrast to the postmodern idea that performative identities are experimental ones that can be readily changed, much like one might switch a costume, derby grrrls describe becoming increasingly vested in their personas.

While Sarah's roller derby persona is steeped in masculine signifiers—via references to musical odes to indomitable male characters—she also interprets it as affording an opportunity to be girlier—which she subsequently defines as being flirtatious and cosmetically adorned, an orientation that diverges from the gender norms she reiterates in other social fields, particularly those related to her career as a research scientist. In the following passage, Jessica also describes how roller derby's juxtapositions of feminine and masculine signifiers helped to spark a reflexive awareness of gender orientations that had been foreclosed by formerly taken-for-granted normative constraints. Much like Sarah, Jessica's derby grrrl persona offers a resonant comparison point to the gender orientation that had become routinized in her work and family life:

Jessica: [Derby name] is more confident in her body and likes wearing fishnets and booty shorts. Jessica would not be. Let's order booty shorts, my butt is hanging out, like I don't think so. I think Jessica is more of that nurturer and just everyone is doing great and you know [Derby name] is a little more cut throat . . . At work I do too much nerdy. I don't know [Derby name] is just a little more you know, she helps Jessica get a little more funky, like the bleach blonde bit, that was [Derby name]. Jessica would have been like we should just have short hair and I have to work on Monday. And [Derby name] is like no go for it.

As evinced by Jessica's reflection, the women in this study experienced their derby grrrl personas as reordering some of the binary distinctions that had regulated their gender orientations; hence, they became more outgoing rather than being introverted, more confident rather than being hampered by insecurities, or, in the case of Charlotte, pursuing personal accomplishments rather than being self-sacrificing:

Charlotte: My thing was finally derby. It is absolutely my passion. The first time I experienced something like that . . . Derby was the first passion like reason to get up and push myself harder and further than I ever had.

Interviewer: When you said you wanted the kids to be proud of you, what did you mean by that?

Charlotte: I mean I wanted them to see me accomplish something in the world. It's not like I was a chained housewife or anything like that, but I had relatively low self-esteem before. I was just a mom in my eyes, and that's all I was going to be for a long time. That was my thought . . . I guess that women in general, oh how do I say this, we are raised or trained to be the ones that say "okay I'll concede and I'll let that go" or "it's all right, you go ahead and have it your way." Roller derby is different; "I'm going to take my place on the track, I'm going to do this." So you're standing up for yourself at the most basic level on the track. You are a completely different person and I think that's one of the neat things about the names, you get to be a completely different persona and it seeps into real life. Once I got confident on the track, I became much more confident with everyday decisions, work decisions, other interactions. I'm much more comfortable and confident in myself than I was.

Raised in a working class family with no formal education beyond high school, Charlotte's work history has been marked by a series of low-paying clerical jobs. A former teen mom, she has been married 18 years to her high-school sweetheart and has spent over half of her life in the role of wife and mother (now of three children). Charlotte also notes that she had been raised in a traditional view that "the wife takes care of the home" and describes a mix of contentment and ennui with her current life:

Charlotte: My life is idyllic and boring. When I say boring I don't mean that in a derogatory way. I'm happy that I don't have the drama and trauma and other tragic things that other people have to deal with. I'm very content with boring, that's okay. I am happy that I'm a good mom. I can tell myself that I came from being a 17-year-old pregnant teen to being a mother of three children and running a household. So I'm good at this but it's still not, you don't get a degree being a mom, you don't get a plaque to hang on the wall so it's that kind of difference. It's not like I had a rough and awful life but I just didn't feel like I had anything to be proud of or that I'd accomplished so I just didn't feel I had any reason to be exceedingly confident.

Charlotte's limited socioeconomic means, relatively low levels of generalized cultural capital, deeply internalized feelings of maternal responsibility, and related self-doubts all function as structural barriers to pursuing any radical changes in her life circumstances or everyday gender performances. Through roller derby, however, Charlotte has been able to infuse her domestically anchored gender role with a sense of purpose and achievement. Her roller derby performances provide a public stage for garnering social recognition and, importantly, earning tangible markers—such as a formal leadership role—that she has accomplished something of consequence by not only effectively

competing against younger and more athletically inclined women but also winning their respect:

Charlotte: When I became captain I'd only been part of the team for over a year, and people already saw me as a leader, which was surprising. Coming from a place where I couldn't skate at all, it took a while for me to accept and acknowledge that I did accomplish that. People saw me as a leader which was a whole new. What I lack physically, I definitely make up for mentally. I'm confident and comfortable now saying that I know the game better than probably 80% of the women out there and it's just as much of a strategic mental game as it is physical. So, I can actually list myself and say I'm an asset on the track. I can step out there and say I'm pretty darn good, I know what I'm doing out there.

Through their roller derby personas, these women also begin to enact an alternative system of cultural distinctions, such as assertive versus conciliatory, confident versus insecure, and risk-taking versus cautious, leading them to critically reinterpret their gender socialization and to reflexively incorporate selected aspects of their derby personas into their everyday gender orientations:

Karin: I feel like historically I've been very passive. I'm a very passive person. And I haven't stuck up for myself like as a younger girl. I didn't stick up for myself very much But this girl [her derby persona] does. This girl is very clear about what she wants, she wants to skate, she wants to do it well. She's going to put herself out there even though she's not feeling secure about it, and those are the qualities I've always wanted for myself, and when I see them in her and they spill over to my other life I say that's a good thing and she's sticking up for herself. She's going after what she wants. Those are good things so of course I like her.

A pragmatic reason that derby grrrls' resignifications do not stay encapsulated in the roller derby field is that their commitments to the sport often necessitate significant rearrangements of their daily routines. As one example, Charlotte's husband and younger son have become her major supporters, leading cheers for her during games. She reports that both are taking on additional domestic responsibilities to compensate for the time she now spends away from home at practice sessions, game travel, and other team obligations. In a theoretical vein, these shifts in how derby grrrls allocate their time and renegotiate their domestic responsibilities and relational patterns (e.g., family members becoming fans) are consequences of the ongoing process through which they cultivate the requisite forms of embodied cultural capital needed for these marketplace performances.

Cultivating Embodied Cultural Capital

Embodiment is central to the acquisition of cultural capital. As Bourdieu writes (1986, 244): "Most of the

properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state . . . implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand."

For the derby grrrls in our study, this acquisition process entails the cultivation of new skills (e.g., learning to skate, how to perform particular maneuvers on the track, how to give and take hits), conditioning their bodies to become faster, stronger, and to have greater stamina, as well as learning to carry themselves in the manner of an accomplished roller derby performer (i.e., blending toughness with a measured degree of eroticized femininity). Derby grrrls' embodied transformations are often experienced as a somatic revelation, as they observe changes in their physiques and marvel at their newfound abilities to compete in a fast-paced, contact sport:

Jessica: Well, I think this is probably the most fit I've ever been, I was doing yoga beforehand which was totally opposite and different So I think for me it was just like you do start to define your muscles, you do start to kind of have this image, the thing is I like to see, and the other girls as well, we all kind of started the same time, and then even when the new girls were coming in, and I really like it because I get to see their reaction when they couldn't even make it around to oh my gosh now you're skating next to me now! With derby, you get to see the progress. You get to see how much better people are skating, you get to see how people have lost weight, or have toned, or and you know, they are confident. It builds everyone's confidence to be able to say, "I do roller derby, I skate around, you know, really fast and hit people." And we're pretty good in knowing how to use our bodies. We can stop big girls but it's not by hitting them, because they're not going to go anywhere but it's about putting ourselves, our whole person in front of them and making them stop. I think that's pretty powerful to be able to go "my body, I can use my body to stop someone else."

To become competent roller derby performers, these women must master and coordinate a mix of athletic skills, technical nuances, and split-second decision making, all under taxing competitive conditions. As derby grrrls successfully confront these new corporeal challenges and cultivate new capacities, they begin to reflexively question the identity constraints imposed by conventional norms of femininity:

Sarah: So after a jam it's so intense. Like I said I ran cross-country in high school, and I was decent; I ran track, but I was terrible because I'm not really a sprinter at all. But I found with roller skating, I like to go as fast as possible. I like to go as fast as I can, you know what I mean, and it's

just completely exhausting because you have to like sprint and get through all these people who hit you and then when you do get hit, it takes so much energy to get back up and get back through and you have to re-center yourself and keep going. It's just all these different emotions and all these different athleticism that I don't have to do ever on any other basis and you're just exhausted when you're done. And it's only like 2 minutes, right, and I can go out and run for an hour and I'm fine when I get home, but when I'm done jamming, I'm exhausted. It's just a completely different intensity. You just have to go out there and give it your all, or you're not going to score points . . . I don't know I love having to get out there and give it your all and be athletic in this completely different way . . . If you're a jammer, you have to bust through the pack. You have to avoid all these people that are trying to hit you. You have to be tough enough to hit them back. And so that appealed to me. I liked that whole small but tough thing. I just like to guess defy the feminine equals weak type of mindset. You know what I mean, oh like, "Oh I need help with this, I can't open this jar"—you know what I mean? It's like "No, I can open this jar, I can do a pull up/I can make my own way."

As Sarah describes it, roller derby's physically demanding and intensely competitive qualities are not only invigorating but they also defy cultural associations between femininity and dependency. In the following passage, Sarah further elaborates on her derby grrrl persona and its distinctions to what she characterizes as an ultra-feminine orientation:

Sarah: I like roughing it or being somewhere where you don't have to be like ultra-feminine and where it's not actually what you would want to be to be able to succeed. You want to be stronger and you have to be stronger to succeed in that kind of environment.

Interviewer: What's ultra-feminine?

Sarah: I would say it is like the kind of, which there's nothing wrong with being this type of girl, but it's just not the type of girl I am. It's just the type of girl that wears skirts all the time, is totally cool with being the damsel in distress type of person. Like in fairy tales, I'm trying to think of the one, is it Rapunzel, the one where you're being held up in the tower, she has really long hair and the knight in shining armor comes up her hair and so she would be a damsel in distress because she is being held against her will by her evil stepfather or somebody and she's just sitting there and waiting for somebody to come save her essentially and so like that kind of, "Oh I can't help myself, I'm not strong enough to do this by myself." That's sort of what I mean by ultra-feminine.

In accordance with her prior comments about the sense of autonomy and strength gained through her roller derby performances, Sarah reflexively maps femininity onto a continuum that ranges from weaker/dependent to stronger/independent. Elaborating upon her understanding of the ultra-feminine (i.e., the weaker/dependent side), Sarah

invokes the fairy tale of Rapunzel as the quintessential damsel in distress. To elaborate on the cultural subtext of this reference, the heroic prince is the active protagonist of this tale, whereas Rapunzel's agency is objectified in her famed long hair, which becomes integral to her eventual rescue—a physical attribute that is interpreted in literary critical circles as a metaphor for not only Rapunzel's beauty but also her sexual maturity (Stallman 1969). More generally, fairy tales provide powerful narrative vehicles for socializing children into dominant sociocultural values and ideals (Bettelheim 1976). Seen in this light, the tale of Rapunzel reiterates a broader heteronormative construction of femininity that valorizes women's erotic capital (i.e., attractiveness and sexuality; Hakim 2010) as a means to attain security and happiness. For Jessica, the mode of femininity enacted through roller derby offers a potent corrective to such enfeebling cultural associations.

Derby grrrl personas further subvert conventional masculine-feminine binaries by incorporating meanings—such as toughness, determination, and competitive aggressiveness—that have been naturalized as masculine tendencies. However, the performative outcome is not just a mimicking of a masculine orientation but, instead, it is a reconfiguration of the ideological codes that regulate feminine gender performatives. In our interviews, derby grrrls often discuss this aspect of their resignifications in reference to their uniforms, which blend a spirit of playful provocativeness and serious competitive purpose:

Sarah: You don't think about having tights on except for when you fall and then you're so glad that I did not scrape my skin off. I've gotten some pretty bad rink rash. It hurts when you take showers, it will seep through your pants, it's just gross. So, that's why I like to protect my legs.

I: So what kinds of tights do you have, what colors?

Sarah: I have lots of tights. For practice generally I just have black and white, these really, really thick tights that I found actually leggings that I found in some store in the mall. And I just have black and white ones and then I also have like these, so for our B travel team, the Punchy Bruisers, our colors are purple and green I have some purple tights and some green tights that go over them that are fish netty, and then those ones are fun. Then I have these really bright green ones that have fun crazy holes in them and stuff, lots of fish nets, fish nets are like a theme. I have some that look like you have tattoos on the side of your leg which are really fun because they're nude colored but they just have like a design over the side so it looks like you have giant tattoos all over your legs which are pretty fun and then just let's see. I have some with swirls and some with like zebra print and stuff like that. I have developed quite a sock and tight fetish at this point because you're like, "oooh cool socks, cool tights," whatever, because you have to wear them, you have to have them because they protect you. So I have socks that are like stripes with bees on the, and I have some socks that

have, my friend that I told you moved, bought me these socks for my birthday that said “bad ass” and they have an arrow that points up. I have socks that are just regular multi-colored, there are all kinds, there are some for roller derby girls that now on the internet and some say beer on the side, some say hotty, they have all kinds of fun socks and fun tights and fun like booty shirts.

Sarah’s pleasure in her performative melding of erotic femininity and aggressiveness is legitimated by the physically demanding nature of roller derby. Yet, Sarah’s practical rationales presuppose the performative conventions that are encoded in the roller derby script and that constitute an institutionalized background of gender resignifying practices. While roller derby uniforms are designed to provide protection from hard hits and floor abrasions, these safety considerations do not necessitate the inclusion of erotic or gender ironizing flourishes. For Sarah, this material juxtaposition of gender codes is emblematic of her broader realization that she could integrate gender orientations that she had formerly seen as being incompatible:

Sarah: This is generally how I dress, jeans, t-shirt, that’s about it, khakis, long shirt that’s what I wear basically because I work in a lab. For roller derby, you wear like skirts and tights and stuff like that legitimately. I don’t generally wear cute clothes but it’s nice because you usually don’t have a reason to and now I do. Like I’ll wear skirts and tights and well usually I wear tight shirts because I like shirts that fit tighter on a daily basis so that’s not really that different. I wear make-up a lot more to the bouts because it’s fun. It’s really fun to be able to dress up like that and be able to dress like girlie and flirty and feminine but still being out there and doing something tough. I like being able to integrate those two things because it’s something I haven’t been able to do before, it’s either tough or it’s girlie, you know what I mean? But this is both at once, so you can do both things, but I’m going to really kick your ass, it’s like whatever. So it’s fun to be able to do that and be this person that’s confident and out there and kicking butts and taking names.

A self-described tomboy working toward a PhD in chemistry, Sarah has long steered clear of overt markers of femininity in her fashion choices, noting that she has had to appear strong and serious in order to succeed in male-dominated professions (ranging from her current occupation as a lab chemist to earlier endeavors such as being a whitewater rafting guide). Much of Sarah’s life narrative has been oriented around personal values and identity practices consistent with a second-wave feminist outlook, which ideologically frames feminine eroticism as a mode of disempowerment and patriarchal subordination (Bristor and Fischer 1993). While stopping short of third-wave feminism’s celebration of feminine sexuality as a source of empowerment, Sarah’s immersion in the roller derby script

has enabled her to engage in a playful experimentation with coquettish femininity and to no longer regard such practices as being inherently at odds with her valued ideals of strength, autonomy, and personal competence.

More than just an intellectual conceit, however, Sarah’s gender reflexivity is grounded in the embodied cultural capital she has accumulated through her ongoing participation in the roller derby field. This cultivated resource not only entails the athletic capacity to “kick butt” (i.e., skating aggressively, giving and taking hits, maneuvering through opponents) but to also engage in the performative practices of flirtatious girliness, which had previously not been a facet of her naturalized recitations of gender. For Sarah, the paradoxical effect of roller derby’s gender resignifications is that they not only inculcated new athletic abilities (which she associates with masculine toughness) but also facilitated a mode of feminine comportment that had been previously foreclosed to her, owing to her ideological association between femininity and weakness and the related concern that being perceived as feminine would undermine her professional credibility:

Sarah: Because the bias has always been towards men. I’m a scientist, so there is still definitely a gender gap. I don’t know if you heard about the president of Harvard that publicly announced or said that he said there is scientific evidence that women are not as capable in science or in academics, which is just really irritating (laughter) . . . I did hear about this study once, I think it was violin players, and these people were studying violin players and apparently there is this strong preference for male violin players and there was this audition where trained professionals would listen to these master violin players, and they would watch them play, they would audition and they would pick out who was best and in this case they picked a whole bunch of men. But they did the same study with the same violin players but they hid the people that were playing and it was almost 50/50 women and men. When they hide the people, the judges don’t know whether it’s a man or a woman. There’s no bias that way.

Sarah’s reflections illustrate several important sociocultural aspects of the roller derby script that are equally salient to other derby grrrls in our sample. All extensively elaborated upon the ways in which roller derby necessitated the acquisition of new performative skills and drew reflexive comparisons to recreational activities, such as yoga, running, spin classes, or hiking, which they viewed as typical fitness options for women. From their standpoint, these activities lack the aggressive, competitive, communal, and most of all, public properties of a roller derby bout. As a competitive team sport, derby grrrls’ displays of athletic acumen (or conversely miscues) have consequences for their teammates and fans, imbuing their actions with a heightened sense of drama and significance.

Maya: Well, I was so excited, because that was my first bout, it was an inner league bout and there weren't many people watching, but it was the first chance I had to go out there and have a game. I didn't do anything I wanted to do, I didn't skate well. I didn't expect to skate great, but I expected to make a couple good hits and I didn't. I was really frustrated. So I was really disappointed, because I thought I was on the threshold of making some big games, and then I couldn't skate [owing to an injury sustained in training]. And you know, it's a big commitment, it's two hours a night, two days a week, so it is two nights away from your family, every week, forever. I'd made a big commitment and I wanted to follow through on it, I wanted to get better, and not being able to was hard.

Per Maya's vignette, derby grrrls are constantly coping with injuries of varying severity. While debilitating injuries that preclude competing and training are obviously undesirable, large bruises carry considerable symbolic currency within the roller derby field:

Sarah: Our bruises, they're like our medals of honor. You get to love them because you earned them. You know what I mean? And everybody feels that way because I think everybody has issues of showing their body off to others and stuff like that but when you've got a good bruise, I haven't seen pants drop faster. People are like look at my bruise, and usually it's on your butt and everybody, I mean everybody at practice and stuff go like look at this awesome bruise and people are proud of them. Really I think they are really awesome and beautiful because you're like "WOW!" never would you get a bruise like that in an everyday setting. You would have to do something awesome to earn that bruise . . . So it's like everybody's together and it's like a community thing because everybody gets bruises from time to time, everybody gets hurt from time to time, because it's a full contact sport. When you do something awesome to have it, then you're excited to show your friends so they see what happened. It's like nirvana because it happened, you may have no idea when it happened, but it was when everybody was out there skating and having fun together. You know it was from derby because you're not doing anything else that is going to give you a bruise like that you know. Usually it's just the circumstances that surround it that make it something that you're proud of.

In the context of the derby field, bruises are a key material manifestation of roller derby's feminine but tough ethos, and they serve as visible markers of derby grrrls' competitive spirit, physical resilience, and dedication to their sport. Most of all, bruises are incitements to storytelling. Our participants describe their sizeable bruises, ideally exhibiting significant discoloration, as being beautiful and awesome, among other venerating terms. They enthusiastically recount posting pictures of their bruises on social media and sharing stories about the skating maneuvers and collisions that produced them. Derby grrrls tales of the

hard hits, spectacular falls, and risky maneuvers that created these beautiful bruises imbue their marketplace performances with an exhilarating sense of difference to the orthodox gender norms into which they had been socialized and which tend to prevail in other walks of their lives:

Jessica: I love seeing women being empowered. I think that should happen all the time. So the fact that it looked fun, that it was all female, female empowerment, it's competitive, it just encompasses all these things in one crazy thing and they're on roller skates, how cool is that, there's music and it's exciting.

Interviewer: What makes it empowering?

Jessica: I think you have to be really confident and I think you have to be really sure of yourself to be able to go, I'm going to hip check this girl because I want her out of my way. You're in the line at the supermarket, you're like, "Oh excuse me, pardon me, I didn't mean to bump into you, let me get out of your way," not like, "Okay get ready because I'm going to hip check you because you are in my way and I have to go somewhere. That's not socially acceptable. I think that's the big thing about this sport in particular, is it gets women out of the society, out of the mainstream, this is what we're supposed to look like, this is what supposed to act like, and none of those things apply when you're on the track.

Interviewer: So how are you supposed to look like and how are you supposed to act like?

Jessica: I think society, that the norm is a certain thing that we are maternal, we are the caregivers . . . Do you know how many little girls are watching their moms play derby? That's awesome. That's just going to make them better people because they will realize they can do anything they want. They just have to try it. And women are doing derby that don't do anything else that are doing like me coming in never doing any sports in their life, never thought they even remotely were athletic and they get in the derby and they're like "I'm kicking ass." So it's showing a lot of women who just didn't have access to that kind of knowledge about themselves.

Drawing from her status as an accomplished roller derby competitor, Jessica forges a symbolic boundary between those who are willing to escape the normative demands of mainstream society and those who are not. Elsewhere in the interview, Jessica explains that she had long fought against pressures to conform to traditional gender expectations, as exemplified by her 19 year defiance of social pressures to have children since marrying. Through roller derby, Jessica has gained a cultural frame-of-reference and an organized set of practices for better understanding and articulating her disaffections with the societal mainstream, as well as gaining access to a social network where she can feel accepted and supported in her choice to not become a mother.

For some derby grrrls, their critical reflections on the constraining or disempowering consequences of reiterative gender norms were also associated with what they regarded as a boring, predictable, and risk-averse life. Although generations removed from Betty Friedan's (1963) feminist treatise on the malaise suffered by women performing the traditional housewife role (i.e., the problem with no name), becoming mired in a similar existential conundrum is an ideological fate that our participants hope to circumvent through roller derby. Consider Cynthia's reflection on her quest to avoid a boring life:

Cynthia: I think using my parents is a good way to describe it [the boring life]. Two cars; they're always clean on the outside, always clean on the inside; a house that's two stories, it's always clean; the TV in every room is always on; everything matches. It's almost perfect. I'm just trying to picture like, everybody in the house is taken care of, very taken care of but like nothing to look forward to when you wake up in the morning.

Interviewer: So, what is it that you wake up in the morning and you looking forward to?

Cynthia: A challenge. I got most turned off about with a boring kind of life that I saw, my dad woke up every single day of his life at the same time every day and went to the same company, made the same living, he always got paid very well but in a job where it doesn't change you know, not doing anything that's different or learning something different. When I look at my parents, I don't feel like they picked things in their life that were challenging. You know like they asked me, "Why do you do roller derby?" And I just want to go back and say, "Why not?" Why do I have to have an answer about why I do roller derby when really why not? Why not? Why sit at home and not do it. And I think that's the only answer is I can ever come up with is why not?

In this narrative, Cynthia glosses over the playfully erotic, carnivalesque aspects of roller derby's performative script while bringing the challenges, unpredictability, and excitement of a fast-paced competitive sport to the fore. Cynthia uses this contrast to fashion an alternative symbolic boundary between her decision to become a derby grrrl and the risk-averse gender norms into which she was socialized and which she sees as still governing her parents' lifestyle. Once again, roller derby's gender resignifications provide a point of reflexive contrast that derby grrrls can use to reinterpret their gender socialization and to directly experience another way of doing femininity.

Negotiating Embodied Discontinuities across Social Fields

To this juncture, we have highlighted how roller derby's market-mediated gender resignifications enable derby grrrls to enact new modes of femininity and to gain a heightened

awareness of the ideological foreclosures manifest in their gender socialization. However, their heightened reflexivity can also foster an equally salient awareness of discontinuities between the derby field and other quarters of their everyday lives. These tensions manifest themselves in numerous ways, such as the interpersonal stresses that sometimes arise when they seek to be assertive in personal and professional relationships where they had previously exhibited accommodating or deferential tendencies.

In this section, we highlight disparities between roller derby's celebration of diverse body types and derby grrrls' habituated insecurities over their physical appearance (i.e., weight, shape, and tone), the latter of which are linked to the dominant gender norms that still hail them in social contexts outside the roller derby field. These tensions demonstrate that resignifying gender practices do not override prior histories of gender socialization. However, they can disrupt the naturalized qualities of reiterative gender norms and provide social and cultural resources for managing the anxieties and self-doubts that can result when women do not conform to conventional normative standards of feminine beauty and sexual attractiveness. Derby grrrls' recurrent enactments of these disruptive resignifications—coupled with the social support and sense of solidarity with teammates who are similarly struggling against these regulatory norms and foreclosures—can enable these women to become less bound by their habituated predispositions.

As part of their socialization into the roller derby field, derby grrrls embrace the sport's inclusive body politic and the corresponding belief that they can each make valuable contributions to their teams, regardless of their body type:

Maya: I think that in a lot of sports, like gymnastics, if you don't have a certain body type, you aren't going to be successful. But in roller derby, you can be a short, stocky blocker, or you can be a tall, thin jammer, and you can equally contribute to the team. And there aren't a lot of sports where that's true. Like even mountain biking, you rarely see a heavy mountain biker who's competitive. My friends who are competitive [mountain bikers] really watch what they eat so that they're better at their sport. It's just a whole different mindset. You know, as if they're trying to stay light so they're better mountain biker.

In accord with roller derby's come-as-you-are ethos, Maya understands the sport as one where women of all shapes and sizes can find a competitive niche. The subtext of her passage is that women are born with certain body types and that roller derby—unlike other sports, and by extension, society in general—does not force women to radically alter their bodies in order to fit an idealized mold. This third-wave feminist discourse of bodily self-acceptance is now commonly expressed in so-called femvertising, such as Dove's iconic Campaign for Real Beauty (CFRB; Castillo 2014; Millard 2009). However, the roller derby script allows this discourse to function as a

material practice of gender resignification, rather than just being a celebratory (and commercially framed) representation of feminine empowerment.

Nonetheless, roller derby and, more generally, third-wave feminist celebrations of diverse body types, are situated in a broader cultural sphere where exacting standards of feminine beauty still exert considerable disciplinary power. When placed in other venues of public display, derby grrrls' habituated insecurities over their physical appearance can become salient and engender a palatable tension between their primary socialization in dominant gender ideologies and roller derby's affirmative creed that feminine beauty comes in all shapes and sizes:

Maya: I skated in the [town name] Parade and my t-shirt was kind of tight, my shorts were kind of tight and they were short. I didn't feel like I looked good in it but I thought, well heck, I'm on the roller derby team, I'll wear it. I just kept pulling at it. I wanted the shorts to be longer, I wanted the shirt to be looser, so I didn't feel totally comfortable, but it was a costume, it was a uniform, and that made it okay to wear in public, do you know what I mean? Even though I didn't feel great about wearing it, I thought, "I'm on the roller derby team, I'm skating in the parade with my roller derby team, I'll just wear this, even if I don't think I look that great in it."

Interviewer: What kind of experience was that for you?

Maya: I didn't really think about it too much during the parade, because I was concentrating on not skating though the horse poop, and trying to wave at my friends and not fall down. But someone put a picture of it in the local newspaper and there's a really unflattering picture of me. I thought, I could let that haunt me, and keep going back and looking at it, or I could just move on, which is what I've done, I haven't gone back to look at it. But it made me think, I really need to lose ten pounds, because it was all belly. But I haven't thought about it in months, so it didn't haunt me. Maybe I didn't feel great about being in that outfit, but I felt great about being with those girls.

Maya's passage highlights that a reflexive awareness of the constraints and limits posed by conventional gender norms (and body ideals) does not emancipate marketplace performers from the legacy of their gender socialization and prevailing ideological influences. While participating in the town parade, Maya becomes sensitized to the ideological tension between roller derby's ethos of bodily self-acceptance and the normative beauty standards that she has reiterated over the course of her life. While struggling against her over-socialized insecurities, her derby grrrl persona (and the sense of collective solidarity she gained from it) enabled her to flaunt these normative constraints by wearing her form-fitting (and revealing) uniform in public. And from a sociocultural (and structural) standpoint, Maya's, and her teammates', public performance expressed a collective defiance toward the limits posed by the

stigmatization of fat (Scarabato and Fischer 2013) and the narrow parameters of normalized feminine beauty.

As exemplified by the town parade, the ideological tensions between roller derby grrrls' marketplace performances and reiterative gender norms play out most explicitly in social spaces that Foucault (1967/1986) conceptualized as heterotopias. Heterotopias stand apart from the routine contexts of everyday life and function as counter-sites that are typically, but not necessarily, linked to resistance toward a dominant ideological order (Johnson 2006). In heterotopias, cultural differences and ideological contradictions are enacted in ways that juxtapose utopian ideals against the imperfections of actual social and material conditions (also see Davis 2010; Jones 2009). So-called after-parties—where derby grrrls and their fans gather to socialize in the post-bout evening hours—constitute a recurrent heterotopia in the roller derby field:

Jessica: For me, derby is not just derby, it's not just skating. It's hard to explain to people. It's not just us skating around a circle together; it's us doing all these other things together. It's us so breaking outside of our thoughts. I feel for me personally it's all the things that these other women promote and encourage you to do. It's all extremely positive. I think Jenny mentioned to you the after-party.

I: Right, tell me more.

Jessica: I don't really drink, I don't really party, I don't really, but we skate together and we have all this adrenalin and whether we win or lose we have to do something with all this ramped up energy we have afterwards. So you go to this party and usually there is food and drinks and people who come to watch you come to talk to you now. You're still just sweaty and the rule for us is you're not allowed to go change, you have to come in your uniform, you have to come in your sweats and your hair had been squashed down in your helmet and your make up is running and you have to go to this, wherever it is, this restaurant or this bar so I think outside of the box too a lot of the times we're on the dance floor and we're dancing. One time it was the karaoke and that's not something I would normally do. Or then there was even after-party where there were some girls that jumped the fence and went in the swimming pool (laughing). And so we're talking about teachers, nurses, mothers of three, you know. And you have that other part of you that's like "NO!" but you know, derby grrrl, you can shake it on a dance floor.

In these after-party heterotopias, the material realities behind derby grrrls' public image are rendered visible by make-up that is distorted from sweat and physical contact, hair that is mussed, provocative uniforms that are stained with sweat and blood, body odors that are unmasked by deodorants and soaps. Furthermore, the broader performative norms that govern middle-class women's presentations of self are ironically punctuated by derby grrrls' disheveled post-bout appearances. These heterotopic encounters can

also amplify the experiential conflicts that are invoked when marketplace performances deviate from habituated inhibitions and internalized normative constraints. Experiencing a conflict between the audaciousness encoded in her derby persona and her usual sense of feminine decorum, Jessica adopts a highly reflexive orientation in which she rescripts her habituated timidity in terms more consistent with her derby grrrl persona, a performative shift that draws social support and validation from her compatriots—other teachers, moms, and nurses—who are similarly engaging in these resignifying practices.

The mere presence of derby grrrls' personas can also transform conventional social spaces into a heterotopia in which cultural contradictions are revealed through performative spectacles, sometimes affording an unexpected inspiration for gendered identity work.

Caroline: I was walking through campus and this girl who was not stereotypical model pretty— she was pear shaped, had a real big butt, was wearing a little bitty short skirt and fishnets with roller skates and had a little bit of her midriff sticking out and was wearing a really tight t-shirt— skates up to me and another friend of mine. And she says to us, “You look like tough chicks, wanna do roller derby?” And everything about her, her presence was amazing. She’s skating down a little bit of a downhill, so she got faster and she looked really cool and she’s got her helmet on and looks really cool, and she skates up to us and she does this little “kkkk” and stop. I was in awe of her from the get-go even though I knew that if she took of all her stuff she’d look just like everybody else. I was so flattered by that I didn’t know what to say. So we just took the flyers. I went home and got online and we’re like, “Oh my God, what do I have to do to be a roller derby girl?” And it was pretty much like, “Get yourself a pair of roller skates, practice. When you feel like you’re not going to fall over on the roller skates, come to derby practice and then we’ll show you how this game is played.” Well, in my case I didn’t have the time. And one of the things they were very adamant about was you have to have insurance, this is a tough game. At the time for me it wasn’t an option financially. But it was really flattering to be taken as a tough chick.

In a scene that could have come straight from the film *Whip It*, Caroline’s routine campus walk is fundamentally disrupted by the flamboyant entrance of a derby grrrl. While recognizing the overtly performative nature of this interaction (i.e., “I knew that if she took of all her stuff she’d look just like everybody else”), Caroline experienced a sense of awe over this derby girl’s demonstration of embodied cultural capital and her sexualized display of flesh, the latter of which flaunted normative pressures for women who do not fit the culturally prescribed image of female attractiveness to shroud their bodies (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). For Caroline, being recognized by this anonymous derby grrrl as someone who looked like “a tough chick” opened up a field of new gender performative possibilities:

Caroline: So I ultimately went with belly dance instead of roller derby. I said, “I gotta find something that’s even more risqué,” so I started to belly dance.

DISCUSSION

Our research has analyzed the ways in which marketplace performances mediate consumers’ resignifications of naturalized gender discourses and their reflexive efforts to circumvent the ideological foreclosures implicit to their habituated gender tendencies. For the women in our study, the process of becoming derby grrrls enjoined significant departures from their habituated tendencies to be deferential, accommodating, reserved, and insecure about their bodies (both in terms of its appearance and capacity for competitive sports). These predispositions map onto the subordinated side of the binary oppositions that had shaped their reiterative expressions of femininity. In contrast, their roller derby personas resignify these meanings in manifold ways, ranging from celebrating taboo femininities, ironizing traditional femininities (and their foreclosures), and creating hybrid femininities that meld masculine and feminine cultural signifiers. When derby grrrls express these resignifications, they gain a sense of personal empowerment and collective solidarity, and, through the legitimating dynamics of market mediation, a cultural license to engage in reflexive practices of gender resistance.

More generally, roller derby sits squarely in the conceptual space where countercultural meanings and sensibilities confront the commodifying influences of the marketplace. This intersection of the countercultural and the commercial has been a topic of considerable interest among social theorists and consumer researchers alike. Although many of these studies do not necessarily utilize the theoretical vernacular of performance, they address the ideological dimensions of marketplace performances, such as the punk music scene’s youth-oriented, anarchist expressions of working class rebellion (Hebdige 1979) or the aggressively defiant black masculinity enacted in the cultural field of rap music (Dyson 1996) and its mimetic diffusion into the identity practices of younger white males and the public personas of iconic white rappers (e.g., The Beastie Boys, Eminem, House of Pain, MGK, and Macklemore), an artistic affectation that White (2011, 41) characterizes as “gangsta drag.”

These cultural analyses have frequently argued that the relationship between countercultural meanings and the commercial marketplace is an inherently paradoxical one—whereby practices and symbols of sociocultural resistance are co-opted by corporate interests seeking to create more profitable lifestyle segments, each pursuing a Veblenesque quest for social distinction (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Heath and Potter 2004; Holt 2002; Johnston 2008). Through this process of marketplace

co-optation, countercultures become grist for the marketing mill, providing resources for self-expressive individualism: the ideological hallmark of contemporary consumerism (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Cross 2000; Frank 1997; Holt 2002).

From this perspective, corporate co-optation denudes resistant practices and meanings of their oppositional and subversive qualities, rendering them as little more than aestheticized symbols of rebellion or hip consumerism (Cronin, McCarthy, and Collins 2014; Heath and Potter 2004; Holt 2002; Johnston 2008). This ideological melding of counterculture meanings and marketplace logics is further deemed to insulate the sociocultural status quo from disruptive challenges and to perpetuate dominant ideologies by allowing their underlying ideological tensions to be assuaged through marketplace myths (Holt 2005) and experiences of carnivalesque release (Goulding et al. 2009; Kozinets 2002).

Dara Persis Murray (2013) presents a very relevant version of this argument in her analysis of Dove's iconic CFRB. She links the critical concept of commodity feminism—whereby advertisers co-opt feminist narratives of empowerment in ways “that depoliticize the feminist message” (2013, 87)—to the branding of personal identity. While presenting a more diverse array of body types and shapes (and age ranges and ethnic heritages), Murray (2013, 98) concludes that Dove's CFRB inscribes women in an “oppressive ideology” that demands continuous acts of bodily self-monitoring and emotional management, all packaged in corporate friendly ideals of self-acceptance and cultivating self-esteem through a diligent regimen of cosmetic care.

The case of roller derby, however, reveals a more subtle relationship between the marketplace and countercultural resistance than suggested by these critical analyses. These prior accounts imply an antinomy between defiant agitators who maintain an alienated autonomy from the contested status quo and status-seeking consumers who have become implicated in the system and perform rebellion (in a Goffmanian sense) without disrupting the prevailing orthodoxy. However, this bifurcation between authentic countercultural subversives and rebel poseurs does not account for the ideological complexities of gender resignifications and their potential to generate transformative reverberations within a given sociocultural network.

One key consideration is that overtly transgressive gender performances may be rejected as immoral, scandalous, deviant, or risibly eccentric. Such stigmatizing classifications can have multiple institutional effects, such as marginalizing those who embody these resignifications and, relatedly, providing cultural rationales for ignoring or dismissing these rebukes to status quo conditions on the grounds they lack moral credibility or cultural legitimacy. Against the backdrop of such de-legitimizing classifications, naturalized gender norms can also be ideologically

framed (and hence buttressed) as sacrosanct traditions that need to be defended from transgressive threats.

In contrast, roller derby's (glocalized) gender resignifications broaden the preconceived boundaries of legitimate femininity held by fans and performers alike. When roller derby's performative script is adapted to local tastes and tolerances, a zone of tolerability is created in which naturalized gender norms can be contested without crossing into taboo territory and generating a state of moral turpitude (and polemical reactions among audience members).

To explain this dynamic, we draw a culturally analogous comparison to Celsi et al.'s (1993) analysis of the edgework performed by high-risk leisure consumers. In these dramatic performances, sky divers test the limits of their developing skills and, hence, attain greater proficiency at their high risk endeavors. In pushing the edge, these risk-taking consumers also strive to not cross into a realm of unmanageable and uncalculated risks where situational demands could overwhelm their capabilities, potentially leading to tragic outcomes. In a parallel fashion, derby grrrls' ideological edgework pushes against the normative constraints naturalized in their gender socialization. While their collective goal is to resist these ideological limits and foreclosures, they skirt the taboo boundary between legitimate deviation and stigmatizing deviance.

Ideological Edgework and Embodied Resistance

An underlying theoretical (and sociopolitical) motif common to the phenomena of marketplace performances, ideological edgework, and gender performativity is embodied resistance, whereby the body functions as a material affront to impositions of power that operate through normalizing standards of appearance, comportment, and physical proportion (Bobel and Kwan 2011). In the CCT literature, embodied resistance is perhaps best exemplified by recent studies of fatshionistas, who collectively challenge the restrictive norms governing acceptable body shapes and the corresponding cultural imperatives that large-sized women devote their energies to becoming thinner and otherwise hide their adipose excess in unflattering, shapeless clothing (Gurrieri and Cherrier 2013; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013).

Confronted by the fashion industry's failure to provide chic plus-sized offerings, fatshionistas mobilize to have their stylistic preferences, identity goals, and political opposition to size-based discrimination materially represented in the mainstream fashion market. In effect, they are seeking to gain both new sartorial resources for their desired performances of fashionable, full-figured femininity and increased social legitimacy through inclusion and representation in the marketplace. In these analyses of fatshionistas' efforts to reshape the fashion market, rather than their bodies (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013, 1242), the specter of ideological co-optation does not emerge as a pressing

theoretical concern, as it does in the case of Dove's CFRB and other femvertising appropriations of third-wave feminism's body-positivity discourse (Millard 2009).

One plausible reason for this difference is that femvertising is a corporate-sponsored marketing discourse. In contrast, fatshionistas are engaged in a grassroots effort to transform the mainstream fashion market in ways that would give material expression to a more inclusive system of gender norms and ideals (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013) and broaden prevailing ideological constructions of feminine attractiveness (Sandıkçı, Özlem and Güliz Ger (2010)). Fatshionistas and derby grrrls would then seem to inhabit a fairly unique sociocultural space in which the marketplace facilitates their practices of resignification, rather than merely commodifying them.

Yet, this distinction between discourses of feminist empowerment that are inflected through corporate branding strategies and those materialized through grassroots initiatives circumvents a more fundamental ontological question: Does the transposition of feminist empowerment ideals onto the commercial field—even when embedded in consumer-driven market activities not directly controlled by corporate interests—attenuate the ideologically disruptive capacities of embodied resistance?

Alternative market systems—that is, those that operate outside the sphere of direct corporate influence (Schor and Thompson 2014)—have been shown to modulate ideological tensions between countercultural practices and the status quo logic of consumerism (and the nexus of dominant discourses, values, and ideals it promotes) (Binkley 2003; Cronin et al. 2014; D'Enbeau and Buzzanell 2011; Dubois, Schor, and Carfagna 2014; Giesler 2008; Holt 2002; Kozinets 2002; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007). Seen in this light, we can restate our ontological question as follows: Can embodied resistance be mediated through marketplace performances without becoming complicit in the prevailing ideological order that is ostensibly being contested?

Ethnographic studies of roller derby, while typically celebrating its emancipatory potential at the micro-level, often sound an ambivalent note when pondering its broader effects on prevailing power structures. As Finley (2010, 383) writes, roller derby's negotiations "between femininities and masculinities form a complex matrix of acquiescence, adaptation, and resistance." In a similar spirit, Carlson (2010, 437) suggests that marketization and the related trend toward professionalization "seems to belie the professed democratic, grassroots ethos of roller derby and suggests the limits of derby's potential critique of (male-dominated) athleticism."

Moving beyond the roller derby context, key studies in the CCT tradition similarly suggest that ideological complicity is a likely, if not inevitable consequence, of market mediation (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Giesler 2008; Goulding et al. 2009; Johnston 2008; Murray 2002;

Weinberger and Wallendorf 2012; Zwick, Bonsu, and Darmody 2008). Our research provides an alternative perspective by highlighting some differing outcomes that can emerge from the blending of marketplace performances and embodied resistance. In this spirit, let us consider Goulding et al.'s (2009) ethnography of how the illicit pleasures of the underground rave culture have been appropriated by the marketplace.

Their analysis is conceptually consistent with the commercial co-optation thesis, but additionally they call attention to the process of containment, which is integral to these hedonic marketplace performances. They argue that clubbing is a commercialized field in which the ecstasy-driven (and illicit) sensuality of the underground rave can be simulated in a safe and professionally managed environment, segregated from other spheres of social life. On their account, clubbing is a liminal performance of bacchanalian excess that, unlike the underground rave scene, supports (rather than challenges) the ideological production of reliable, productive workers by affording career-driven individuals a restorative respite from the stresses of competing in the neo-liberal, free-agent economy. But to paraphrase a famous promotional byline, what happens in the club, stays in the club.

Unlike clubbing, however, derby grrrls' marketplace performances are neither sequestered from the social fields that organize their everyday lives nor cast into the realm of institutionally veiled pleasure seeking. Rather, derby grrrls' performances are fully embedded in their broader social networks. Their gender resignifications gain an aura of social legitimacy through the glocalization of the roller derby script and the ingratiation of roller derby teams into the local community through service projects, participation in town parades, and other outreach and promotional efforts.

This market-mediated process, in turn, also creates recurrent juxtapositions between roller derby's gender resignifications and naturalized gender norms that traverse the gender perceptions of fans and supporters. Through their immersion in the roller derby field, derby grrrls become reflexively aware of ideological limitations and constraints that had been naturalized in their gender socialization and everyday routines. For female fans, derby grrrls' marketplace performances function as a personally relevant signal that they too could diverge from the gender norms that govern their reiterative gender practices. Male fans venerate roller derby grrrls as empowering role models for their daughters. In some cases, roller derby also enrolls men in a different set of gendered practices, such as playing the role of super fans at bouts who also assume a broader range of domestic responsibilities to support their partners' time-consuming commitments to the sport.

Derby grrrls' performative alignment of embodied resistance and market-mediated ideological edgework exhibits commonalities to the gendered identity projects that Martin et al. (2006) discuss in their study of women Harley-

Davidson riders. Our gender performativity lens further develops Martin et al.'s (2006) insights by more directly analyzing how these performative scripts are understood and enacted in a glocalized form and by explicating the complex interrelations that arise between the resignification and reiteration of orthodox gender norms. More specifically, we bring to light the ways derby grrrls' gender resignifications are institutionally shaped by the very system of normative constraints being contested, which, in turn, leads to calibrated acts of embodied resistance undertaken through practices of ideological edgework.

Martin et al. (2006, 183–84) tap into these issues when discussing the paradoxes that women Harley riders face, such as having to “accept or be relegated to subordinate positions with respect to their male partners,” even when possessing superior skills. However, this line of analysis hinges on the now familiar theoretical tension between resistance and status quo—sustaining accommodations to prevailing power structures (Izberk-Bilgin 2010; Murray 2002). Ideological edgework raises the prospect that, under some sociocultural conditions, such seemingly paradoxical concessions could serve discernible strategic and resistant functions.

As demonstrated by the case of roller derby, modulated gender resignifications can expand the discursive and material limits of gender performativity (and still maintain a sufficient degree of ideological frisson to spark a critical reflexivity toward formerly naturalized ideological constraints and foreclosures) without being marginalized as morally questionable transgressions. Once these resignifications become institutionally established in the social networks that contextualize these marketplace performances, the cultural conditions would also be set for a new phase of ideological edgework that could further push these expanded (and expandable) gender boundaries. Whereas analyses of embodied resistance often treat coup d'état—styled revolutionary change as the ideal, our analysis suggests that this implicit framing glosses over practices of resistance and ensuing forms of ideological transformation that unfold in a manner more akin to a quiet revolution (Crane 2007).

Reconceptualizing the Gendered Habitus and the Uses of Embodied Cultural Capital

Our second major point of contribution is developing a new theoretical perspective on the gendered habitus (Bourdieu 2001; McNay 1999b; Skeggs 2004; Thorpe 2009), particularly in regard to consumers' efforts to alter tendencies emanating from their gender socialization (Bettany et al. 2010; Bettany, Kerrane, and Hogg 2014; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013; Parmentier and Fischer 2011). In accordance with Bourdieusian theory, we explicate relationships that arise among regulatory social norms, habituated gender predispositions, and embodied

cultural capital. However, our account differs from prior applications of the gendered habitus, which have tended to focus on the ways in which status competitions systematically favor those who possess greater levels of embodied cultural capital requisite in a given social field (McNay 1999b; Ourahmoune and Özçağlar-Toulouse 2012).

Conventional Bourdieusian analyses highlight the status distinctions that arise when one plays a social game with more or less skill and aplomb, with the habitus being a key discriminating factor (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). As applied to the roller derby field, the implication is that those who enter into the roller derby field with a more compatible gender habitus (i.e., more athletic, more self-confident, more outgoing) would also be more likely to win valued stakes (such as symbolic capital) than those who bring less congruent predispositions to the field. Under these conditions, socially advantaged competitors would accumulate symbolic capital at a faster rate than those in disadvantaged positions, and hence, the social disparities among these differentially resourced factions would increase, even though all are located in the same institutional field and playing the same status game (Üstüner and Holt 2010).

This rich-get-richer (relative to the less advantaged) formulation does not adequately address cases in which acquisitions of new forms of embodied cultural capital are situated in a collective project of transcending naturalized ideological constraints and foreclosures. As women become immersed in the unfamiliar social field of roller derby, they have to cultivate a host of skills and orientations that do not fit like a glove (Allen 2002) based on their prior history of socialization. These acquisitions of embodied cultural capital have a very specific effect: derby grrrls' naturalized gender norms and habituated tendencies (emanating from their primary socialization and histories of reiterative gender performances) begin to feel problematically constraining.

To play on Allen's (2002) fits like a glove metaphor, these naturalized predispositions and reiterative routines become akin to a glove that has been shrunk in the laundry; it may still have a functional fit (and even harbor some emotional attachments), but it is now a locus of discomfitting restrictions. Similarly, derby grrrls' acquisition of embodied cultural capital fosters a new or heightened awareness of opportunities, experiences, and capabilities that had been foreclosed by their gender socialization.

For the derby grrrls in our study, this cultivation of new performative capacities is understood as a form of gender empowerment, in the specific sense of gaining resources to challenge naturalized constraints and foreclosures. This empowering consequence emerges from the contrast between the gender resignifications that derby grrrls enact in the roller derby field and the reiterative gender norms that are ideologically aligned with their primary gender socialization. And the reflexive awareness sparked by these inter-

field contrasts can exist simultaneously with intra-field status games that follow a more typical Bourdieusian pattern. That is, roller derby's market-mediated resignifications allow derby grrrls to challenge and even lessen the constraints imposed by their gender socialization and reiterative practices, even in cases where they may have lower prospects for winning status in the derby field vis a vis teammates and competitors.

To further elaborate, the sociological consequences of cultivating new forms of embodied cultural capital are not an either/or condition; that is, one either seeks to challenge ideological limits or one competes for symbolic capital and leverages the advantages (or grapples with the disadvantages) manifest in her gendered habitus. Embedded within the communal and resignifying aspects of the roller derby field, there is an institutionalized status system that is indeed premised on the embodied cultural capital that derby grrrls bring to the field. In particular, the rules of roller derby encode some fundamental contradictions to the sports' communal, nonelitist ideals and its valorization of women's diverse body shapes. As the player responsible for scoring (and designated by a starred helmet), the jammer tends to be the spotlight player, much in the way that a quarterback tends to stand out more than a lineman in an American-rules football game. The jammer role favors women who are fast and agile, and these traits typically correlate with having a smaller body mass and being younger. In contrast, the blockers who constitute the pack typically possess a larger body mass, as their role does not require the quickness and maneuverability exhibited by a jammer. Thus, a subtle body type hierarchy is instituted and justified through roller derby's competitive format and further magnified by the division between competitive and recreational teams that is now commonplace in WFTDA leagues. However, the potential conflicts posed by these contradictions are mitigated by derby grrrls' collective commitment to roller derby's higher-order ideological project of embodied, gender resistance.

Our analysis also has implications for understanding the complex question of how the gendered habitus can be reshaped through performative practices. While Bourdieu's conceptualization does allow for the theoretical possibility of such changes (McNay 1999b; Skeggs 2004), this sociological vernacular is best suited to articulating the social forces and constraints that lead to the reproduction of oversocialized (i.e., reiterative) gender practices across contexts and generations. By integrating performative considerations into the conceptualization of the gendered habitus, however, we can better elucidate some of the sociocultural and ideological conditions that are conducive to reflexive transformations of the gendered habitus.

In Bourdieu's framework, the gendered habitus is defined as an internally consistent system of distinctions between masculinity and femininity that reproduce broader power relations and social status hierarchies (Bourdieu

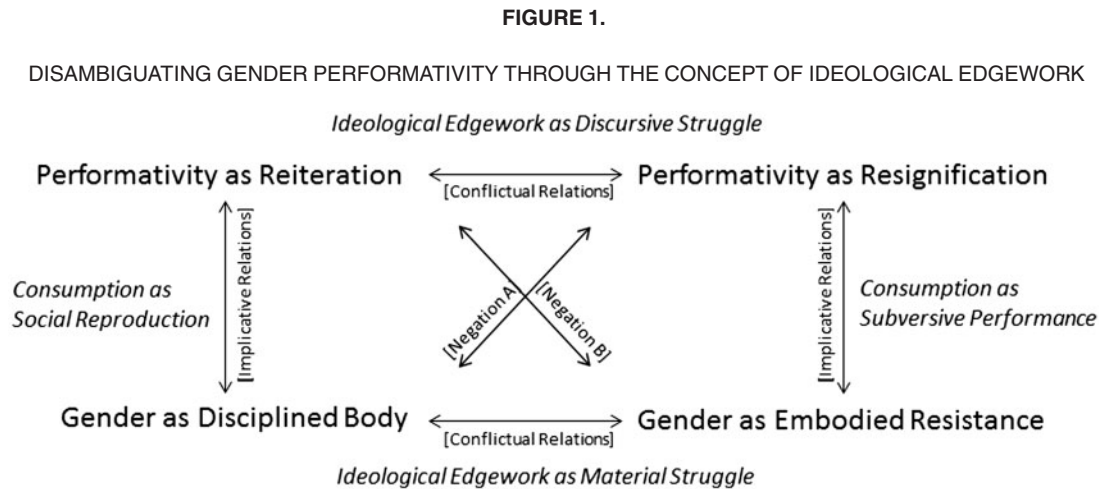
1997, 2001). Women's experiences of becoming roller derby grrrls, in contrast, highlight the polyvalent nature of gender socialization. For example, some of our participants describe being raised in families that adhered to very traditional gender roles (i.e., dad as the breadwinning, man of the house; mom as a self-sacrificing homemaker), but these same women were also raised in the era of third-wave feminism and exposed to a broad gamut of alternative gender ideologies through mass media and their peer networks. Their narratives further demonstrate that gender resignifications can invoke contradictory gender discourses and embodied tendencies, such as when Maya describes her self-consciousness over her exposed belly fat—reiterating dominant ideals of feminine beauty—while still enacting roller derby's come-as-you-are body politic.

Our analysis, therefore, suggests that the gendered habitus is a more ideologically diversified system of dispositions than Bourdieu's conventional framework recognizes. If interpreted from a performativity standpoint, Bourdieu's theorization of the gendered habitus is most attuned to gender norms that tend to be frequently reiterated (and rehearsed) in the social fields that a given consumer routinely inhabits (the everyday contexts of home, work, shopping, and other fields that contextualize one's orthodox gender practices). However, immersion in social fields that diverge from these orthodox conditions—such as roller derby—provides an institutional means to develop latent capacities that have been ideologically foreclosed or repressed in their reiterative gender practices. In regard to this latter point, a given nexus of gender distinctions and norms may be the dominant influence on a consumer's gender socialization. However, alternative gender ideologies may also circulate in the peripheries of one's mass-mediated, social milieu, and these distal influences can leave embodied traces that can later be cultivated in ways that might be colloquially characterized as exhibiting a steep learning curve. These latent predispositions can, in turn, become a key component of consumers' affinities for resignifying marketplace performances.

Disambiguating Gender Performativity

Prior research, both in the consumer research field and the broader domain of gender studies, has tended to conflate the concepts of gender performativity and social performance. We propose that concept of ideological edgework can help to redress some of the conceptual ambiguities that promote this intellectual slippage and, in so doing, better account for the material and discursive struggles that emerge when marketplace performances function as expressions of embodied resistance.

To explain this implication, we employ the logic of the (modified) semiotic square (Giesler 2008; Holt and Thompson 2004) to explicate the theoretical tensions that underlie these conceptual ambiguities and the clarifying



linkages afforded by the construct of ideological edgework. In figure 1, the top horizontal axis represents the contrariety (i.e., oppositions) between reiterative and resignifying modes of gender performativity. Per Butler's (2004) conceptualization, both should be understood as particular configurations of structure and agency tensions. As analyses of gender performativity move down the implicative axes (i.e., social reproduction and subversive performances), however, they tend to respectively favor structural or agentic interpretations of consumers' gendered identity practices. In other words, gender studies tend to partition performativity's dialectical orientation—which implies that both gender reiterations and resignifications are situated in shifting relations between regulatory structures and agentic actions—into a dichotomy between social reproduction and subversive performances.

The social reproduction axis depicts the regulatory influences exerted by naturalized ideologies, normalizing cultural standards, and socialization in orthodox gender roles and expectations. These studies are highly attuned to the structural forces that inscribe consumers in gendered power relations, but they also have tendencies to portray consumers as disciplined bodies who exhibit relatively little autonomy from over-socialized tendencies and ideological interpellations (Amy-Chinn 2006). Hence, these studies are susceptible to the charge that they ignore or overly discount the agentic practices through which consumers rework ideological meanings and disciplining gender norms in their everyday lives and identity projects (Evans, Riley, and Shankar 2010; Hein and O'Donohoe 2014; Moisio, Arnould, and Gentry 2013).

This analytic dilemma can be further illuminated by considering the semiotic relations immanent to the concept of gender performativity. In semiotic terms, the relation between the disciplined body and resignifying practices is

one of negation (see the negation A in figure 1) whereby one construct is defined by the absence of an attribute characteristic of another (Greimas 1966/1983). Owing to this semiotic contradiction, analyses of performative reiterations have tendencies to elide the personal meanings and identity goals implicit to consumers' enactments of orthodox gender norms. In this regard, it is noteworthy that Butler's account of performativity, despite her arguments to the contrary (Butler 1998, 2004), has been routinely interpreted as defining agency only in the negative, as an act of resistance toward naturalized gender norms (Magnus 2006; McNay 1999a)—that is, as the contradictory relationships represented in negation A. [Owing to space constraints, we will only elaborate on the negation A contradiction but our arguments have parallel implications for negation B (i.e., performativity as reiteration and embodied resistance).]

In the CCT literature, negotiation has become the default conceptual term for circumventing these semiotic pitfalls and presenting a more dialectical account of consumers' relations to gendered power relationships (e.g., Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013; Hein and O'Donohoe 2014; Martin et al. 2006; Moisio, Arnould, and Gentry 2013; Murray 2002; Stevens, Cappellini, and Smith 2015). While a reasonably effective analytic device, negotiation is typically operationalized through the idea that consumers reinterpret ideological meanings in relation to their identity projects and goals. Therefore, it begs the question of which institutional actors and conditions are structuring these negotiations and setting their terms. Furthermore, negotiation does not readily capture Butler's real politik insight that deviations from naturalized gender norms and categories always harbor risks of social stigma, censure, and even violent retribution. Whereas negotiation implies a mutually attained agreement, gender resignifications and practices of

embodied resistance are more akin to flaunting a regulation or refusing to follow a lawful order. While such actions can precipitate negotiations (as well as penalties and retributions), their underlying ideological agenda is not to reach an acceptable compromise among competing interests *per se*. Rather, they express defiance toward specific modes of institutional authority and, reciprocally, support for an alternative system of governance.

Accordingly, we suggest that ideological edgework offers a more precise characterization of the discursive and material power struggles manifest in resignifying performances and embodied resistance. Against the tendency to treat negotiation as a province of consumers' identity narratives (and their capacities for creative appropriations of ideological norms), ideological edgework reminds that resistant practices are enacted in interpersonal and institutional spheres and can potentially cross the proverbial edge, placing one at tangible risk of social censure (such as a loss of social legitimacy). As represented in [figure 1](#), ideological edgework also highlights that gender resignifications are corporeal practices in which the normatively disciplined body is materially and symbolically made unruly.

To illustrate this latter difference concretely, prior studies have interpreted derby grrrls' fetishization of bruises as being indicative of their ideological co-optation into a culture of masculine domination ([Carlson 2010](#); [Finley 2010](#)). While recognizing the materiality of this contact sport, these critical readings focus on the discursive aspects of derby grrrls' marketplace performances. Derby grrrls' gender resignifications are deemed to mimic masculine ideals of toughness, combativeness, and the heroic glorification of violence and, thereby, tacitly affirm the ideological privileging of masculine signifiers over feminine ones ([Carlson 2010](#)).

From a materiality standpoint ([Borgerson 2005b](#)), however, bruises are not strictly reducible to the status of linguistic signifiers, to be deconstructed as ideological texts, because discourses and symbolic boundaries are themselves not an immaterial system of semantic relations. Rather, they are materialized as social realities through networks of objects, practices, and bodies. Gender discourses are dialectically constituted as an "embodied politics" ([Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992](#), 172) of administrative rules, social conventions, formal and informal social classifications and expectations, habituated tendencies, behavioral norms, and a gamut of institutional constraints and inequities that operate across dispersed institutional contexts ([Ben-Galim and Silim 2014](#); [Chi and Li 2008](#); [Fraser 2013](#)). Rather than reciting discourses of masculine domination, bruises can be interpreted as the material consequences of derby grrrls' resistance toward the symbolic violence ([Bourdieu 2001](#); [Ourahmoune and Özçağlar-Toulouse 2012](#)) that inscribes these subordinating gender distinctions upon their bodies. Or more simply put, derby

grrrls celebrate their bruises because ideological edgework leaves a mark.

DATA COLLECTION INFORMATION

The data for this study were collected in two small towns located in the western United States, one having 140,000 residents and the other having just over 5,000, by co-author Tuba Üstüner. Data were primarily collected during the 2012 calendar year, with some preliminary data gathered in late 2011 and some follow-up data collection occurring throughout 2013. The analysis of the interview transcripts and other supplemental material from team Web pages were jointly conducted by both authors.

APPENDIX

A roller derby bout is contested on a flat track whose dimensions should be 148' 6" (inside circumference) and 236' 6" (outside circumference), with various zones marked off according to a standardized layout (see <http://www.wftda.com/rules/wftda-rules-appendix-a-track-design.pdf>). Bouts consist of two 30 minute periods and an intermission between two teams, each having five skaters: one jammer, one pivot, and three blockers. The jammer is designated by a star on her helmet. She is a speed-oriented skater whose goal is to maneuver through the pack and accumulate points by passing members of the opposing team. The pivots and blockers from both teams make up the pack. The pivot sets the pace for the other blockers and calls out various plays and formations.

Points are scored during "jams," which can last up to 2 minutes, with a 30 second break between each. The jam begins with a pivot from each team positioned in the front row, four blockers in the middle row, and two blockers in the back row. When the referee's whistle blows, the pack takes off with each team's jammer 30 feet behind. On a second whistle, the jammers start battling through the pack in an attempt to be named "lead jammer." The lead jammer is the first to pass the foremost in-play blocker legally and in bounds, having already passed all other blockers.

The jammers pass the pack once and then skate around the track to pass them a second time. Throughout the jam, blockers attempt to help their jammer maneuver through the pack while impeding the competing jammer's progress (both jammers and blockers are bound by an extensive set of rules regarding legal blocking and passing maneuvers). Upon the second pass through the pack, a jammer scores one point for every opposing team member she passes. By rule, the lead jammer has the discretion to call off the jam at any time during the 2 minute time frame. This advantage, for example, would allow the lead jammer to gain her points and then terminate the jam before the competing jammer has had a chance to score [adapted from <http://www.wftda.com/rules/20130101/section/3.4>].

REFERENCES

- Allen, Douglas (2002), "Toward a Theory of Consumer Choice as Sociohistorically Shaped Practical Experience: The Fits-Like-a-Glove (FLAG) Framework," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28 (March), 515–32.
- Amy-Chinn, Dee (2006), "This Is Just for Me (n): How the Regulation of Post-feminist Lingerie Advertising Perpetuates Woman as Object," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 6 (2), 155–75.
- Arnould, Eric (2005), "Animating the Big Middle," *Journal of Retailing*, 81 (2), 89–96.
- Arnould, Eric J. and Linda L. Price (1993), "River Magic: Extraordinary Experience and the Extended Service Encounter," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20 (June), 24–45.
- . (2000), "Authenticating Acts and Authoritative Performances: Questing for Self and Community," in *The Why of Consumption: Contemporary Perspectives on Consumer Motives, Goals and Desires*, ed. S. Ratneshwar, David Glen Mick, and Cynthia Huffman, New York: Routledge, 140–63.
- Arsel, Zeynep and Craig J. Thompson (2011), "Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Capital from Devaluing Marketplace Myths," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (February), 791–806.
- Austin, John L. (1962), *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered in Harvard in 1955*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Belk, Russell W. (2013), "Extended Self in a Digital World," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (3), 477–500.
- Belk, Russell W. and Janeen Arnold Costa (1998), "The Mountain Myth: A Contemporary Consuming Fantasy," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (December), 218–40.
- Bell, Vicki (2006), "Performative Knowledge," *Theory, Culture, & Society*, 23 (2–3), 214–17.
- Ben-Galim, Dalia and Amna Silim (2014), "Can Public Policy Break the Glass Ceiling?: Lessons from Abroad," Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/BenGalim-GlassCeiling-report-FINAL.pdf>.
- Berger, Jonah and Morgan Ward (2010), "Subtle Signals of Inconspicuous Consumption," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (4), 555–69.
- Bettany, Shona, Susan Dobscha, Lisa O'Malley, and Andrea Prothero (2010), "Moving Beyond Binary Opposition: Exploring the Tapestry of Gender in Consumer Research and Marketing," *Marketing Theory*, 10 (1), 3–28.
- Bettany, Shona M., Ben Kerrane, and Margaret K. Hogg (2014), "The Material-Semiotics of Fatherhood: The Co-emergence of Technology and Contemporary Fatherhood," *Journal of Business Research*, 67 (7), 1544–51.
- Bettelheim, Bruno (1976), *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Beverland, Michael B. and Francis J. Farrelly (2010), "The Quest for Authenticity in Consumption: Consumers' Purposive Choice of Authentic Cues to Shape Experienced Outcomes," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (February), 838–56.
- Binkley, Sam (2003), "Cosmic Profit: Countercultural Commerce and the Problem of Trust in American Marketing," *Consumption, Markets, & Culture*, 6 (3), 231–49.
- Bobel, Chris and Samantha Kwan (2011), "Introduction," in *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules*, ed. Chris Bobel and Samantha Kwan, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1–10.
- Borgerson, Janet (2005a), "Judith Butler: On Organizing Subjectivities," *Sociological Review*, 53 (October), 63–79.
- . (2005b), "Materiality, Agency, and the Constitution of Consuming Subjects: Insights for Consumer Research," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 32, ed. Geeta Menon and Akshay R. Rao, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 439–43.
- Borghini, Stefania, Nina Diamond, Robert V. Kozinets, Mary Ann McGrath, Albert M. Muñoz, and John F. Sherry (2009), "Why Are Themed Brandstores So Powerful?: Retail Brand Ideology at American Girl Place," *Journal of Retailing*, 85 (September), 363–75.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . (1986), "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, Westport, CT: Greenwood, 241–58.
- . (1997), "Bodily Knowledge," in *Pascalian Meditations*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 128–163.
- . (2001), *Masculine Domination*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loic J. D. Wacquant (1992), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Brickell, Chris (2003), "Performativity or Performance?: Clarifications in the Sociology of Gender," *New Zealand Sociology*, 18 (2), 158–78.
- Bristol, Julia M. and Eileen Fischer (1993), "Feminist Theory and Consumer Research," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 19 (4), 518–36.
- Butler, Judith P. (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge.
- . (1993), *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, New York: Routledge.
- . (1994), "Gender as Performance: Judith Butler Interviewed by Peter Osborne and Lynne Segal," *Radical Philosophy*, 67 (Summer), 109–25.
- . (1997), *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, New York: Routledge.
- . (1998), "How Bodies Come to Matter: An Interview with Judith Butler," *Signs*, 23 (Winter), 275–86.
- . (2004), *Undoing Gender*, New York: Routledge.
- Canniford, Robin and Eminegül Karababa (2013), "Partly Primitive: Discursive Constructions of the Domestic Surfer," *Consumption, Markets, & Culture*, 16 (2), 119–44.
- Carlson, Jennifer (2010), "The Female Signifiant in All-Women's Amateur Roller Derby," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 27 (4), 428–40.
- Castillo, Michelle (2014), "These Stats Prove Femvertising Works," *AdWeek*, October 10, <http://www.adweek.com/news/technology/these-stats-prove-femvertising-works-160704>.
- Celsi, Richard, Randall Rose, and Thomas Leigh (1993), "An Exploration of High-Risk Leisure Consumption through Skydiving," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20 (June), 1–21.
- Chen, Katherine K. (2012), "Charismatizing the Routine: Storytelling for Meaning and Agency in the Burning Man Organization," *Qualitative Sociology*, 35 (3), 311–34.
- Chi, Wei and Bo Li (2008), "Glass Ceiling or Sticky Floor?: Examining the Gender Earnings Differential across the

- Earnings Distribution in Urban China, 1987–2004,” *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 36 (2), 243–63.
- Chronis, Athinodoros, Eric J. Arnould, and Ronald D. Hampton (2012), “Gettysburg Re-imagined: The Role of Narrative Imagination in Consumption Experience,” *Consumption, Markets, & Culture*, 15 (3), 261–86.
- Connell, R. W. (2002), *Gender*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Coskuner-Balli, Gokcen and Craig J. Thompson (2013), “The Status Costs of Subordinate Cultural Capital: At-Home Fathers’ Collective Pursuit of Cultural Legitimacy through Capitalizing Consumption Practices,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (June), 19–41.
- Crane, Randall (2007), “Is There a Quiet Revolution in Women’s Travel? Revisiting the Gender Gap in Commuting,” *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 73 (3), 298–316.
- Crawford, Bridget J. (2007), “Toward a Third-Wave Feminist Legal Theory: Young Women, Pornography, and the Praxis of Pleasure,” *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*, 14 (1), 99–168.
- Cronin, James M., Mary B. McCarthy, and Alan M. Collins (2014), “Covert Distinction: How Hipsters Practice Food-Based Resistance Strategies in the Production of Identity,” *Consumption, Markets, & Culture*, 17 (1), 2–28.
- Cross, Gary (2000), *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won Out in America*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Davis, Teresa (2010), “Third Spaces or Heterotopias?: Recreating and Negotiating Migrant Identity Using Online Spaces,” *Sociology*, 44 (4), 661–77.
- Deighton, John (1992), “The Consumption of Performance,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 19 (December), 362–72.
- Deighton, John and Kent Grayson (1995), “Marketing and Seduction: Building Exchange Relationships by Managing Social Consensus,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (4), 660–76.
- D’Enbeau, Suzy and Patrice M. Buzzanell (2011), “Selling (Out) Feminism: Sustainability of Ideology–Viability Tensions in a Competitive Marketplace,” *Communication Monographs*, 78 (1), 27–52.
- Dholakia, Nikhilesh and A. Fuat Firat (2003), *Consuming People: From Political Economy to Theatres of Consumption*, New York: Routledge.
- Dubois, Emilie A., Juliet B. Schor, and Lindsey B. Carfagna (2014), “New Cultures of Connection in a Boston Time Bank”, in *Sustainable Lifestyles and the Quest for Plenitude*, ed. Juliet B. Schor and Craig J. Thompson, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 95–124.
- Dyson, Michael Eric (1996), *Between God and Gangsta Rap: Bearing Witness to Black Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Adrienne, Sarah Riley, and Avi Shankar (2010), “Technologies of Sexiness: Theorizing Women’s Engagement in the Sexualization of Culture,” *Feminism & Psychology*, 20 (1), 114–31.
- Finley, Nancy J. (2010), “Skating Femininity: Gender Maneuvering in Women’s Roller Derby,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 39 (4), 359–87.
- Fixmer, Natalie and Julia T. Wood (2005), “The Personal Is Still Political: Embodied Politics in Third Wave Feminism,” *Women’s Studies in Communication*, 28 (2), 235–57.
- Foucault, Michel (1978), *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Vol.1, New York: Random House.
- . (1967/1986), “Of Other Spaces,” trans. by Jay Miskowicz, *Diacritics*, 16 (Spring), 22–27.
- Frank, Thomas (1997), *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and Hip Consumerism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fraser, Nancy (2013), *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*, London: Verso.
- Friedan, Betty (1963), *The Feminine Mystique*, New York: W. W. Norton.
- Ger, Güliz and Russell W. Belk (1996), “I’d Like to Buy the World a Coke: Consumptionscapes of the ‘Less Affluent World’,” *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 19 (3), 271–304.
- Giesler, Markus (2008), “Conflict and Compromise: Drama in Marketplace Evolution,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (April), 739–53.
- Goffman, Erving (1959), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Goulding, Christina and Michael Saren (2009), “Performing Identity: An Analysis of Gender Expressions at the Whitby Goth Festival,” *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 12 (1), 27–46.
- Goulding, Christina, Avi Shankar, Richard Elliott, and Robin Canniford (2009), “The Marketplace Management of Illicit Pleasure,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35 (5), 759–71.
- Greimas, Algirdas Julien (1966/1983), *Structural Semantics: An Attempt at a Method*, translation McDowell Daniele, Ronald Schleifer, and Alan Velie, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Groeneveld, Elizabeth (2010), “‘Join the Knitting Revolution’: Third-Wave Feminist Magazines and the Politics of Domesticity,” *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 40 (2), 259–77.
- Gurrieri, Lauren and Hélène Cherrier (2013), “Queering Beauty: Fatsionistas in the Fatosphere,” *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 16 (3), 276–95.
- Hakim, Catherine (2010), “Erotic Capital,” *European Sociological Review*, 26 (5), 499–518.
- Heath, Joseph and Andrew Potter (2004), *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*, New York: HarperBusiness.
- Hebdige, Dick (1979), *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, London: Methuen.
- Hein, Wendy and Stephanie O’Donohoe (2014), “Practising Gender: The Role of Banter in Young Men’s Improvisations of Masculine Consumer Identities,” *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30 (13–14), 1293–1319.
- Hey, Valerie (2006), “The Politics of Performative Resignification: Translating Judith Butler’s Theoretical Discourse and its Potential for a Sociology of Education,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27 (4), 439–57.
- Heywood, Leslie (2003), *Built To Win: The Rise of the Female Athlete as Cultural Icon*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Holt, Douglas B. (1998), “Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption?” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (June), 1–26.
- . (2002), “Why Do Brands Cause Trouble? A Dialectical Theory of Consumer Culture and Branding,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29 (June), 70–90.
- . (2005), “How Societies Desire Brands: Using Cultural Theory to Explain Brand Symbolism”, in *Inside Consumption: Frontiers of Research on Consumer Motives*,

- Goals, and Desires*, ed. David Glen Mick and S. Ratneshwar, New York: Routledge, 273–91.
- Holt, Douglas B. and Craig J. Thompson (2004), “Man-of-Action Heroes: The Pursuit of Heroic Masculinity in Everyday Consumption,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (2), 425–40.
- Illouz, Eva (2012), *Why Love Hurts: A Sociological Explanation*, Malden, MA: Polity.
- Izberk-Bilgin, Elif (2010), “An Interdisciplinary Review of Resistance to Consumption: Some Marketing Interpretations and Future Research Suggestions,” *Consumption, Markets, and Culture*, 13 (September), 299–323.
- Jaramillo, Nathalia (2006), “Hooters Pedagogy: Gender in Late Capitalism”, in *Reinventing Critical Pedagogy: Widening the Circle of Anti-Oppression Education*, ed. Ricky Lee Allen, Cesar Augusto Rossatto, and Marc Pruyne, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 191–205.
- Johnson, Paul (2006), “Unravelling Foucault’s ‘Different Spaces’,” *History of the Human Sciences*, 19 (4), 75–90.
- Johnston, José (2008), “The Citizen-Consumer Hybrid: Ideological Tensions and the Case of Whole Foods Market,” *Theory and Society*, 37 (June), 229–70.
- Jones, Angela (2009), “Queer Heterotopias: Homonormativity and the Future of Queerness,” *Interalia: A Journal of Queer Studies*, 4, http://www.interalia.org.pl/pl/artykuly/2009_4/13_queer_heterotopias_homonormativity_and_the_future_of_queerness.htm.
- Joulwan, Melissa (2007), *Rollergirl: Totally True Tales from the Track*, New York: Touchstone.
- Kates, Steven M. (2003), “Producing and Consuming Gendered Representations: An Interpretation of the Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras,” *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 6 (1), 5–22.
- Kates, Steven M. and Russell W. Belk (2001), “The Meanings of Lesbian and Gay Pride Day: Consumption through Resistance and Resistance to Consumption,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 30 (4), 392–429.
- Kelly, Deirdre M., Shauna Pomerantz, and Dawn Currie (2005), “Skater Girlhood and Emphasized Femininity: ‘You Can’t Land an Ollie Properly in Heels’,” *Gender and Education*, 17 (3), 129–48.
- Kjeldgaard, Dannie and Søren Askegaard (2006), “The Glocalization of Youth Culture: The Global Youth Segment as Structures of Common Difference,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33 (September), 231–47.
- Kozinets, Robert V. (2001), “Utopian Enterprise: Articulating the Meaning of Star Trek’s Culture of Consumption,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28 (June), 67–89.
- . (2002), “Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29 (June), 20–38.
- Kozinets, Robert V., John Sherry, Diana Storm, Adam Duhachek, Krittinee Nuttavuthist, and Benet DeBerry-Spence (2004), “Ludic Agency and Retail Spectacle,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (December), 658–72.
- Kozinets, Robert V., Kristine de Valck, Andrea C. Wojnicki, and Sarah J. S. Wilner (2010), “Networked Narratives: Understanding Word-of-Mouth Marketing in Online Communities,” *Journal of Marketing*, 74 (March), 71–89.
- Lloyd, Moya (2007), *Judith Butler: From Norms to Politics*, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Lovell, Terry (2000), “Thinking Feminism with and against Bourdieu,” *Feminist Theory*, 1 (1), 11–32.
- Mabe, Catherine (2008), *Roller Derby: The History and All-Girl Revival of the Greatest Sport on Wheels*, Denver, CO: Speck.
- Magnus, Kathy Dow (2006), “The Unaccountable Subject: Judith Butler and the Social Conditions of Intersubjective Agency,” *Hypatia*, 21 (2), 81–103.
- Malick, Devon (2012), “This Isn’t Your Parents’ Derby: How Women’s Flat Track Derby Is Challenging Hegemonic Sport,” *Auspex: Interdisciplinary Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 1, 71–98, <http://issuu.com/warrenwilsoncollege/docs/auspex2012/97?e=0>.
- Martin, Diane M., John W. Schouten, and James H. McAlexander (2006), “Claiming the Throttle: Multiple Femininities in a Hyper-Masculine Subculture,” *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 9 (3), 171–205.
- McNay, Lois (1999a), “Subject, Psyche and Agency: The Work of Judith Butler,” *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16 (2), 175–93.
- . (1999b), “Gender, Habitus and the Field: Pierre Bourdieu and the Limits of Reflexivity,” *Theory, Culture, & Society*, 96 (1), 95–117.
- . (2013), *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Press.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., Jessica Miller, and Barbara J. Phillips (2013), “The Megaphone Effect: Taste and Audience in Fashion Blogging,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (1), 136–58.
- Mikkonen, Ilona and Domen Bajde (2013), “Happy Festivus! Parody as Playful Consumer Resistance,” *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 16 (4), 311–37.
- Millard, Jennifer (2009), “Performing Beauty: Dove’s ‘Real Beauty’ Campaign,” *Symbolic Interaction*, 32 (2), 146–68.
- Minahan, Stella and Julie Wolfram Cox (2007), “STITCH’nBITCH: Cyberfeminism, a Third Place, and the New Materiality,” *Journal of Material Culture*, 12 (1), 5–21.
- Moisio, Risto, Eric J. Arnould, and James W. Gentry (2013), “Productive Consumption in the Class-Mediated Construction of Domestic Masculinity: Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Home Improvement in Men’s Identity Work,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40, (2), 298–316.
- Moisio, Risto and Mariam Beruchashvili (2010), “Questing for Well-Being at Weight Watchers: The Role of the Spiritual-Therapeutic Model in a Support Group,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (February), 857–75.
- Munford, Rebecca (2007), “‘Wake Up and Smell the Lipgloss’: Gender, Generation, and the (A)politics of Girl Power”, in *Third Wave Feminism: A Critical Exploration*, ed. Gillian Howie, Stacy Gillis, and Rebecca Munford, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 266–82.
- Murray, Dara Persis (2013), “Branding ‘Real’ Social Change in Dove’s Campaign for Real Beauty,” *Feminist Media Studies*, 13 (1), 83–101.
- Murray, Jeff (2002), “The Politics of Consumption: A Re-Inquiry on Thompson and Haytko’s (1997) ‘Speaking of Fashion’,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29 (3), 427–40.
- Nelson, Lise (1999), “Bodies (and Spaces) Do Matter: The Limits of Performativity,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 6 (4), 331–53.
- Oswald, Laura R. (1999), “Culture Swapping: Consumption and the Ethnogenesis of Middle-Class Haitian Immigrants,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (March), 303–18.
- Ourahmoune, Nacima and Nil Özçağlar-Toulouse (2012), “Exogamous Weddings and Fashion in a Rising Consumer Culture: Kabyle Minority Dynamics of Structure and Agency,” *Marketing Theory*, 12 (1), 81–99.

- Paradis, Elise (2012), "Boxers, Briefs or Bras?: Bodies, Gender and Change in the Boxing Gym," *Body & Society*, 18 (2), 82–109.
- Parmentier, Marie-Agnès and Eileen Fischer (2011), "You Can't Always Get What You Want: Unsustainable Identity Projects in the Fashion System," *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 14 (1), 7–27.
- Pavlidis, Adele (2012), "From Riot Grrrls to Roller Derby?: Exploring the Relations between Gender, Music, and Sport," *Leisure Studies*, 31 (2), 165–76.
- Pavlidis, Adele and Simone Fullagar (2012), "Becoming Roller Derby Grrrls: Exploring the Gendered Play of Affect in Mediated Sport Cultures," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 48 (6), 673–88.
- Peluso, Natalie M. (2011), "Cruising for a Bruisin': Women's Flat Track Roller Derby", in *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules*, ed. Chris Bobeland and Samantha Kwan, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 37–47.
- Peñaloza, Lisa (2001), "Consuming the American West: Animating Cultural Meaning at a Stock Show and Rodeo," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28 (December), 369–98.
- Piano, Doreen (2003), "Resisting Subjects: DIY Feminism and the Politics of Style in Subcultural Production", in *The Post-subcultures Reader*, ed. Muggleton David and Weinzierl Rupert, New York: Berg, 253–65.
- Price, Linda L., and Eric Arnould (1999), "Commercial Friendships: Service Provider-Client Relationships in Context," *Journal of Marketing*, 63 (4), 38–56.
- Rinaldo, Diego (2007), "Metro/Fashion/Tribes of Men: Negotiating the Boundaries of Men's Legitimate Consumption", in *Consumer Tribes*, ed. Bernard Cova, Robert V. Kozinets, and Avi Shankar, Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 76–92.
- Robertson, Roland (1995), "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity", in *Global Modernities*, ed. Scott Lash, Mike Featherstone, and Roland Robertson, London: Sage, 25–44.
- Sandıkçı, Özlem, and Ger Güliz (2010), "Veiling in Style: How Does a Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable?" *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (June), 15–36.
- Scaraboto, Daiane and Eileen Fischer (2013), "Frustrated Fatshionistas: An Institutional Theory Perspective on Consumer Quests for Greater Choice in Mainstream Markets," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39 (April), 1234–57.
- Schau, Hope Jensen and Mary C. Gilly (2003), "We Are What We Post? Self-Presentation in Personal Web Space," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20 (December), 385–404.
- Schor, Juliet B. and Craig J. Thompson (2014), "Introduction: Practicing Plenitude", in *Sustainable Lifestyles and the Quest for Plenitude*, ed. Juliet B. Schor and Craig J. Thompson, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1–25.
- Schouten, John and James H. McAlexander (1995), "Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22 (June), 43–61.
- Schroeder, Jonathan E. and Janet Borgerson (2004), "Judith Butler, Gender Theorist: Philosophical and Phenomenological Insights into Marketing and Consumer Behavior", in *Gender and Consumer Behavior*, Vol. 7, ed. Linda Scott and Craig Thompson, Madison, WI: Association for Consumer Research, 1–7.
- Scott, Linda M. (2005), *Fresh Lipstick: Redressing Fashion and Feminism*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Sherry, John F., Robert V. Kozinets, Adam Duhachek, Benet DeBerry-Spence, Krittinee Nuttavuthisit, and Diana Storm (2004), "Gendered Behavior in a Male Preserve: Role Playing at ESPN Zone Chicago," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 14 (1–2), 151–58.
- Shugart, Helene (2008), "Managing Masculinities: The Metrosexual Moment," *Communication and Critical Cultural Studies*, 5 (3), 280–300.
- Skeggs, Beverly (2004), "Context and Background: Pierre Bourdieu's Analysis of Class, Gender and Sexuality", in *Feminism after Bourdieu*, ed. L. Adkins and Beverly Skeggs, Oxford: Blackwell, 19–34.
- Stallman, Robert L. (1969), "Rapunzel Unravelled," *Victorian Poetry*, 7 (3), 221–32.
- Stevens, Lorna, Benedetta Cappellini, and Gilly Smith (2015), "Nigellissima: A Study of Glamour, Performativity, and Embodiment," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31 (5–6), 1–22.
- Thompson Craig J. (1997), "Interpreting Consumers: A Hermeneutical Framework for Deriving Marketing Insights from the Texts of Consumers' Consumption Stories," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 34 (November), 438–55.
- Thompson, Craig J. and Zeynep Arsel (2004), "The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers' (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (3), 631–42.
- Thompson, Craig J. and Gokcen Coskuner-Balli (2007), "Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (August), 135–52.
- Thompson, Craig J., William B. Locander, and Howard R. Pollio (1989), "Putting Consumer Experience Back into Consumer Research: The Philosophy and Method of Existential-Phenomenology," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (September), 133–46.
- Thorpe, Holly (2009), "Bourdieu, Feminism and Female Physical Culture: Gender Reflexivity and the Habitus-Field Complex," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 26 (4), 491–516.
- Turner, Victor (1974), *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Üstüner, Tuba and Douglas B. Holt (2010), "Toward a Theory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (June), 37–56.
- Üstüner, Tuba and Craig J. Thompson (2012), "How Marketplace Performances Produce Interdependent Status Games and Contested Forms of Symbolic Capital," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38 (February), 796–814.
- Velten, Hans Rudolph (2012), "Performance and Performativity", in *Traveling Concepts for the Study of Culture*, ed. Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning, Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 249–66.
- Visconti, Luca M. (2008), "Gay's Market and Social Behaviors in (De)constructing Symbolic Boundaries," *Consumption, Markets, and Culture*, 11 (June), 113–35.
- Weinberger, Michelle F. and Melanie Wallendorf (2012), "Intracommunity Gifting at the Intersection of Contemporary Moral and Market Economies," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39 (1), 74–92.

- White, Miles (2011), *From Jim Crow to Jay-Z: Race, Rap, and the Performance of Masculinity*, Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Williams, Jacqueline A. and Helen H. Anderson, (2005), "Engaging Customers in Service Creation: A Theater Perspective," *Journal of Services Marketing*, 19 (1), 13–23.
- Zajonc, Robert B. and Hazel Markus (1982), "Affective and Cognitive Factors in Preferences," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9 (2), 123–31.
- Zwick, Detlev, Sammy Bonsu, and Aron Darmody (2008), "Putting Consumers to Work: Co-creation & New Marketing Governmentality," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 8 (2), 163–96.