

## CHAPTER 15

*Breeds and Breeding***Gabriel N. Rosenberg***Assistant Professor of Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies  
Duke University, Durham, NC*

A breed denotes a subset of organisms within the more inclusive category of species. This subset may be distinguished by a variety (or combination) of characteristics: morphology, appearance, common ancestry, or economic use, for example. This chapter unpacks this vernacular understanding of breed in light of feminist and queer science and technology studies (STS) approaches to reproduction and species. Scholars of feminist and queer STS question the commonsense boundaries between the natural and the artificial, particularly as those categories relate to the production of technical, expert, and scientific knowledge about sex, gender, the body, and sexuality.

Common sense suggests that things are natural when they exist prior to and independent of human action. People often believe that mountains, plants, lakes, and animals are natural, whereas cities, cars, and television sets are not. If one encountered a horse or a pig in a California forest, one might assume it was a natural object. In fact, there were no horse and swine populations in the Americas prior to the “Columbian” ecological exchange spurred by European colonization in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries (Crosby 1972). During this period, colonists introduced European domesticated animals to the Americas. Those animals, in turn, were the products of thousands of years of “coevolution” with human populations (Russell 2011) that featured increasingly intense human governance of equine and porcine reproduction. In other words, a horse, pig, cow, or sheep is only a natural object in the sense above if one overlooks that deep history. Moreover, horse and pig breeds are not the results of “natural” or random genetic variation in horse and pig populations (Franklin 2007). Rather, breeds are the product of that sustained governance of nonhuman reproduction, what this chapter defines as *breeding*.

This chapter is primarily concerned with the breeding of domestic animals. Focusing on the term *domestic animal* provides some preliminary hints at why breeding is a rich topic for feminist and queer STS analysis. In contemporary American and European culture, labor with domestic animals such as pigs, cows, and horses is considered agricultural, and it is gendered masculine: people often assume farmers are men. The root of *domestic* is the Latin word for house, *domus*. Taken literally, something is *domesticated* when it is brought into the house, and something is *domestic* when it pertains to the home or household. More broadly, *domestic labor* is labor that maintains the household, and it is often gendered feminine. In many societies, including the United States, women do the most of the labor associated with cooking, cleaning, and childcare. If domestic labor is gendered feminine, why would work with domestic animals be gendered masculine? There are at least two compelling possibilities.

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

First, work with domestic animals has not always been considered men's work. In many societies, and particularly in societies where subsistence agriculture is common, women did the bulk of work associated with poultry, dairy cattle, and other animals that were physically proximate to the household (Merchant 1989; Federici 2004). Second, in patriarchal societies, men usually head households. In this context, to domesticate can also mean to bring under the authority of a patriarch. Ecofeminist criticism contends that human domination of animals mirrors and reproduces male domination of women. From this perspective, animals and women are both domesticated when men control their reproduction (Adams 1990; Donovan 1990; Gaard 1993; Gruen 1993).

These observations direct attention to the broader topic of this chapter: breeding produces categories of difference for humans and other animals, such as race, gender, and sex, and both breeding practices and those forms of difference are historically and culturally variable. The chapter begins by defining and explicating an important concept drawn from feminist and queer STS: a *breeding assemblage*. The first section defines a breeding assemblage as a distributed network of objects, practices, institutions, and discourses that governs the reproduction of domestic animals. The second section explores some of the contemporary breeding assemblages that govern equine reproduction. This section notes that the different breeding assemblages required to produce different horses also produce different sex/gender systems. The third section pivots to how breeding produces breeds and, in the process, also shapes human categories of difference such as race. The historical analysis of North American swine breeding shows how breeding can be a space in which competing ideas about life's value and malleability are worked on and worked out. Lessons learned in reproductive governance seep, slide, and slosh across the boundary of speculative difference. The fourth and final section of the chapter considers how this slipperiness can also turn the assumed power relations of breeding on its head. In reproducing animals, humans also concoct "affective ecologies" (Hustak and Myers 2012) that shape human desires, fantasies, sensations, and pleasures. Whereas the other sections consider breeding as a subject of analysis, the final section deploys breeding as an analytic to reinterpret sensational interspecies intimacy. In particular, it reads Robinson Devor's film *Zoo* (2007) against the grain to suggest that, within the context of a breeding assemblage, species functions as an irreducible form of difference and the basis for erotic organization.

### DEFINING BREEDING ASSEMBLAGES

Feminist scholarship often emphasizes that reproduction is not just a biological process. Although the term often narrowly refers to the biological processes of human sexual reproduction, feminist scholars emphasize that social, economic, and political systems organize those processes to produce significant cultural and historical variation. For example, societies with subsidized maternity leave have lower rates of infant and maternal mortality even after accounting for differences in general social wealth. Collective choices always shape, condition, produce, and constrain biological reproduction. Simply put, reproduction is always more than biological; it's also political.

Recent feminist and queer STS places reproductive politics in the context of the life sciences and biotechnology. These scholars emphasize that reproduction is now conditioned by sophisticated scientific processes, technologies, and expert knowledge that often blur the boundaries between human bodies and the surrounding world, with practices such



**Hog breeding by artificial insemination, Walton, Ontario, Canada, 2008.** *The consolidation and intensification of breeding through artificial insemination and logistical innovation has reduced biodiversity and produced a standard commodity animal, such as the “big pink pig.”* GREG TAYLOR/  
ALAMY STOCK PHOTO.

as in vitro fertilization (IVF) and birth control literally entangling human bodies with nonhuman instruments and objects. Many of these technologies—IVF and artificial insemination, for example—were first tested and perfected on animals before they were used on humans (Clarke 1998). In fact, scientists often study animal reproduction and sexuality to predict and model how human reproduction works (Haraway 1989; Terry 2000; Milam 2010).

This scholarship makes several important observations about reproduction. First, contemporary reproduction is usually distributed in assemblages, networks composed of a mix of material objects, practices, institutions, and discourses (Murphy 2012). Reproduction is distributed if it involves a diverse and extensive collection of actors, and it is centralized if it involves only a few actors of the same type. For example, bovine reproduction would be centralized if the full cast of players were a bull and a cow mating in a field. However, it would be distributed if it required a cow located in France, a bull in Wisconsin, and a vast collection of actors, instruments, and policies that harvest, freeze, transport, and inseminate the bull’s semen. Of course, centralized and distributed are the poles of a spectrum. A primary argument of feminist and queer STS is that all reproduction has become considerably more distributed in the last century, an observation that holds true for domesticated animals. Second, these assemblages are often multispecies: the network of objects, practices, institutions, and discourses encompasses many different species rather than just humans. In the above example of artificial insemination, human

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

scientists applied knowledge derived from the cryogenic preservation of bovine semen to solving the problem of preserving human semen. To take a different example, an estrogen medication used to treat the symptoms of menopause, Premarin, is extracted from mare urine (Haraway 2012). In light of these insights, this chapter uses the term *breeding assemblages* to describe the distributed, multispecies networks that govern the reproduction of nonhuman animals.

Feminist and queer STS scholarship usually focuses on developments in the life sciences and its affiliated industries since the 1960s. This period is marked by the advent of the “molecularization of life” (Braun 2007), “biological citizenship” (Rose 2007), “microbiopolitics” (Paxson 2008), and “bioeconomy” (Cooper 2008). These analytic approaches demonstrate how contemporary life sciences reformat life in ways that trouble the boundaries among different species and make new forms of life into forms of private property. Since the 1960s, advances in genetic mapping, engineering, and editing have permitted biotechnology firms to produce and patent new forms of life (Kloppenborg 2005; Rajan 2006; Shukin 2009).

However, modes of reproduction have identified the limits and possibilities of different forms of life for a far longer period than a focus on genetic technology might suggest. The Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) used sexual differences associated with lactation as the basis for his famous taxonomy of species, a fact signaled by the derivation of the term for the class *mammalia* from the Latin word for breast (Schiebinger 1993). Thus, Linnaeus viewed reproductive processes as essential to drafting the boundaries among the different forms of life.

Within settler colonial societies for at least the last three centuries, breeds have also been central to articulating the racial order qualifying full humanness (Ritvo 1987; Anderson 2004; Bankoff and Swart 2007; Woods 2011; Boggs 2013). European colonists frequently used control over the reproduction of domestic animals as a measure of “civilization,” contrasting their own “civilized” domesticated cattle, horses, and sheep with the “feral” and “wild” animals that lived near indigenous communities. (These colonists falsely assumed that indigenous populations did not practice animal domestication.) More broadly, the imagining, parsing, and organization of sexual difference within species through breeding constituted the life worlds of nonhuman animals in ways sometimes far more profound than the differences in lifeways attending to the category of species itself. Anthropologist Anna Tsing (1952–) makes this point concisely when she notes that “cart horses and hunter steeds share species but not lifeways,” an observation that can be extended to most species (Tsing 2015, 23). Tsing is describing the dense set of relations that bring a creature into life, sustain it, and ultimately extinguish it; these relations create different horizons of possibility for different kinds of creatures. A cart horse and a hunter steed are bred for different reasons. They live very different lives and do different work. They eat different diets and have different ecological hoofprints. Ultimately, they die under very different circumstances. The differences within species are every bit as profound as those between species, and sometimes more so.

Tsing’s claim, therefore, should be considered in some detail with respect to horse reproduction and breeding. Specifically, how do differences of breeding produce different lifeways for different horses *and* different humans? The next section of the chapter answers this question by closely examining the breeding of horses that inhabit different lifeways.

## SEX FROM THE HORSE'S EYE VIEW

---

### THOROUGHBRED SEX

The lifeways of horses are driven by a diverse set of breeding assemblages that, in turn, gender horses in complicated ways. For idiosyncratic reasons, the governing rules of contemporary breed associations dictate that thoroughbred stallions cannot breed through artificial insemination or embryo transfer (Jockey Club 2015). These associations describe breeding protocols as “natural service.” The idea of nature in these acts operates as an alibi because the sex that occurs in these settings bears no resemblance to equine sex without human assistance.

Rather, this breeding assemblage entangles an array of actors and objects in a process that would be unthinkable without human breeders: historical archives stretching back centuries offer genealogies (and race results) to determine which horses should reproduce; teaser stallions, training mounts, racks, muzzles, hobbles, and other material technologies discipline, prompt, and orchestrate horse bodies; and, finally, human hands frequently come into direct contact with horse flanks, muzzles, and genitals to prepare, assist, and effect the transmission of semen from the stallion to the mare (Darling and Giffin 2014).

At first glance, it appears that thoroughbred horses are gendered according to a conventional dichotomy of masculine and feminine. Breeding stallions are endowed with masculinity tied to penetration, and broodmares with femininity tied to motherhood. Such a description is consistent with the use of Gayle Rubin's important theory of sex/gender systems in a multispecies context (1975). Rubin argued that “sex/gender systems” organize the frequently contingent labor of sexed bodies through the symbolic structure of gender. For example, sexed human bodies have differing lactation capacities, but gender assigns femininity both the broader characteristic of nurturing and a set of imperatives to perform “nurturing” labor—cleaning, cooking, and childcare, to name a few tasks—that have nothing to do with lactating capacities. In a similar fashion, horse-breeding assemblages transform a broodmare's biological capacity to bear foals into a symbolic structure of horse gender that, in turn, dictates how she will be cared for and expected to labor. The sex/gender system of horse breeding transforms a biological capacity into the basis for the calculated governance of the labor and body of the mare.

However, teaser stallions complicate this interpretation. A mare in estrus will usually respond to the presence of a stallion by exhibiting both physiological and behavioral clues such as frequent urination. Because horses in heat are also difficult to handle, bringing a stallion into the presence of a mare in estrus poses a danger to both mare and stallion. Rather than risk bodily injury to the breeding animals, breeders use a nonbreeding stallion to detect estrus. These “teaser” stallions occupy an intermediate gendered position: not only are they male-bodied, but their male sex characteristics—in particular, pheromones—are what render them relevant to the breeding scene. Breeders seek stallions that are docile enough to be managed but also “aggressive enough to elicit the signs of heat. The ideal teaser courts his mares persistently and does not lose interest halfway through the procedure” (Darling and Giffin 2014, 63). But even though they possess the capacity (and interest) to arouse the mare, teasers are not permitted to penetrate mares, and are carefully fitted with “breeding shields” (Brinsko, Blanchard, Varner, et al. 2010). The teaser stallion's erection is irrelevant to breeding, but its sex characteristics are not. Put differently, this sex/gender system takes a single sex and fashions multiple genders from it.

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

### BREEDING QUARTER HORSES WITHOUT SEX

Horse-breeding sex/gender systems get queerer still. In contrast to thoroughbreds, American quarter horses are the light, fleet steeds that run in barrel races and other rodeo events. Quarter horses originated as working animals on ranches and hunts, and they still work in this capacity on many western ranches. Such horses are often geldings drawn from surplus laboring horse populations. Ranchers geld (or remove the testicles of) colts to render them more docile and pliable in close industrial settings where a feisty stallion might prove disruptive. Docility makes quarter horses excellent starter horses for new riders—they are cheap and friendly—and novice riders often test their budding skills in barrel races. These races can also mean big money, and, as with thoroughbreds, successful quarter horses can command substantial stud fees.

Gelded quarter horses that succeed in competition retain valuable genetic material, but they are not able to reproduce through either “natural service” or even artificial insemination. Despite some controversy, biotechnology firms offer cloning services for quarter horses. Cloning effectively allows quarter horse owners to make use of valuable biological material that other industrial processes have discarded as waste. The breeding assemblages for quarter horses, then, fashion a sex/gender system entirely unlike that of either humans or thoroughbreds. For gelded quarter horses, the organization of reproductive labor is not primarily linked to sexual difference. Quite to the contrary, this sex/gender system does not require sexual difference, because cloned horses are mostly desexed and, regardless, cloning is definitionally a form of asexual reproduction. However, cloning does generate a form of sexual difference: offspring are genetically identical to their parents, but because they have not been gelded, they have different biological capacities and potential relationships to reproduction. In this case, the sex/gender system of quarter horse breeding takes a single gender and generates multiple sexes from it (Vaught 2015).

### MULTISPECIES SEX WORK

Quarter horse and thoroughbred breeding assemblages both produce a diverse array of sexed horse bodies. These breeding assemblages are multispecies insofar as humans are necessary participants in the “bringing forth” of horses into life. Even when, as with stallions, humans label this procreation as an outcome of biological horse “nature,” the actual logistics of breeding do not resemble a sex/gender system based around two discrete horse sexes. American studies scholar Jeannette Vaught argues that horse-breeding labor should be viewed as “multispecies sex work” (Vaught 2016). Similarly, American sociologist Colter Ellis (2011) and Canadian anthropologist Alexander Blanchette (2013) both note that the labor of animal breeding scrambles the boundaries among genders, sexes, and species conventionally posited as “natural.” For example, female technicians may inseminate female cows, a kind of same-sex interspecies contact. In these settings, workers sometimes perform genders that do not match their assigned biological sex—a cisgender woman may perform masculinity—to better fit the labor to a heteronormative script that idealizes a masculine man penetrating a feminine woman (Butler 1990).

How do gendered categories change if a sex/gender system is multispecies rather than exclusively human? For example, human workers may clean and stroke a stallion’s penis prior to penetration of the mare; this labor can be critical to effecting successful insemination. Return to Rubin’s theory, but disregard the assumption that the reproduction organized by a sex/gender system must be human reproduction. This multispecies sex work exhibits nothing like a sex/gender system where humans are parceled “masculine” or “feminine.” Relative to horse reproduction, most humans are actually gendered identically: sexually dimorphic, upright quadrupeds with dexterous forelimbs capable of manipulating horse erections. If

the frame is horse not human, humans are gendered without reference to sexual difference. From the horse's eye view, humans may be sexed differently—horses can still detect human sex characteristics—but those differences are largely irrelevant to their participation in breeding. Even if one took the essentialist view of biological sex as divided clearly between male and female, the scene described produces a minimum of four genders produced through relations across two species and two sexes: stallion, mare, teaser stallion, and human breeder.

Any articulation of gender is coherent within the local context of an open-ended breeding assemblage. This context is “local” in the sense that narrators script how gender and sex function by imposing or invoking speculative boundaries to limit the play of nonhuman actors. To make sex/gender systems work, speculative boundaries “condense” the field of play to human agents even when such narration is empirically suspect or implausible, or generates causal gaps and contradictions. For example, such limits explain why “animal husbandry” and “sexual contact with animals” may be identical in practice, but are legally, socially, and culturally distinct. Most state laws define “sexual contact” as any contact between the genitals of one body and any part of another body or a foreign object. As we have already seen, the logistics of animal husbandry require humans to regularly touch the genitals of animals, and we would note that artificial insemination involves a person inserting a foreign object into an animal's genitals. A person's stroking the penis of a boar—whether for pleasure's sake or to harvest semen for sale—constitutes sexual contact according to these legal definitions. However, contemporary bestiality laws typically offer broad exemptions for the “accepted practices of animal husbandry” to relieve farmers of the legal culpability they might otherwise incur for artificially inseminating livestock and harvesting semen. As such exemptions make clear, the erasure of sex proceeds by invoking spaces of breeding as aseptic, ungendered, and sexless. But such an interpretation of breeding is tenable only in a world in which the nitty-gritty of human sex and gender operates on a separate causal plane from the decisively sticky doings of animal breeding (Rosenberg 2017). As the next section makes clear, this clean break is unrealistic. The qualification of human life is always at stake in the reproduction of animals.

## BREEDING APPARATUSES AND RACIAL KNOWLEDGE

---

### INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND SPECIES

The section above clarifies the significance of the scene of breeding for assembling local articulations of sex, gender, and speculative difference, but it remains to be seen how breeding assemblages produce something called a “breed.” A vital contribution of intersectional feminism (Roberts 1997) and queer of color critique (Muñoz 1999; Ferguson 2004) has been the insight that race, sexuality, and gender are fundamentally interarticulated. In intersectional analysis, interarticulation conveys the ways in which categories of social difference—gender, class, race, and sexuality among them—are articulated, or expressed and made coherent, in relationship to one another. For example, in US history, authorities often justified state violence against men of color on the basis of a purported sexual threat they posed to white women. In such moments, ideas about race, gender, and sexuality were being articulated together: men of color as hypersexual and violent, and white women as passive innocents in need of protection. Regardless, intersectional analysis also contends that reproduction is a particularly rich nexus for the interarticulation of concepts of race, gender, class, and sexuality.

This section of the chapter adds species to the mix, showing that the governance of reproduction in the context of breeding assemblages produces racial logics of “breeds.” These logics are not reducible to formulations that depend upon human racial categories—this

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

breed is “white” and that breed is “black”—but they are always in dialogue with those categories. Scholars have examined the complex interactions between the organization of racial difference and the breeding of a number of different animals, including dogs (Weaver 2013, 2015), cattle (Ritvo 1987; Anderson 2004; Woods 2011), horses (Bankoff and Swart 2007), and sheep (Ritvo 1987; Franklin 2007; Woods 2011). This section extends this focus to the history of swine breeding and its relationship to early twentieth-century eugenic discourses.

### PIG-BREEDING ASSEMBLAGES

Within the United States, the constitution and elaboration of swine breeds over two centuries involved a rapidly reconfiguring system of reproductive governance. Early nineteenth-century farmers practiced extensive breeding on swine, almost exclusively. They did not track inheritance across generations; instead, they practiced loose and unsystematic selection, primarily by segregating and culling physiognomically undesirable males. This method derived from the environmental and economic context: particularly on those farms at the vanguard of North American settler colonialism, farmers minimized labor costs by allowing swine to self-provision through forage and pasture, and to fend off large predators. Maximizing forage opportunities meant that farmers bitterly resisted fences (and fence laws) and demanded access to commons and forests. This, in turn, had two implications for breeding assemblages. First, swine were rugged, hardier, and leaner beasts—accustomed to mobility and the elements—but they tended to give smaller litters in comparison to European breeds improved through intensive breeding (i.e., the use of pedigrees to track and organize inheritance across generations). Second, swine breeding was often spatially removed from the farmer’s domicile and occurred wherever swine were feeding and resting—or, as breeders put it, farmers set the boars to run with the sows, come what may. Extensive breeding functionally meant exercising violence to exclude some populations from reproduction at the outset, then exploiting the agency and desires of the swine themselves to do most of the labor of breeding. The demand for swine mobility rendered both hog bodies and hog-human ecologies entirely incongruent with intensive breeding apparatuses.

However, enclosure, vanishing commons, railroads, fence laws, and the emergence of a corn-hog complex in the Midwest at midcentury steadily eroded this breeding regime. Railroads guaranteed regular, cheap access to national markets for pork, and the advent of grain grading, a contrivance of the Chicago Board of Trade in the 1850s, meant that farmers frequently used swine to profitably process low-grade corn into more lucrative meat and lard (Cronon 1991). The widespread adoption of dent corn—a starchier variety with a comparatively soft kernel—made fattening and finishing with corn less digestively taxing for the swine (Hudson 1994). It also meant, however, that swine needed to be fenced, lest they eat the stalks bare. Although farmers still pastured hogs, particularly when they were young, spatial confinement fundamentally changed what a farmer considered a desirable swine body: the musculature and long lean limbs needed to travel great distances were no longer necessary, nor were tusks. Instead, farmers selected for swine with lower, fatter bodies, and particularly for swine that put on weight quickly and gave large litters.

Historian William Cronon (1954–) argues for a capitalist “annihilation of space” in the late nineteenth-century Corn Belt, driven by tightening the infrastructural links between peripheral spaces of animal feeding and central spaces of animal slaughter (1991). Spatial confinement, in Cronon’s account, was primarily a technology of death making, and it functioned to more efficiently sort and expose pig bodies to the violence of the slaughterhouse. This is correct, but it elides the other possibilities opened by confinement that drove



its widespread adoption: confinement permitted the more effective management of swine reproduction, which, in turn, allowed some breeders to produce swine whose biology was better suited to the emergent corn-pork complex (Olmstead and Rhode 2008). Just as with horses, discussed in the last section, this intensive governance of swine reproduction gave rise to both ideas of swine gender and disparate treatment of sows and boars.

### THE RISE OF BREEDS

Economic imperatives intersected with notions of inheritance and nineteenth-century racial sciences inspired by diverging interpretations of biologist Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) theories to foster a distinct new swine breeding regime in the United States by the end of the nineteenth century. Under the earlier system, breeds existed, but they were often local and vernacular, few farmers observed their boundaries, and those boundaries were inconsistent, contested, and fluid. Most swine had no distinguishable breed. Beginning with the American Berkshire Association in 1875, swine breed associations offered national infrastructures to standardize animal bodies and to maintain genealogical data. Breed associations defined the morphological and genealogical boundaries of the breeds they governed, and the maintenance of official “herd books” enabled the trade of purebred swine across great distances. This contributed to the emergence of national and eventually international markets for purebred swine, as well as breed definitions that were consistent, broadly agreed upon among farmers, and more rigid.

In addition to establishing clearer breed definitions, breeders also sought to control the scene and temporality of breeding. In a market in which livestock were sexual laborers, profit margins hinged on temporal standardization and predictability. Breeders required their swine to breed according to the market's demands, not according to piggish desire. To standardize valuable reproductive labor, breeders monitored the diets and exercise of their breeding stock, and they dosed swine with aphrodisiacs such as damiana to arouse desire at pivotal moments. Boars that proved inefficient as sexual laborers were castrated and sent to the feedlot. Farmers increasingly deployed “breeding crates” to confine sows that might otherwise flee. With boars awkwardly suspended above sows in the crate, breeders often literally lent a hand. In sum, this emergent apparatus of pure breeding required spatial confinement, temporal regimentation, and intensive human entanglement in swine sex, often in ways that financially invested breeders in systematized sexual violence.

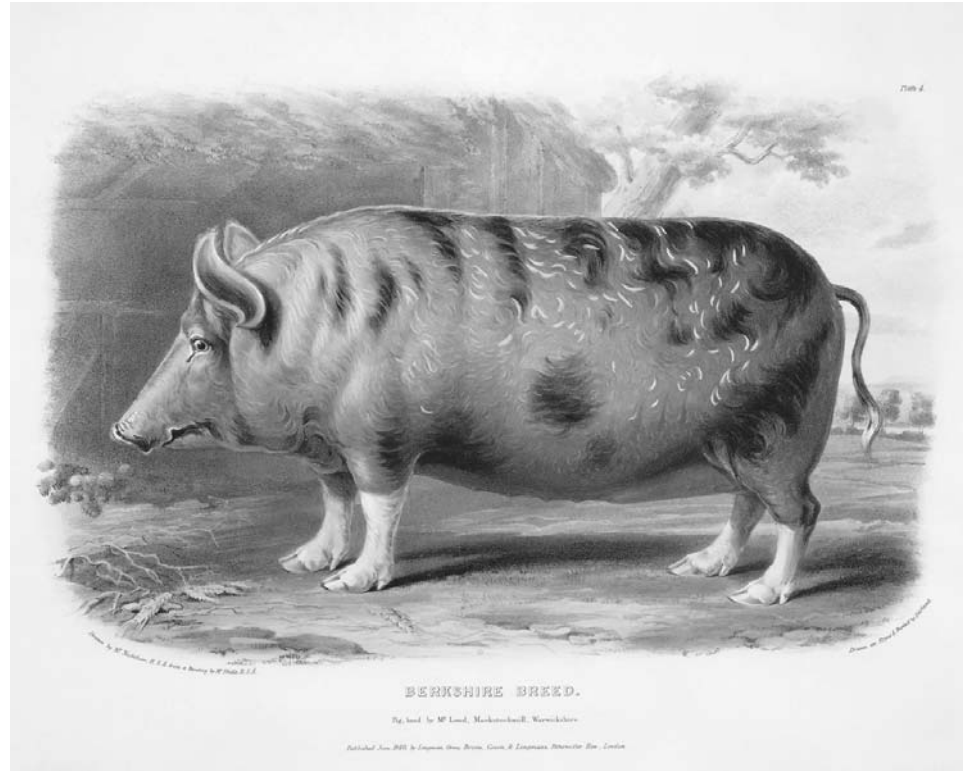
### PORCINE “RACE SUICIDE”

The assemblage of pure breeding proved remarkably successful at both defining and publicizing the physiognomic characteristics of the different breeds. Breeds functionally competed with one another in biocapital and reproductive labor markets (though meat markets continued to treat pork as fungible across breeds). Breeders crowed about the quality of their stock in language that mixed and matched human racial discourses with swine reproduction. The USDA and breed associations encouraged farmers to use only purebred studs, and described unregistered animals as shiftless and degenerate “mongrels” and “scrubs” that needed immediate eradication. Meanwhile, Berkshire breeders regularly deemed their swine “aristocrats” and “blue-bloods” in comparison to the upstart Poland-China and Duroc-Jersey breeds.

Ultimately, between 1900 and 1920, the upstarts won. They processed corn into lard with greater efficiency than Berkshires, and they grew to staggering sizes. As Corn Belt farmers increasingly studded from these competing breeds, panicked Berkshire breeders announced that their hogs were undergoing a “race suicide” (Rosenberg 2016). Driven by

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding



*A nineteenth-century English print depicting a Berkshire pig. Beginning with the American Berkshire Association in 1875, swine breed associations offered national infrastructures to standardize animal bodies and to maintain genealogical data. Breed associations defined the morphological and genealogical boundaries of the breeds they governed, and the maintenance of official “herd books” enabled the trade of purebred swine across great distances. HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS HISTORICAL/GETTY IMAGES.*

poor breeding selection, “over-civilization,” and too much “refinement,” this race suicide had stripped Berkshire boars of their “vitality, the virile irrepressible swinging power to grow and reproduce,” as one breeder put it (Steele 1918, 8).

These concerns about swine “race suicide” and the deployment of its attendant idioms paralleled, reflected, and ultimately reproduced eugenic concerns about the reproducibility of the white middle class in early twentieth-century America (Rosenberg 2016). Concerns about porcine “race suicide” may strike the reader as bizarre, but such concerns parallel the familiar notion that humans with notable ancestors or who come from prominent families are “well bred,” whereas people with common or unremarkable ancestry are “poorly bred.” Early twentieth-century eugenicists such as Charles B. Davenport (1886–1944) sought to document ancestry for humans and livestock alike by popularizing pedigrees and fastidious genealogy. As porcine race suicide borrowed an idiom used to describe human reproduction, the concept of being “well bred” borrowed a concept from animal breeding to describe human reproduction. In both cases, breeding assemblages for humans and for pigs collided and connected in the concept of race.

The invocation of “race” as metonym for “breed” was common and shouldn’t be immediately reduced to metaphor. Early twentieth-century writers often promiscuously and intentionally mixed the terms *race*, *breed*, and *species*. The productive ambiguity of the terms allowed didactic play and parody both by those arguing for the use of animal breeding as a model for human racial and reproductive governance (Stokes 1917) and by those mocking the sloppiness of such thought (Butler 1907). In each case, the permanence of the speciative divide—what either made animal “breed” and human “race” commensurable concepts or, conversely, forbade their commensurability—boiled down to questions of prospective reproductive mastery. In other words, racial knowledge was fundamentally interwoven with the limits, potency, and possibilities of breeding assemblages.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO PURE BREEDING

Beginning in the 1910s, geneticists criticized eugenic advocacy for, among other things, conflating phenotype and genotype. In particular, geneticists noted that simple phenotypical traits such as skin pigmentation offered little insight into the genetic mechanisms of complex traits such as intelligence and character, traits that were clearly also shaped by environmental factors. Thus, the clichéd wisdom that “like breeds like,” a staple of both eugenic and livestock pure breeding common sense, flew in the face of emergent ideas about inheritance that would crystalize in the coming decades as population genetics. Responding to these criticisms, the “reform” eugenicists attempted to de-emphasize the individual as the relevant scale of eugenic action (Osborn 1940; Popenoe 1940; Cook and Burks 1946). Instead, they argued that government should study variable birth rates among populations and adopt policies that could demonstrably encourage higher birth rates among “fitter” populations. By midcentury, eugenics advocacy had moved from a focus on governing individuals on the basis of ancestry to concern with the fitness of aggregated populations and a milquetoast pronatalism whereby race and class were baked in to vague concepts of “fitness” (Kevles 1985; Kline 2001; Lovett 2007).

Curiously, it was precisely the intractable appeal of racialized notions of ancestry that prevented many livestock breeders from adopting the insights of population genetics. By the 1920s, geneticists working at Mount Hope Farm in Williamstown, Massachusetts, as well as at several agricultural colleges and experiment stations, had elaborated a new breeding apparatus that eschewed ancestry as a metric of fitness and, instead, bred animals primarily on the basis of the productivity of their offspring. Known as “index breeding” and “progeny testing,” this breeding regime worked especially well for dairy and poultry breeding where individual animals had large numbers of offspring. Despite having clear evidence of rapid increases in dairy and egg production through these methods, farmers, agricultural experts, and the USDA clung to pure breeding, much to the frustration of Mount Hope’s geneticist, Hubert Goodale. For Goodale, progeny testing and population genetics was not an abandonment of racial and eugenic science, but rather its logical outcome. In 1930, Goodale dreamed of “breeding a race of poultry of high average economic value” precisely by disregarding the fetters of ancestry, and he regarded this approach as entirely amenable to human populations (Goodale Papers). In the mid-1930s, Goodale drafted a voluntary “breeding index” scheme for human populations and sent it to Popenoe, who was by then the leading reform eugenicist in the United States (Goodale Papers).

Different versions of index breeding ultimately prevailed in swine, cattle, and poultry breeding in the decades following World War II. In each case, the consolidation and intensification of breeding through artificial insemination and logistical innovation reduced biodiversity and produced a standard commodity animal, such as the “big pink pig,”

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

designed and bred without “fancy” breed characteristics. Postwar industrial livestock breeders fulfilled Goodale’s ambition to breed “race[s]” of animals shaped by only instrumental economic value, which critics now contend resulted in a porcine genetic slurry. Reactions to this include “heritage breeding” movements that endeavor to restore “lost” breed characteristics. Ironically, these movements often essentialize contingent and malleable biological characteristics by appealing to the racial logics of pure breeding—that is, the fantasy that pigs were historically distributed among discrete “breeds,” and that the purity of such breeds can be effectively regulated through the more careful governance of porcine reproduction (Weiss 2016). This is a powerful fantasy. No less powerful, as the next section examines, is the common fantasy that any sex can be disentangled from the multispecies context in which it occurs. Breeding-as-analytic exposes precisely those entanglements.

### BREEDING AS A THEORY

The prior sections of this chapter examined breeding and breeds as a topic of analysis and, in particular, foregrounded that the examination of animal breeding shows how systems organizing both gender and race emerge in multispecies contexts of reproductive governance. This final section turns to a more experimental concern: how can breeding also operate as an analytic that reveals things about human sex that are not otherwise apparent? Put differently, can the lessons of the chapter be used to analyze a cultural object that is not straightforwardly concerned with the breeding of domestic animals?

Using breeding as an analytic calls for mapping multispecies ecologies of desire. That is, it requires accounts of fantasy, pleasure, sensation, and desire that are attentive to the role of nonhuman actors—as objects of desire and as desiring subjects—as well as the ways in which species boundaries are formed (and deformed) through sex, desire, and reproduction. Literary critic Timothy Morton (1968–) calls this “queer ecology” (2010). Science studies scholars Carla Hustak and Natasha Myers offer more concrete examples in their work on the “affective ecologies” of wasps and orchids (2012). Some orchids emit scents that attract male wasps. When the male wasp ejaculates into the orchid’s flower, the orchid’s pollen sticks to the wasp’s body, which then may pollinate other orchids where the wasp lands. Hustak and Myers note that plant and insect scientists frequently describe this as “sexual trickery,” and in doing so, apply to the scene unwarranted assumptions about the motives and sensations of the different species. Rather than presuming that there is “trickery,” Hustak and Myers emphasize that multispecies affective ecologies depend upon pleasure and sensation. Descriptions of multispecies reproduction are inadequate if they presume that desire, pleasure, sensation, and fantasy are absent—that is, if they write these elements out of the scene.

#### BESTIALITY IN *ZOO*

As noted earlier, “animal husbandry” and “sexual contact with animals” can be identical in practice and yet treated as entirely separate phenomena by society. This tendency presents animal husbandry as aseptic and largely motivated only by “economic desires” (Rosenberg 2017). The concept of affective ecology, however, suggests that breeding assemblages may also produce desires, pleasures, sensations, and fantasies in humans. The remainder of this section applies that insight to Robinson Devor’s film *Zoo* (2007) and excavates a possible relationship between the erotic structure of zoophilia and breeding assemblages.

The film depicts the events surrounding the notorious Enumclaw, Washington “bestiality farm,” a farm where a group of self-identified zoophiles (“zoos”) gathered to receive

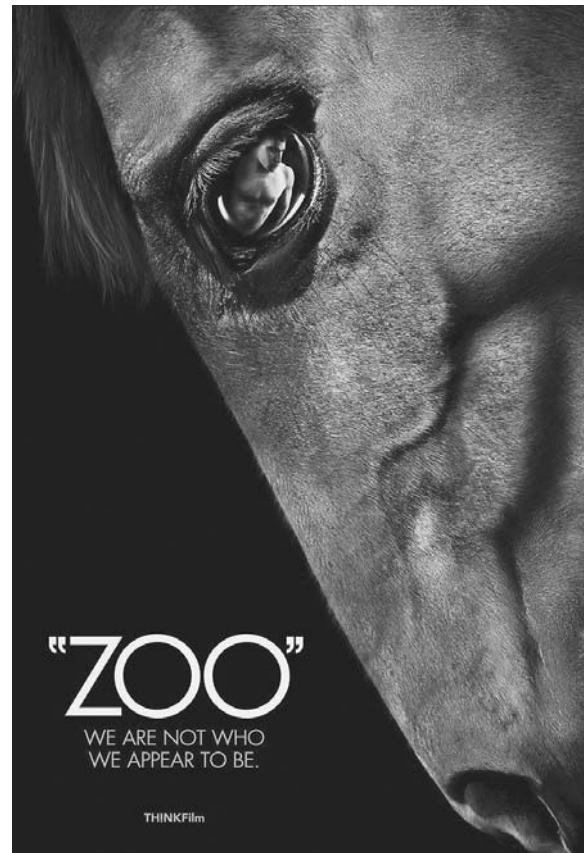
and observe receptive anal sex with stallions. The circle was exposed in summer 2005 when one of its members, Kenneth Pinyan, died as a result of a perforated colon after sex with a stallion. The film is an experimental documentary. Devor conducted interviews with the surviving zoos and then filmed highly stylized re-enactments of the events. The film has a dreamlike structure, and it is not linear or realistic.

This structure is conducive to one of the central objectives of the film. To portray the events as something other than horrifying to the viewer, Devor endeavors to humanize the zoos by allowing them to articulate their desires and to offer narrative coherence to Pinyan's seemingly incomprehensible desires. In fact, the film is better understood not as a depiction of the events surrounding Pinyan's death, but as a re-enactment or translation of the fantasy of those events as the zoos articulate it. The zoos, indeed, try (with difficulty) to cage their desires in words, images, and sentiments familiar to non-zoo viewers, even as those same desires are likely to strike the viewers as horrifying and grotesque.

#### BESTIALITY AS ESCAPE FROM CIVILIZATION

Along these lines, the film depicts Pinyan's sex with horses as a reaction to profound alienation. He suffers through his day job as an engineer for Boeing, where, it is implied, he worked on weapons that were used in the US invasion and occupation of Iraq. He is trying to patch things up with his ex-wife and son, but on the weekends he escapes the soulless modernity of Seattle to socialize with other zoos—and horses—on the Enumclaw farm. Other zoos describe their desires as enabling them to touch nonhuman intelligences that are simple but profound—to commune with living beings that aren't interested in the "latest Madonna video," as one zoo puts it.

In this articulation, bestiality represents a return to a nature superior to the trappings of human civilization. To the extent that the viewer can sympathize with the belief that humans have become alienated from nature, zoophilia is an (overly literal) effort to "get back in touch" with it—an extreme form of camping. This explanation, preferred by the zoos themselves, is consistent with long-standing idealizations of "rugged" and "wild" masculinities, and analogous "neoprimivist" complaints that technology and modernity sap modern men of their strength, virility, power, and authenticity. Of course, the claim that being anally penetrated by a horse enhances conventional masculine prowess need not be particularly persuasive to render zoo desire in the standard tropes of contemporary masculinity. This rendering, in turn, makes zoophilic desire more intelligible to the film's audience, even though these acts may not be commonly attractive or even prudent.



*Movie poster for the American documentary film **Zoo** (2007), directed by Robinson Devor. The film depicts events centering on the notorious Enumclaw, Washington, "bestiality farm," where a group of self-identified "zoophiles" gathered to observe and participate in receptive anal sex with stallions. The circle was exposed when, in the summer of 2005, one of their number, Kenneth Pinyan, died as a result of a perforated colon after sex with a stallion. AF ARCHIVE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO.*

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

The specificities of zoo sexual practice—the sticky details of being anally penetrated by a horse—are repressed, and the horse phallus appears, as in a dream, only in briefly glimpsed details and odd non sequiturs. For example, when the police recover a DVD recording of the men's sex acts, its title, *Big Dick Horse*, briefly reminds us of the men's phallic fetish. The only explicit depiction of sex between humans and horses occurs as a flickering image on a television set playing for a group of horrified detectives and witnesses, a filmic trick that removes the viewer from directly "seeing" the horse penis while simultaneously reminding the viewer of its centrality to zoo sex. Similarly, in the film's most baffling sequence, a miniature pony appears from nowhere to suddenly fellate a stallion, a moment so jarring to the film's narrative that it calls attention to the heretofore hidden horse phallus.

Although the zoos are earnest and unapologetic about the bestial content of their desire, they avoid discussing any potential homoeroticism and phallogocentrism implicit in their object choice of male horses. Quite to the contrary, they exhibit working-class masculine gender performances consistent with their primary employment as wage laborers, and they repeatedly declare that their parties, aside from the horse sex, resemble any other gathering of regular men: truck drivers, military men, farmers, and the like. Not only do they not want to be seen as perverts, they particularly don't want to be seen as homosexual perverts synonymous with effete, "metronormative" men alienated from authentic nature (Halberstam 2005).

This narrative presents the men's sexuality as consistent with internalized homophobia and, in particular, a fear of being seen as feminized. This "paranoid reading" suggests that the horse's penis is just a convenient phallus, and that the men act out latent homosexual desires when they are penetrated by the stallion (Sedgwick 2003). In this reading, the zoos are repressing their homoerotic desires, and this is why they explain their desires in language and tropes consistent with masculine performance.

### BESTIALITY AS MULTISPECIES AFFECTIVE ECOLOGY

In contrast to this reading, would it be possible to take zoo desire seriously on its own terms—that is, to avoid reducing zoo desire to latent homoeroticism? Instead of suggesting that the horse's penis is a stand-in for the penises of other men, this approach would emphasize that the men eroticize speciative difference and, in particular, are embedded within a multispecies affective ecology. Moreover, the particular multispecies affective ecology is that of the horse-breeding assemblage.

Part of the problem with the repressive explanation above is that it cannot account for the radical specificity of the horse itself. Thoroughbred stallions are not wild animals—not in the documentary, or in real life. The fantasy that intimacy with a stallion could allow one to escape civilization capsizes on the logistics of having sex with a horse in a barn. This is a horse-breeding farm, after all, and the sex is carefully orchestrated, recorded, and reviewed. One of the primary figures in the zoo circle is James Michael Tate, also known as the Happy Horseman, a man whose previous work with horses enables him to train the stallions to mount the men. Everything about the film's scene, from Tate's expertise to the economic purpose and function of the farm, is embedded within horse-breeding assemblages described earlier in this chapter. Without a horse-breeding assemblage—the multispecies network of breeding farms, human laborers, veterinary science, mares, stallions, and teasers—the zoos would never have stallions to have sex with in the first place.

This relevant context surfaces at unexpected points in the film. At one point, moments before the fellating pony appears, Tate takes a horse rehabilitator, Jenny Edwards, on a tour of the barn. In this lurid, sensational, and meandering tour, Tate shows Edwards where he

trains his stallions, and suddenly the horror of the scene is deeply ambiguous. Edwards is seeing spaces normally reserved for horse breeding that have been repurposed for zoo sex. Is she horrified because she is face to face with zoo desire, or because she realizes that zoo desire is imbricated with another assemblage she herself is implicated within: the breeding assemblage? Perhaps the sudden mismatch of the stallion and man, rather than stallion and mare, reflects backward onto the “naturalized” scene of horse breeding, reminding Edwards that horse breeding always involves multispecies sex.

What happens when the fantasy scene of Tate’s desired penetration is a scene of breeding and not merely a scene of sex with a horse? In the breeding scene, Tate’s desire for the stallion may emerge not out of an erotic identification with the mare or the relative commensurability of human and horse penises as effective phalluses; instead, it may be related to the presence of multiple species in the scene, and thus may eroticize speciative difference. Tate’s desire may not hinge on the sex of the humans orchestrating the scene, a possible requirement for the scene to be a surrogate for a deeper same-species homosexual fantasy; instead, it may emerge from being seen by a human (one kind of creature) and penetrated by a horse (another kind of creature).

This fantasy hinges on speciative difference as much as sexual difference. Rather than bestial desire being reducible to the master narrative of homophobic repression, the scene of breeding requires, eroticizes, and reproduces species as an irreducible axis of difference. If Tate were relocated to another scene—one in which horses were absent—he might exhibit very different erotic identifications. Among humans, Tate performs as a hypermasculine, straight-acting, working-class “regular guy.” But when horses and humans come together, Tate morphs into a voracious horse-bottom.

---

## Summary

This chapter has surveyed the ways that the breeding of domestic animals interfaces with the organization of sex, gender, sexuality, and race. It shows both that breeding assemblages vary by cultural and historical context and that, in these various contexts, speciative difference is interarticulated with other forms of difference. As a result, a variety of categories commonsensically assumed to be natural actually emerge from contingent breeding assemblages. Breeds are not “natural” in the sense defined at the beginning of the chapter: something that exists prior to and independent of human action. According to this definition, domestic animals reproduced by breeding are not natural, nor, for that matter, are the various sex/gender systems that orchestrate breeding labor. This observation does not mean that they are “unnatural” *per se*. Rather, it underscores the degree to which categories of difference are produced through the ongoing entanglement of humans with the nonhuman world in ways that complicate the distinction between natural and unnatural.

However, breeding is more than merely the way in which humans organize and qualify the reproduction of nonhuman life. It is also an analytic tool through which one can excavate the multispecies affective ecologies in which all human (and animal) sex is embedded. Attention to breeding as both an object of study and an analytic lens reveals the degree to which human categories of difference—sex, gender, race, and sexuality—are embedded with multispecies assemblages. Humans do not merely breed animals. Human lifeways are defined and qualified through these intimate entanglements: in breeding animals, humans are themselves bred.

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

### Bibliography

- Adams, Carol J. *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. New York: Continuum, 1990.
- Anderson, Virginia DeJohn. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Bankoff, Greg, and Sandra Swart. *Breeds of Empire: The "Invention" of the Horse in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, 1500–1950*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.
- Blanchette, Alexander. "Conceiving Porkopolis: The Production of Life on the American 'Factory' Farm." PhD diss. University of Chicago, 2013.
- Boggs, Colleen Glenney. *Animalia Americana: Animal Representations and Biopolitical Subjectivity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Braun, Bruce. "Biopolitics and the Molecularization of Life." *Cultural Geographies* 14, no. 1 (2007): 6–28.
- Brinsko, Steven P., Terry Blanchard, Dickson Varner, et al. *Manual of Equine Reproduction*. 3rd ed. St. Louis, MO: Mosby Elsevier, 2010.
- Butler, Ellis Parker. *Pigs Is Pigs*. New York: McClure, Phillips, 1907.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Clarke, Adele. *Disciplining Reproduction: Modernity, American Life Sciences, and the Problems of Sex*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Cook, Robert C., and Barbara S. Burks. *How Heredity Builds Our Lives: An Introduction to Human Genetics and Eugenics*. New York: American Genetics Association, 1946.
- Cooper, Melinda. *Life as Surplus: Biotechnology and Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: Norton, 1991.
- Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972.
- Darling, Kjersten, and James M. Giffin. *Veterinary Guide to Horse Breeding*. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press, 2014.
- Dean, Tim. *Unlimited Intimacy: Reflections on the Subculture of Barebacking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Donovan, Josephine. "Animal Rights and Feminist Theory." *Signs* 15, no. 2 (1990): 350–375.
- Ellis, Colter. "Breeding Inequality: Human-Animal Relationships in Beef Production." PhD diss. University of Colorado, 2011.
- Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch*. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2004.
- Ferguson, Roderick A. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- Franklin, Sarah. *Dolly Mixtures: The Remaking of Genealogy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Gaard, Greta. "Living Interconnections with Animals and Nature." In *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*, edited by Greta Gaard, 1–12. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- Goodale, Hubert. Papers. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- Gruen, Lori. "Dismantling Oppression: An Analysis of the Connection between Women and Animals." In *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*, edited by Greta Gaard, 60–90. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- Halberstam, J. Jack. *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.
- Haraway, Donna. "Awash in Urine: DES and Premarin® in Multispecies Response-ability." *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2012): 301–316.
- Haraway, Donna. *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Hudson, John C. *Making the Corn Belt: A Geographical History of Middle-Western Agriculture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Hustak, Carla, and Natasha Myers. "Involuntary Momentum: Affective Ecologies and the Sciences of Plant/Insect Encounters." *differences* 23, no. 3 (2012): 74–118.



## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

- Jockey Club. *The American Stud Book: Principal Rules and Requirements*. New York: Author, 2015.
- Kevles, Daniel J. *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*. New York: Knopf, 1985.
- Kline, Wendy. *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Kloppenborg, Jack. *First the Seed: The Political Economy of Plant Biotechnology, 1492–2000*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005.
- Lovett, Laura L. *Conceiving the Future: Pronatalism, Reproduction, and the Family in the United States, 1890–1938*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Milam, Erika L. *Looking for a Few Good Males: Female Choice in Evolutionary Biology*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.
- Morton, Timothy. "Queer Ecology." *PMLA* 125, no. 2 (2010): 273–282.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Murphy, Michelle. *Seizing the Means of Reproduction: Entanglements of Feminism, Health, and Technoscience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Olmstead, Alan, and Paul Rhode. *Creating Abundance: Biological Innovation and American Agricultural Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Osborn, Frederick. *Preface to Eugenics*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940.
- Paxson, Heather. "Post-Pasteurian Cultures: The Microbiopolitics of Raw-Milk Cheese in the United States." *Cultural Anthropology* 23, no. 1 (2008): 15–47.
- Popenoe, Paul. "Eugenics and Family Relations." *Journal of Heredity* 31, no. 12 (1940): 532–536.
- Rajan, Kaushik Sunder. *Biocapital: The Constitution of Postgenomic Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Ritvo, Harriet. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Pantheon, 1997.
- Rose, Nikolas. *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-first Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Rosenberg, Gabriel N. "A Race Suicide among the Hogs: The Biopolitics of Pork in the United States, 1865–1930." *American Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2016): 49–73.
- Rosenberg, Gabriel N. "How Meat Changed Sex: The Law of Interspecies Intimacy after Industrial Reproduction." *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2017).
- Rubin, Gayle. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna R. Reiter, 157–210. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Russell, Edmund. *Evolutionary History: Uniting History and Biology to Understand Life on Earth*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Schiebinger, Londa L. *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is about You." In her *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*, 123–152. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Shukin, Nicole. *Animal Capital: Rendering Life in Biopolitical Times*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- Steele, F. R. "The Revolution of the Berkshire." *Berkshire World and Corn Belt Stockman* (July 1918): 8.
- Stokes, William Earl Dodge. *The Right to Be Well Born: Or, Horse Breeding in Its Relation to Eugenics*. New York: C. J. O'Brien, 1917.
- Terry, Jennifer. "'Unnatural Acts' in Nature: The Scientific Fascination with Queer Animals." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000): 151–193.
- Tsing, Anna. *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Vaught, Jeannette. "Animal Sex Work." *Platypus: The CASTAC Blog*. June 15, 2016. <http://blog.castac.org/author/jvaught/>

# Not For Sale

## Chapter 15: Breeds and Breeding

Vaught, Jeannette. "Science, Animals, and Profit-Making in the American Rodeo Arena." PhD diss. University of Texas, Austin, 2015.

Weaver, Harlan. "'Becoming in Kind': Race, Class, Gender, and Nation in Cultures of Dog Rescue and Dogfighting." *American Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (2013): 689–709.

Weaver, Harlan. "Pit Bull Promises: Inhuman Intimacies and Queer Kinships in an Animal Shelter." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2015): 343–363.

Weiss, Brad. *Real Pigs: Shifting Values in the Field of Local Pork*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.

Woods, Rebecca Jane Houghton. "The Herds Shot Round the World: Native Breeds and the British Empire, 1800–1900." PhD diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 2011.

### FILM

*Zoo*. Dir. Robinson Devor. 2007. An experimental documentary about a 2005 incident in Enumclaw, Washington, in which a man died from injuries sustained during passive anal intercourse with a horse.