EMERALD STUDIES IN SPORT AND GENDER

SPORTS CHARITY AND GENDERED LABOUR

CATHERINE PALMER

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

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Catherine Palmer is Head of Department of Social Sciences, Northumbria University. Catherine's research marries empirical and theoretical insight across a range of topics including sport and alcohol and fitness philanthropy. Her most recent books include *Fitness Philanthropy: Sport, Charity and Everyday Kindness*, *Rethinking Drinking and Sport* and *Global Sports Policy*. Her work has appeared in *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *International Journal for the Sociology of Sport*, *Sport in Society, Journal of Gender Studies, Social & Cultural Geography, Sociology of Sport*, and she has received significant funding for her research from national and international funding bodies.

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PREFACE

On any Sunday, in any major city, parks and roadways are taken over by people taking part in any number of charity challenges and charity sport events. From fun runs raising money for chronic illnesses through to bicycle rides seeking to raise awareness of social problems such as poverty or homelessness, these events offers an ever-widening opportunity for people to take on the challenge of raising money for a designated charity thereby combining a personal physical challenge with an altruistic purpose (Goodwin, McCombes, & Eckardt, 2009). This, I've termed 'fitness philanthropy'; a socio-sporting movement that mobilises charity endeavours through mass participation sporting events. The term describes those

> …consumer-oriented philanthropic solutions to health or social problems that draw on physical activity-based events such as fun runs, bike rides, long swims, epic hikes and multi-sport challenges in which participants seek to raise money for and awareness of a variety of health and social causes.
>
> (Palmer, 2016, p. 238))

Be it the Mother's Day Classic raising money for breast cancer research and education, the Buddy Run raising awareness of anti-bullying campaigns among school children or individual competitors seeking sponsorship for the London or New York marathons, an ever-increasing number of people are training for, competing in, donating to or sponsoring a broad range of sports-based charity events.

Alongside individual participation in these charity challenges, corporate sponsorship of events such as the *Flora* London Marathon, the *BUPA* Great North Run or the *Medibank* Melbourne Marathon has seen these events leveraged as part of a corporate social responsibility agenda, whereby sponsors, corporations and organisations look to sporting events (and teams) as opportunities to present themselves as socially responsible, authentic and ethical. The events are also important fundraising mechanisms for charity and not-for-profit organisations, where they contribute significantly to the charity

sector. In a typical year there are around 21,000 mass participation sporting events across Australia, in which 3.4 million participants take part, and which raise money for over 2,500 charities. In the United Kingdom, Macmillan Cancer Support raised £3.5 million through running events alone (Macmillan Cancer Support, 2015), while in Australia, in 2016, sport events affiliated with charity were reported to raise AUD$1.3 billion (McGregor-Lowndes et al., 2017), which represents around 10% of all donations to charity in Australia for that year (Powell, Cortis, Ramia, & Marjolin, 2017). This nexus of participants, donors and sponsors has seen sports charity events become unparallelled philanthropic endeavours, bringing together marketing strategies, corporate social responsibility and the agendas of health and medical research and social care to advance research, education and advocacy.

As an avid but average runner who regularly takes part in a range of fun runs, I was intrigued by the growing association of these events with fundraising and sponsorship. As a sociologist, I was interested in what individual, social or structural factors might explain the rise and continued popularity of the charity 'thon' (Palmer, 2016) and what I saw to be an emerging social phenomenon.

Over the last few years, I have embarked on a wide-ranging research program into fitness philanthropy. My previous work on fitness philanthropy has explored the phenomenon as a site and source of kindness and generosity, particularly how fitness philanthropy intersects with notions of charity, civic engagement and social capital (Palmer & Dwyer, 2019; Palmer, 2020a, 2020b; Palmer, Filo, & Hookway, 2021). My work has explored the mobilisation of charity foundations for 'soft activism' in sport (Palmer, 2019) and the particular characteristics of fitness philanthropy including: the role of social media in peer-to-peer giving; the suffering body and a wider agenda of wanting to make a difference (Palmer, Filo, & Hookway, 2021). This broad range of interests in fitness philanthropy points to the changing nature of sport, leisure and physical activity, whereby fundraising is a key motivation for participation. It also addresses key concerns with moral identity, and civic engagement, and the sorts of 'empathy paths' created by fitness philanthropy. And, finally, it spotlights the civic engagement potential of fitness philanthropy while asking critical questions about shifting responsibilities for health in the context of neoliberalism and 'caring capitalism'.

What became apparent from this research was the importance of gender and gendered labour in shaping the nature of fitness philanthropy across the broad range of interests within the phenomenon. In interviews with research participants for my previous studies (see Palmer, 2017, 2020a), people – usually women – described the domestic and emotional efforts required to

enable a family member – usually their male spouse – to participate in a fitness philanthropy event. Parents detailed the emotional labour that accompanied participation and fundraising to raise money for a charity and supporting causes close to the family, usually a not-for-profit organisation raising money for medical research, education and advocacy for an illness that had taken the life of a spouse, child or another family member. Mothers, in particular, described the effort that went into managing the fundraising efforts and the training schedules of the rest of their family, while often holding themselves and their family together through their grief and loss.

While the domestic enablers of sport more broadly is very often the thing that makes sport possible – witness the sheer amount of time that mothers, in particular, spend ferrying kids to sport on the weekend, to the point that 'Mum's taxi' is a bumper sticker on many cars in the car park of sporting grounds around Australia – and certainly women have less time and opportunity for leisure due to the burden of housework and childcare, I suggest that it is a more complex and contradictory set of relations that are embedded in fitness philanthropy than simply domestic labour. As I argue in the following pages, fitness philanthropy is made possible by the intersections of four different, overlapping, forms of labour: embodied labour, emotional labour, invisible labour and philanthropic labour that are gendered in both their production and consumption in the form of training for, sponsoring of and participating in sports charity events. It is the ways in which gender and gendered labour intersect with fitness philanthropy that is the focus of the next six chapters.

The book conceives sports charity or fitness philanthropy as a unique and a uniquely social phenomenon. Embedded within this proposition are a series of questions, empirical examples and theoretical insights about the meaning and politics of gender, labour and responsibility. There is a body of research that has explored the role of families and support partners in facilitating and inhibiting participation in sport, and endurance sports events more particularly, and I examine this more fully elsewhere in the book. Labour, however, extends to the management of emotions, the body, people, responsibilities and fundraising endeavours that are experienced differently by gender and social identities. As noted, these different kinds of labour can be loosely conceived as embodied labour, emotional labour, domestic labour and philanthropic labour. Each of these is explored in the next six chapters.

Structure and Organisation

Given the kinds of issues the book engages with, I haven't written a book that fits neatly into categories such as leisure studies, gender studies, sports studies

or even broader disciplines such as sociology. Rather, the text examines the dominant themes in social science (and related) treatments of sport, gender and philanthropic labour. My interest, fundamentally, is in taking the debates about the dynamics of gender, sport, embodiment, families, and labour that are prevalent in the social sciences more broadly and applying these to analyses of sports charity events. That is, I am concerned with the everyday sociocultural enactments of labour and the place of fitness philanthropy within this larger social, political and cultural landscape.

With this as background, the book is organised as follows. The first chapter traces the key literature, themes, concepts and debates in sociological, leisure studies, management and related approaches to the sport, gender and charity. Here, I examine the changing charity landscape in Australia and elsewhere and the place of sports charity more specifically within that landscape. The key concerns with gender and the ways in which this intersects with a range of social and domestic structures and arrangements across a range of activities within sports charity are introduced, leading into the substantive empirical content of the chapters in Chapters 2–5.

The empirical chapters variously examine the labour or the work associated with training for and competing in sports-based charity challenges, many of which are significant physical undertakings. Each of the empirical chapters begins with an outline of the methods used, but a couple of points are needed here. Data collection for the project began in 2017 and continued off and on over the next three years. Much of the data were collected through face-to-face interviews and participant observation in and at various sports charity events.

Then COVID-19 struck. Like many other aspects of our social and economic lives, COVID-19 has changed the nature of fitness philanthropy. The requirements of physical distancing mean mass gathering events are not possible (many have moved online), and the social and economic costs of the pandemic are yet to be fully realised. While we are yet to fully imagine the future of the charity sector and its capacity to mobilise fitness philanthropy for the public good, it is fair to say that the need for fundraising and charitable giving in response to crises has never been more compelling, yet our capacity to donate and participate in fitness philanthropy events has never been more challenged.

For this book, I had to 'pivot' and interview participants via Zoom, and to take part in sports charity events via their virtual platforms, where I would run my 5 or 10 kilometres and upload my results to a website. The embodied experiences of virtual fitness philanthropy were, thus, very different to that of an event held in person, where hundreds, if not thousands, of participants rub shoulders with one another and friends, families and spectators lined the route.

I address these changes and challenges in the relevant chapters but offer a brief summary of the chapters here.

The Empirical Work

This is the first empirically based monograph specifically addressing gender and gendered labour in sports charity. I have tried to take into account the different ways in which gender and labour intersect with sports charity or fitness philanthropy (and I use those terms interchangeably throughout the manuscript). Across the empirical chapters, I have tried to consider the ways in which age, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, social class (and their intersections) impacts up on how fitness philanthropy is experienced and articulated in and through different contexts.

To outline these approaches, I use an auto-ethnographic case study of training for and competing in the fitness philanthropy event of the Southern Most Marathon in the Florida Keys in Chapter 2. Here, I document the experience of negotiating 'the work of working out' that opens up possibilities for new knowledge and understandings of gendered embodiment and subjectivity in sport, fitness and physical culture studies. Chapter 3 draws on empirical research with cancer survivors and families affected by death and illness and who now donate their time, money and resources to participation and fundraising. This, I term their emotional labour. From this perspective, the chapter begins to analyse the ways in which gender dynamics intersect with the management of tragedy within family structures and the ways in which sports charity (either through participation or fundraising or both) can offer an important outlet for dealing with family tragedies.

From here, Chapter 4 details the ways in which domestic labour – more often than not done by women – provides the space for others – more often than not men and children – to take part in sports charity challenges and sport more broadly. This is a theme addressed across the book which explores the ways in which domestic labour, choice, sacrifice and shifting relationships within a household inhibit and facilitate sporting careers and identities. Tying together some of the ideas presented on emotional labour, the book examines the domestic labour of caring for someone with a chronic condition or illness (e.g. remembering medical appointments, juggling childcare, dealing with questions and realities of death and mortality). The last of the empirical chapters, Chapter 5, examines the construction and representation of gender in philanthropic labour. Drawing on interviews with the Susan G. Komen Foundation (a pioneering charity for breast cancer awareness in the United States), the chapter documents the kind of social intimacy and personal investments required to interact with potential and current donors in order to

foster, frame and facilitate donations. In the context of the line of argument developed in the manuscript, the focus of the analysis is on representations (and exclusions) of care and responsibility in facilitating fundraising efforts by and for women.

Chapter 6, the conclusion, revisits the aim and objectives, summarises my findings and offers some suggestions for future research. It brings together the key themes, issues and debates, and offers some reflections on and recommendations for the growth of fitness philanthropy in relation to sport, gender, leisure and consumption. Theoretical and methodological possibilities for future studies and the implications for not-for-profit and charity organisations, marketing and sponsorship and health and social policy are discussed, reflected on and refined.

Thus, the material covered is a deliberately diverse and eclectic selection that reflects my previous, current or emerging research interests in relation to sport, charity and gender. Although a book on sport, gender and philanthropic labour that engages with marketing, sponsorship and corporate social responsibility, as well as the social sciences most broadly, it is informed by my background as a social anthropologist and I hope something of this comes through in what I've written. Because of this, I adopt a critical interpretivist approach to the analysis of fitness philanthropy and gendered labour. Following Sugden and Tomlinson, my approach is characterised by 'a healthy disrespect for disciplinary boundaries, an adventurous cross-cultural curiosity and a commitment to critical social scientific scholarship not beholden to patrons, agencies or sponsors' (2011, p. xiii). I have long and unashamedly admired the work and writing of Clifford Geertz and Ulf Hannerz, and I hope this influence is apparent in what follows.

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I am grateful, above all, to those people who gave their time and shared their family's stories of domestic, emotional and embodied labour. I am grateful to Susan G. Komen for their ongoing access to the foundation.

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1

SPORT, GENDER AND CHARITY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the context of the book, the research underpinning the subsequent chapters and the key themes developed throughout. It begins with an overview of the fitness philanthropy phenomenon around which this book is based. It then turns to some of the theoretical traditions for making sense of sport and leisure as gendered pursuits and practices and considers their analytical utility for understanding the forms of labour associated with fitness philanthropy and sports charity. This provides the necessary theoretical and conceptual scaffolding on which the empirical detail in Chapters 2–5 is then hung.

This book is about sports charity. But what is sport and what is charity? Until recently, sport in Australia was defined as

> *…a human activity capable of achieving a result requiring physical exertion and/or physical skill which, by its nature and organisation, is competitive and is generally accepted as being a sport.*
>
> *(Sport Australia, 2020)*

However, Sport Australia has developed a new plan, *Sport 2030,* where sport has been redefined as an umbrella term for recreational physical activity, which is more consistent with established use of the term internationally (Sport Australia, 2020). The new definition of sport includes both organised competitive sports, but also encompassing a broad range of other recreational physical activities, such as walking, riding, swimming, parkour style obstacle courses and stand-up paddle boarding. This definition is more in line with many other countries which have long since adopted a broad definition of sport which includes organised and non-organised sport, as well as other

leisure-time physical activity. The Council of Europe's European Sport Charter (2001) offers a useful definition that I adopt for the rest of the book. According to the Charter:

> *'Sport' means all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organised participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels.*

This 'broad church' definition is adopted as it provides touch points for fitness philanthropy. Sports charity events can range from casual to organised participation (i.e. from a walk in a park to a full Ironman triathlon); they enable participants to develop and show their physical fitness and they provide an important way of forming social relationships, both through the physical endeavour itself and through the associated activities of training and fundraising. Charity is an equally contested concept. Invariably, there is some slippage between terms such as philanthropy and charity and I use both, somewhat interchangeably, in the book. Below, I offer an overview of the origins of fitness philanthropy and its position in a broader discussion about the changing nature of charity in Western neoliberal democracies such as Australia, the United Kingdom or New Zealand.

FITNESS PHILANTHROPY AND SPORTS CHARITY

Fitness philanthropy describes a socio-sporting movement that mobilises charity endeavours through mass participation sporting events. Sport Aid – a global fundraising event for famine relief, inspired by the 1985 Live Aid music event at Wembley Stadium – was the defining moment in the evolution of fitness philanthropy (Bunds, 2017; Palmer & Dwyer, 2019). Sport Aid was a globally coordinated marathon event that combined 'humanitarian aid, and sports and united several millions of people across the five continents' (Webster, 2013, para. 1). The running boom which occurred across Europe, North America and Australia in the 1980s (Pedersen & Thing, 2016) set the scene for the growth of mass participation running events around which most fitness philanthropy is based.

Seeing the increase in road race participants, charity organisations seized on the opportunity to join with races in an attempt to raise money (Bunds, 2017; King, 2010). In the United States, the first charity to implement the strategy of partnering with an established race was the Leukaemia and

Lymphoma Society when it started its programme of Team in Training in 1988, to raise funds for research into cancers of the lymphatic system. From this early beginning, Hamilton (2013) reports that road races aligned with a cause amassed US$1.2 billion for non-profit organisations in 2012, more than double the amount from 2002. In 2015, the top 30 sports-based fundraising events were reported to generate US$1.57 billion (Peer-to-Peer Thirty, 2016). In the United Kingdom, Macmillan Cancer Support raised £3.5 million through running events alone (Macmillan Cancer Support, 2015), while in Australia, in 2016, sports charity was reported to raise AUD$1.3 billion (McGregor-Lowndes et al., 2017).

Research on fitness philanthropy has typically documented individual motivations for event participation (Bennett, Mousley, Kitchin, & Ali-Choudhury, 2007; Filo, Funk, & O'Brien 2008; Won, Park, Lee, & Chung, 2011; Won, Park, & Turner, 2010), as well as the benefits that individuals derive from participation (Rundio et al., 2014). Motives for participation in charity sport events include striving to complete an individual fitness challenge, often motivated by participants' own personal loss, grief or bereavement and the desire to support efforts to cure particular diseases, notably cancers and motor neuron disorders (e.g. Gregg, Pierce, Sweeney, & Lee, 2015; Won et al., 2010). The connections between fitness philanthropy and grief and loss are addressed more fully in Chapter 3, where I explore the emotional labour associated with sports charity through the experiences of two families who turned to fitness philanthropy to raise money for cancer charities to honour the memories of family members who lost their lives to breast and brain cancer.

Fitness philanthropy has also been positioned as a mechanism that can enhance well-being at an individual and community level. Coghlan and Filo (2016) revealed that participation in charity sport events activated character strengths such as kindness/generosity, citizenship, loyalty and teamwork, hope and optimism, and passion and enthusiasm, which in turn increased participants' well-being. Coghlan and Filo (2016) also found evidence of five domains of well-being (positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment) within the charity sport event experience, with positive emotions, relationship and meaning being the most evident.

Although these findings primarily highlight well-being benefits of fitness philanthropy at an individual level, my own research suggests that fitness philanthropy can also contribute to community well-being (Palmer, 2020b). I argue that the focus on the individual benefits of fitness philanthropy, and the outcomes for charities and philanthropic organisations, has obscured the

potential that fitness philanthropy offers for understanding an emerging set of circumstances for the expression of community well-being, theorised as 'social capital'. This perspective, then

> *…conceives the sport-charity nexus as broader than a fundraising imperative or a motivation for individual benefits and argues instead that fitness philanthropy is an important socio-sporting movement that mobilises well-being in increasingly neo-liberal times.*
>
> *(Palmer, 2020b, p. 20)*

Building on this focus on the collective outcomes of fitness philanthropy, it is also possible to theorise how the pursuit of individual well-being is implicated in ethical regards for others. Hookway (2013), for example, argues that values of self-improvement and personal authenticity can be morally productive and understood as part of a virtuous 'politics of the self' rather than simply dismissed as narcissistic or self-serving. Indeed, this focus on individual motivations for participation in fitness philanthropy is located in a broader discussion about the changing nature of charity and philanthropy across the contours of neoliberalism and late modernity (Palmer & Dwyer, 2019; Palmer, Filo, & Hookway, 2021). Throughout book, I draw on this critique of the links between sport, charity and philanthropy through the lens of neoliberalism as it provides an important social, political and economic context within which fitness philanthropy – and the gendered labour within – has flourished.

From this background, I suggest that fitness philanthropy serves as a growing form of civic engagement which complements more traditional understandings and expressions of philanthropy, generosity and giving. As I describe in the following chapters, such expressions of generosity are not experienced equally or evenly. Class, sexuality, ethnicity and gender all intersect in different ways, with different effects and consequences, in this new landscape of sports charity.

I noted earlier that my previous research highlighted the role of gender and gendered labour in shaping the nature of sports charity events, which I was not able to fully address in that work. Clearly, there is a long history of scholarship that interrogates the ways in which gender intersects with sport in terms of participation, representation, consumption and fandom, and sports administration, among others. It is not my intention to revisit those debates here, but to provide a context from which to consider the emergence of fitness philanthropy as a novel expression of gender in sporting and leisure practices.

SPORT AND GENDER: THEORETICAL (AND METHODOLOGICAL) TRADITIONS

The gendered labour of fitness philanthropy implicates men and women in different ways. As such I approach the empirical material with a feminist sensitivity to women's subjectivity and experiences that also underscores some of the social and structural factors that highlight how wider gender relations also facilitate (and, to a lesser extent, inhibit) men's experiences of fitness philanthropy. In approaching both, it is not my intention to treat either men or women as a homogeneous group. The empirical chapters bring to life the incredible diversity within family structures, class, race and ethnicity and age and disability of the fitness philanthropy community. Sports charity is profoundly transforming participation in Australian sport and leisure, but we are yet to consider what these transformations might mean for everyday men's and women's experiences of sport and physical activity in Australia, as a means of opening new dialogues and exploring future opportunities for understanding the gendered nature of the activities themselves.

Feminisms and Sport

As I write this, towards the end of 2019, women in sport are enjoying a long overdue day in the sun. As Toffoletti and Palmer note 'it would seem that there has never been a better time to be a woman in Australian sport' (2019, p. 2). Recent changes in the Australian sport landscape have drawn the public's attention to issues of gender progress. The recognition of wider media coverage, pay parity and maternity leave, among other issues, has addressed some of the working conditions of professional women's sport. Still, there is a long way to go before meaningful equality is achieved without struggle. As Australian feminist sport scholar Adele Pavlidis reminds us, women's sporting triumphs

> *…do not signify the end of gender-based exclusion or discrimination. Instead, these successes are part of a continual dynamic that shapes public debate over the value of women's sport and, indeed, the value of women's participation in a range of public forums.*
>
> *(2018, p. 334)*

It is amidst this climate of hope and optimism and yet persistent gender inequalities that a discussion of the gendered labour of fitness philanthropy sits.

That said, there is a need to remind ourselves of the intellectual and political traditions of feminism which underpin this project. Feminist scholars have made a significant contribution to advancing our knowledge and understanding of gender and sport since the 1980s. Work has variously, and by no means exclusively, examined physical education, fitness practices, media representations of women, team sports, and action sports, sports governance and administration, and the practices that facilitate and inhibit women's full participation across this broad spectrum (Birrell, 1988, 2002; Caudwell, 2011; Hargreaves, 1994, 2000; Lenskyj, 1991; Mansfield, 2007, 2008; Mansfield, Caudwell, Wheaton, & Watson, 2017; Markula, 1995, 2003; Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Parry & Fullagar, 2013; Scraton, 1992; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002; Theberge, 1985, 2002; Toffoletti & Thorpe, 2018).[1]

While feminist scholars have long been at the forefront of advancing the study of sport to address the intersections of gender, race, class, sexuality and ability in framing sporting encounters and experiences, the field, however, is largely dominated by research that details the gender operations of sport across North America, Europe and the United Kingdom (what is often referred to as 'the Global North') leaving women's everyday encounters with sport as players, audiences, workers and media subjects across 'the Global South' open to further investigation. While I have an intellectual and political commitment to expanding the agenda to include the voices of women from the Global South (see Toffoletti, Palmer, & Samie, 2018), this book does, however, centre on research conducted in Australia and the United States.

While feminist approaches to sport are, in many ways, distinguished by their commitment to a theoretical approach to making sense of sport as a gendered activity, it is not possible, within the limits of this chapter, to present a detailed account of any one feminist theory. My intention instead is to located fitness philanthropy within different, but intersecting spheres of women's (and to a lesser extent girls) lives across some of the central feminist debates.

Debates surrounding the gendered character of sporting practices have changed with increasing awareness of feminist theories and a more sophisticated use of particular theories. There are several strands or waves of feminist thought which have developed out of efforts to challenge the hegemony of a variety of male cultures. Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce (2017)

1 Mansfield et al. (2017) provide a comprehensive chronology of the development of this feminist theorising, as it appears in peer-reviewed journal articles, from the early days of PE to then leisure and sport studies.

bring into conversation these waves or strands. They draw on the perspectives of third-wave feminism, post-feminism and neoliberal feminism to describe the changing operations of gender relations and the articulation of gendered subjectivities in sport. In demonstrating the ways in which each form of feminism can be used to explain how discourses of sport (and femininity) are internalised, embodied and practiced by young (sports) women, they highlight the complexity, and continuing utility, of feminisms for making meaning of, and responding to the conditions of women's sporting lives.

Indeed, within feminisms, the nature and character of different women's positions in sport and society is contested and there are overlaps and conflicts in relation to a feminist agenda (Mansfield et al., 2017). Attempting to plot a cursory view of existing material is fraught with exclusions and this is not my intention. Nevertheless, feminist theorists are distinguished by a political commitment, or sometimes an ethical commitment, to identifying and challenging social injustices faced by women (Wilson, 1986), a position adopted in this book. While running a 5 km event to raise money may seem trivial in the face of larger social injustices faced by women, its very everydayness brings into sharp relief the problems and patterns of gender power relations in sport, and the motivations and meanings of female involvement in sport. Who minds the children to facilitate training? Who organises the fundraising within a family? Whose bodies are front and centre in advertising for cancer campaigns? Fitness philanthropy is no less a space through which to articulate the political commitments of feminists in challenging the gendered nature of sport.

Men and Sport

While the primacy of men's participation in sport across those areas where women are marginalised and under-represented has been the subject of critique and challenge from feminist scholars, I suggest that the challenge tends to be levelled at particular versions of masculinity and sport; that conceived as 'hegemonic masculinity'. The concept owes its intellectual legacy to the Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell (1987, 1995), and can be understood as a representation of what men should be and do (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity provides a theory for the 'pattern of practices that legitimize the patriarchal system in society' (Martinez-Garcia & Rodriguez-Mendez, 2019, p. 2). Essentially a culturally idealised form of 'being a man', hegemonic masculinity is both a way of identifying and understanding those attitudes and practices among men that

involve men's domination over women and the power of some men over other (often minority groups of) men.

While hegemonic masculinity continues to have considerable theoretical traction, scholars are increasingly recognising that masculinities (plural) are a contested concept (Anderson, McCormack, & d Lee, 2012; Flood, 2002, 2008; McKay, Messner, & Sabo, 2000; Pringle, 2005, 2011). Anderson (2005, 2009), for example, distinguishes hegemonic masculinity from *orthodox* masculinity, arguing that 'scholars frequently confuse Connell's notion of hegemonic masculinity as a social process with the archetype described as maintaining social dominance' and that it is the 'presentation of the archetype that is esteemed in sporting cultures as orthodox masculinity' (Adams, Anderson, & McCormack, 2010, p. 280).

Similarly, Seidler (2006) and Thorpe (2010) suggest that hegemonic masculinity is a blunt theoretical tool that has not kept pace with the fluidity of gender relations and identities in sport and elsewhere. While Seidler (2006) is critical of the a-historical use of hegemonic masculinity, others (Connell included) have attempted to rework the concept so as to acknowledge hegemonic masculinit*ies*, and the intersectoral relationships between gender and race, class and ethnicity (Connell & Messerchmidt, 2005; Schippers, 2007; Beasley, 2008). Such recognition of the complexity of masculinities is important for this project, where the fluidity of masculinities is made visible in family practices, discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, and in bodily practices, described in the following chapter.

The chapters within this book, thus, are located in a feminist perspective. What is principally at issue is advancing knowledge and understanding about gender and fitness philanthropy in ways that allow for a consideration of relations of power which influence the provision, participation and control of fitness philanthropy practices, and the ways that gender intersects with such variables as class, ethnicity, age and disability. These perspectives are the four forms of labour detailed in the following empirical chapters, for these also bring to life the economic, political and ideological arrangements which affect personal preferences and choices about the activities of fitness philanthropy.

LOCATING LABOUR IN FITNESS PHILANTHROPY

As I detail in the following chapters, the role of gender and social identities in the production and consumption of sports charity alerts us to the cultural work that goes into the production and consumption of fitness philanthropy.