

How the Expectations of Masculinity Affect Young Men in Sport and Physical Activity

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Ma by Research

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to look in detail how a group of young men have experienced modern day masculinity in the field of sport and physical activity. Most literature does not examine masculinity and men's experiences as a sole topic but uses it to be compared to the experiences of more marginalised groups. In the literature review theories of masculinity are covered such as; hegemonic masculinity theory, hypermasculinity, tortured masculinity and inclusive masculinity theory. Bourdieusian theory is also introduced with literature around the four forms of capital and concepts such as habitus, doxa and field. By interviewing 22 men aged between 18-25 and analysing their experiences using Bourdieusian theory, masculinity theory and narrative analysis. Using narrative analysis four groups were constructed: 'Laddish Masculinities', 'Navel-Gazing Lads', 'Diluted Masculinities' and 'Nonconforming Masculinities'. This study found that some men prefer participating in sport with more diverse groups such as mixed gendered sports and groups with multiple ethnicities or socioeconomic backgrounds. This study also found that even though some men consider themselves to be particularly masculine they also believe that they act in inclusive manners which is often supported by their actions. Contrary to these findings, some participants believe sport and, by extension, society have a long way to go before being considered fully inclusive. Social class and ethnicity was key in how masculinity is presented, which is especially seen within the engagement with lad culture and drinking within university sport societies. Future research may build upon this thesis by examining changing masculinities on a more global scale and asking if inclusive masculinity is limited to Western society or not. Future research may also observe the influence of private education on masculinity and 'lad culture', specifically around drinking culture at university and how to predict and prevent excessive alcohol consumption.

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Introduction

It has been argued that sport represents a microcosm of society through which we can observe the relationship between masculinity and an individual's status (English, 2017). This study chose to include physical activity as well as sport, in order to allow young men who participate in activities recreationally - such as going rock climbing or to the gym - to discuss their experiences, as well as young men who participate in organised sports such as game sports and athletic events. Sports are defined by Coakley (2001) as a competitive activity which involves rigorous physical exertion, whereas physical activity is defined by the World Health Organisation (2021) as any bodily movement produced by skeletal muscles that require energy expenditure. Masculinity within society can be applied more broadly than just sport or physical activity, such as in business settings, gender studies and in society's current beliefs. Masculine ideals and behaviours can reflect society more broadly and show how views are changing such as gender roles and inclusivity (De Visser and Smith, 2007; Parmentier, 2016). It is also important to examine subcultures of masculinity such as lad culture and 'incels' as these can be areas which result in unhealthy attitudes and behaviours, such as promoting misogyny, homophobia and unhealthy levels of alcohol consumption (Dempster, 2011; Adams, 2017).

Furthermore, observing how masculinity is adapting to modern society in the wake of recent social movements such as 'Me Too', 'Pride' and 'Black Lives Matter' is also important. Social media has been a huge part of modern society and the aforementioned social movements (Kidd and McIntosh, 2016). It also carries its advantages and disadvantages; for example, giving platforms to those who spread misinformation and hate against certain groups, such as the recently charged Andrew Tate (Valenzuela, *et al.*, 2019). On the other hand, social media also gives many activists a platform to educate and share experiences, which can help people who have experienced discrimination and also promotes a more inclusive form of masculinity. Finally, although sport is becoming more inclusive generally, the field is still dominated by men, specifically heterosexual, cisgender men (Hovden and von der Lippe, 2019). When fields are dominated by one group it is easy for others to feel left out and unable to speak up (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013). This was recently illustrated with the Luis Rubiales scandal and despite many calling for him to step

down he still feels entitled to his position and the female FIFA World Cup winners are 1) still having their victory overshadowed by a man and 2) still not being validated and forced to play. Therefore it is clear how such contemporary instances suggest that masculinity is still a key influencing factor in multiple fields across sport and society.

This research aims to study the expectations of masculinity on young men within sport and physical activity environments, from a sociological perspective. This study hopes to deconstruct the negative impacts of masculinity on men in sport and more generally society. This research is important because heterosexual cisgender men are not often observed as their own group within the sociology of sport, and are often only looked at to be compared against more marginalised groups (McKeown, et al., 2010). Additionally, by looking at young men aged between 18 and 25, this thesis focuses on an age group which are just starting to become more self-aware about their masculinity and how the previous societal norms are not necessarily healthy. Furthermore, the generation known as Gen Z, born between 1997 and 2012, often take a more liberal stance on gender norms and therefore expectations of masculinity have evolved (Schailée, et al., 2021). This has only become apparent in recent years; therefore not many studies have focused on this group, especially in sport. Additionally, there is only a handful of literature that has used Bourdieusian theory to understand the relationship between masculinity and sport and those studies have not covered the age group observed within this study. Within these studies, such as Light and Kirk (2000), Thorpe (2010), Gottzen and Kremer-Sadlik (2012), Robinson and Robertson (2014), Hill (2015), Bunn *et al.*, (2016), Metcalf (2018), Hovden and von der Lippe (2019) and Metcalf (2019), Bourdieu has been used as a tool of analysis of masculinity and sport; therefore his theories have been used in this study in order to address the research question.

There are three main research objectives of this thesis. The first objective was to interview a variety of heterosexual cisgender men, aged between 18-25, with experience participating in physical activity and sport to ask about their experiences of masculinity and how society impacts those experiences. This group was chosen in order to keep the study specific and to observe how modern masculinity is presented within the most modern generation. Additionally, the decision to include physical

activity (and not only sport) broadens the analysis to include those who have participated in activities like climbing and going to the gym where masculinity could still be an influencing factor in behaviour. The next research objective was to apply Bourdieu's theories of habitus and doxa to how young men act when participating in sport and physical activity in order to understand how the sporting environment pressures young men to change their behaviours. Although Bourdieu's concepts are not gender-specific and predominantly focus on social class, they can be applied to the hierarchy of masculinity and be used to analyse factors within the socially constructed order. This study therefore aims to question the factors in society and sport that reinforce multiple forms of masculinity and to investigate how masculinity is changing for young men in the present day.

This thesis will consist of three main chapters, those being a literature review, methodology, and results and discussion, followed by a conclusion. The literature review covers theoretical topics used for the analysis of the data. The literature review begins by outlining literature around the theories of masculinity - namely, 'hegemonic masculinity', 'hypermasculinity', 'tortured masculinity' and 'inclusive masculinity' - and then discusses how these theories apply in contemporary society. The literature review will then introduce Bourdieusian theory covering the four forms of capital (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic), the concepts of habitus, doxa, field, and the notion of symbolic violence. The remaining sections of the literature review will outline literature which is based on the combination of Bourdieu and masculinity, concluding with a review of past literature focusing upon Bourdieu, masculinity and sport. The methodology chapter outlines research methods literature which focuses on epistemology and ontology; the chapter then discusses narrative analysis and the rationale for its use in this study. The methodology chapter then highlights the possible biases that may arise during the data collection and analysis, before concluding with a discussion of the data collection technique and how masculinity and Bourdieusian theory will be used to analyse the data. The final main chapter will be the results and discussion; this section will outline the key themes from the data collection, and compare the findings to masculinity and Bourdieusian theory, as well as identify implications for future research. The conclusion will then summarise the key findings, discuss how appropriate the use of narrative analysis,

Bourdieuian theories and masculinity theories were, and will recommend how future research may choose to build upon this thesis.

Literature Review

This chapter will introduce the main concepts of social theorist Pierre Bouedieu's theories of capital, doxa, habitus and field; these theories can be used to illustrate how power and status are gained within society and smaller communities such as sport. This chapter also aims to introduce multiple theories of masculinity as well as begin the discussion of masculinity and society's relationship and also by extension sport and masculinity. The aim of this chapter is not only to introduce the concepts and their relationships to each other but also outline surrounding literature with contrasting views in order to critically unpick theories and their application.

Theories of Masculinity

This following section will look to outline multiple theories of masculinity, in order to provide a lens for later discussion on the findings of this study, such as hegemonic, hypermasculinity, tortured masculinity, toxic masculinity, and inclusive masculinity. Masculinity has been a popular topic in recent years, with theories such as the aforementioned being applied to many fields of study such as business, sport and society (English, 2017; Rivera and Tilcsik, 2016; Robertson, 2003). However, masculinity has been researched and reviewed in academia since the 1960s (Bruce, 1967; Stoller, 1965). Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) state that researching masculinity teaches us how boys and men learn to perform acts of manhood, why these acts vary, and how these acts perpetuate gender inequality. The general term of masculinity is said to be behaviours, languages and practices, existing which are mainly associated with males and therefore perceived as not feminine, these can differ based on cultural and geographical location (Itulua-Abumere, 2013). In this light, this thesis does not use one specific definition of masculinity but instead look at multiple theories put forward throughout academia; this allows for the participants to discuss their own perception of their masculinity and what they think society's expectations of masculinity are.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Connell wrote the seminal paper on 'hegemonic masculinity', a theoretical instrument that analyses attitudes and behaviours among men that perpetuate the oppression of

women (Connell, 1995; Demetriou, 2001). Connell (1995) said that hegemonic masculinity is a practice that legitimises patriarchy. The concept of patriarchy has been used in feminism since first wave feminism in literature from writers like Virginia Woolf and Vera Brittain, which dates back to the late 1800s (Beechey, 1979). The concept of the patriarchy has developed and defined many times; however, it is most commonly used to describe how male power and domination in society results in the oppression of women (Millett, 1969; Beechey, 1979; Omvedt, 1986). It is important to recognise that patriarchy does not only impact women negatively, but also men because it forces them to conform with traditional ideals of masculinity and if they do not they are seen as lesser; for example, homosexual men, or heterosexual men that are seen as expressing themselves in a feminine way (Demetriou, 2001). Lilleaas (2007) said that if men act too feminine or go beyond what is considered normal behaviour they will be labelled as women or homosexual. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) state that hegemonic masculinity cannot be simplified to a list of specific traits and that it is a process or set of ideals that leads to the domination of women and men that do not meet what the current hegemonic ideal is. However, there are many theorists, especially more recently, who believe that hegemonic masculinity is an outdated theory or that it negates the fluidity of masculinity (Demetriou, 2001; Donaldson, 1993; Seidler, 2006; Thorpe, 2010).

Another academic who believes the theory of hegemonic masculinity is outdated is Anderson who conceptualised inclusive masculinity theory which will be elaborated on later (Anderson, 2010; Anderson, 2011). In contrast, Coles (2008) states that hegemonic masculinity can be used to describe whichever form of masculinity is most dominant at the time within the field of masculinity. This view would argue that inclusive masculinity would come under the term of hegemonic masculinity. However, many academics view inclusive masculinity as less oppressive towards women and other marginalised groups which would therefore argue against inclusive masculinity coming under the umbrella of hegemonic masculinity because it does not align with Connell's (1995) statement that this form of masculinity leads to the oppression of women.

Inclusive Masculinity

'Inclusive masculinity' was originally theorised by Anderson and argues that modern masculinity norms have moved away from homophobic and misogynistic behaviours and are more accepting of marginalised groups such as the LGBTQI+ community (Anderson, 2010). Anderson (2010) states that many social theories of masculinity are reliant on homophobia being the key point on how to police masculinity. This is due to homophobia having been theorised within orthodox masculinities as crucial. Masculine stereotypes forbid the expression of femininity, and demand hyper-masculine behaviour and heterosexuality in all of its forms. Anderson (2010) also discusses how homophobic societies perpetuate homophobia, the fear of being thought of as homosexual. Warin (2009) reiterates Anderson's remark on how sport plays a role in producing a violent, homophobic form of masculinity. Warin (2009) also asks whether a more inclusive approach to sport in general goes hand in hand with a more inclusive approach to masculinity.

Anderson (2011) also discusses how attitudes towards homosexual or queer people change through cultural trends across time, which influences how heterosexual masculinity changes. Attitudes such as these also change based on location, both worldwide and within countries or regions. The influence of culture on attitudes towards concepts such as masculinity can be described in Bourdieusian terms as doxa (Bardocz-Bencsik & Doczi, 2019); this being a set of expected behaviours or unquestioned beliefs this component of Bourdieu's work will be elaborated on later in this chapter. An example of attitudes changing across time is shown by Gaston, Magrath and Anderson (2018) who analysed the interview of the first openly gay football player (1990), then interviewed a current openly gay football player (2017) using the same questions and compared the answers and attitudes of both players. They concluded that there is a generational shift towards less homophobia in football and that this supported Anderson's theory of inclusive masculinity. However, De Boise (2015) argues that Anderson's theory of inclusive masculinity is flawed because of the lack of engagement and interpretation used when observing Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity. This links back to Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) statement arguing that hegemonic masculinity cannot be reduced to a set of specific traits: it could be argued that Anderson's theory is only

based around the homophobic aspect of hegemonic masculinity, and does not take into account how hegemonic masculinity is described as the form of masculinity which all men are compared to.

The negative perception of homosexual or queer people stems from misogynistic views of women being inferior to men; if women are inferior to men then so is any behaviour seen as similar, for example stereotypically feminine behaviour such as clothing, body language and having intercourse with men (Crocco, 2001). This can be linked to Anderson's (2011) concept of homophobia which argues that hegemonic masculinity theory is based on the discrimination against homosexual men. Anderson's concept of homophobia is key in his theory of inclusive masculinity arguing that, as the dominant form of masculinity becomes more inclusive, homophobia and homophobia becomes less prevalent and less socially accepted (Bullingham, Magrath and Anderson, 2014). Morris and Anderson (2015) performed an analysis of 115 video-blogs to examine the trending style of masculinity on social media and how they reflect dominant youth culture. This study concluded that behaviours, such as wearing female or feminine clothing and using homosexual discourse are accepted as celebrating homosexuality and femininity despite potentially being interpreted as privileging their position of white, heterosexual males. This therefore contributes to the promotion of a more inclusive form of masculinity within young people and popular culture. As mentioned inclusive masculinity theory is based on hegemonic masculinity promoting homophobia whereas hegemonic masculinity theory argues that it is the ideal which all men are compared to therefore it could be argued that as society and masculinity evolve the hegemonic form of masculinity itself becomes less homophobic (Anderson, 2010).

Hypermasculinity

'Hypermasculinity' has been defined as exaggerated behaviours stereotypical of men; other terms that are associated include stoicism, hardness, forcefulness and rebelliousness (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993; Hickey, 2016). Physicality can often be key in how a person's masculinity is perceived by themselves and others, stereotypically the taller more muscular men would be viewed as more masculine (Welch, 1997).

Zaitchik & Mosher (1993) state that hypermasculinity comprises four traits; 1) calloused attitudes toward women, 2) violence as manly, 3) danger as exciting, and 4) toughness as emotional self control. Zaitchik & Mosher (1993) also found that young men and men with low socio-economic power are most likely to display traits of hypermasculinity. Younger men are more vulnerable due adolescence and young adulthood being key developmental periods when peer groups have a lot of support for hypermasculine behaviours. Hypermasculinity is especially associated with violence against women (Mumen, Wright & Kalzny, 2002; Vokey, Tefft & Tysianczny, 2013). MacDonald (2014) says that hypermasculinity comes under the term hegemonic masculinity. This builds upon the definition of hegemonic masculinity which states that hegemonic masculinity leads to the oppression of women (Connell, 1995; Demetriou, 2001). Coles (2008) also says that any form of masculinity which is the most prevalent at the time comes under the term of hegemonic masculinity.

Toxic and Tortured Masculinity

Harrington (2021) states that the term 'toxic masculinity' was first coined by feminist scholars, such as Valenti (2014) and Gill (2016), in 2013 and argues that it should not be used as an analytical term. Harrington (2021) also says that the term has been under-defined. Feminists attribute misogyny, homophobia and men's violence to toxic masculinity (Harrington, 2021). Toxic masculinity has been defined as men's problematic gender practices entailing violence, sexual aggression, emotional repression, and dominance (Pascoe, 2016; Pruitt, Pruitt and Rambo, 2021). According to Pruitt, Pruitt and Rambo (2021), toxic masculinity is a social practice that exemplifies inequality, hierarchy, patriarchy, and hegemony through aggression and dominance aimed towards people who have undergone feminization through sexual, physical, emotional, political, economic, and symbolic means. Many behaviours that come under the term toxic masculinity go unnoticed or are taken as normal until something major happens (Garfinkel, 1967; Pruitt, Pruitt and Rambo, 2021). Pruitt, Pruitt and Rambo (2021) use the example of an 'incel', short for involuntarily celibate, to outline how often toxic behaviours are ignored or minimised until a violent or aggressive outbreak occurs.

Incels are believed to be an example of tortured masculinity, a concept that does not yet have a great deal of literature on however the relationship between masculinity and torture has been acknowledged more in recent years (Adams, 2017; Burrill, 2018; Butler and Charles, 2012). Incels believe that social liberalism, feminism, and sexually active men, which they refer to as “Chads”, are largely to blame for their lack of sex with women (Scaptura, 2019). Incels mainly interact with each other online, but occasionally this escalates to acts of mass violence (Scaptura, 2019). Facism and white supremecist ideal are often associated with incels (Kelly & Aunspach, 2020). Kelly and Aunspach (2020) state that although many believe incels to be sexually repressed and unable to meet society’s standards of hegemonic masculinity, they believe incel discourse to be a white militant extension of mandatory sexuality that forces alternative intimacies to become violent masculinist fantasies of “invulnerability and the sexual will-to-power” (p. 1).

The relationship between masculinity and torture has also been compared in popular cultural such as films and video games. Burrill (2018) discusses the normalization of torture in the media through its use in video games. For example in some video games you have to commit a violent act or act of torture in order to progress to the next level. It is also acknowledged that in the USA torture is considered a form of power. Burrill (2018) concludes that overcoming torture is a sign of masculinity based on physical and mental strength. Other literature looking at masculinity and torture in popular cultural includes Adams (2017). This paper analyses the representation of torture in Ian Flemming’s Bond novels and how the scenes of torture promotes the misogyny, homophobia and anticommunism. The scenes of Bond himself being tortured and surviving are said to represent the hegemonic masculinity which rejects homosexuality and other cultures such as communist societies.

Tortured masculinity is a more recent term similar to the term fragile masculinity, which modern feminists, such as those on social media, have coined (Rubin, Blackwell & Conley, 2020). Stanaland, Gaither and Gassman-Pines (2023) created a model (see Figure 1) in order to understand what forces men’s masculinity to become fragile.

An Expectancy-Discrepancy-Threat Model of Masculine Identity

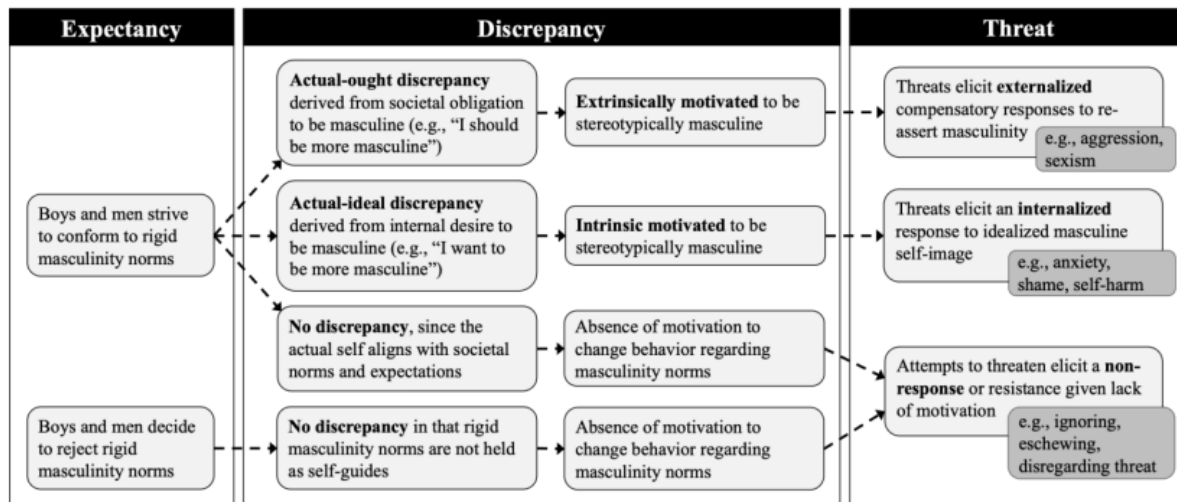


Figure 1 - Expectancy-Discrepancy-Threat Model of Masculine Identity (Stanaland, Gaither and Gassman-Pines, 2023).

The term fragile masculinity is a recent term which means that they become defensive or upset when made to look less masculine or when confronted with something that does not align with their own beliefs about what masculinity should look like. The paper discusses the expectations of men to appear strong and tough, as well as mentioning that in many cultures men feel the need to prove their masculinity through the attacking (be that physical or verbal) of others, often marginalised groups, resulting in violence, sexism and homophobia. Stanaland, Gaither and Gassman-Pines (2023) aimed to understand why some men exhibited this behaviour and some did not.

Masculinity in Contemporary Society

Masculinity has been researched within sociology since the 1950s (Itulua-Abumere, 2013). Since then academics have endeavoured to understand the relationship between masculinity and society. The theories outlined above have been crucial in understanding masculinity as a concept and how it has developed across time and cultures. With much literature now focussing on modern day masculinity as seen with Anderson's (2010) theory of inclusive masculinity. This section will now discuss

masculinity in contemporary society and apply some of the previously defined theories.

The development of Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity (which was published in the 1980s) compared to that of Anderson's inclusive masculinity theory (which was published in the early 2000s) shows how masculinity changes across time and therefore differs across generations. For example, males from "Generation Z" born between 1995-2012, and "Millennials" born between 1981-1994 are considered a lot more inclusive towards people of different races, sexualities and genders (Smith & Turner, 2015). In Contrast, generations such as "Generation X" born 1965-1980 and "Boomers" 1946-1964 are considered to be more sexist, homophobic and racist (Smith & Turner, 2015). This can also be seen throughout history when observing changes in social inequalities, gendered occupations, as well as in sport, art and fashion (Messner, 1989). Examples of masculine expectations changing across history, particularly in fashion, is the wearing of high heeled shoes by men; this was considered a status symbol for men from the 1600s to the 1800s, when they began to be considered impractical (Parmentier, 2016). Nowadays high heels are considered a symbol of femininity; however this does not mean they are only worn by women. People who style themselves in androgynous ways sometimes choose high heels, as well as gay men, drag queens, and men who choose to dress in particularly feminine ways (Jefferys, 2000). With the increase of people dressing androgynously and the increase in representation of this style in fashion it seems there is less judgement for those who choose to dress in ways not stereotypically associated with their gender.

Donaldson (1993) discusses how physical labour and the use of men's bodies in certain occupations promotes aspects of masculinity. This is an example of socialisation which multiple academics believe to be the main factor which creates masculine ideals (Connell, 1995; Itulua-Abumere, 2013). Indeed, many jobs are associated with genders for example jobs that are considered masculine are either those in high power roles or very physical roles; this can also be extended to fields where people are expected to be very intelligent such as in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) (Lightbody & Durdell, 1996). Donaldson (1993) also talks about hegemonic masculinity and how the term hegemony

originated as referring to class domination. It is acknowledged that masculinity is a factor that perpetuates the disparity between genders and therefore in many cultures and fields reduces women to being second class citizens. This can also be observed when examining more marginalised individuals that do not align with society's dominant form of masculinity, such as men from other cultures and men that are not heterosexual. Weaver and Vescio (2015) found that men who felt their masculinity was threatened by changing attitudes, such as gender identity or sexuality, were more likely to be supportive or accepting of the social inequalities experienced by women or gay men.

Different cultures have different views on what it means to be masculine; however, it is argued that the hegemonic masculinity that dominates the world is that which aligns with the western ideals of masculinity (Gerami, 2005). Nonetheless, South Korea is an example where a different culture has differing ideals of masculinity compared to the western world; this has recently become more evident in the emergence of K-pop, a Korean music genre. The male stars of K-pop often display a softer form of masculinity, which is also associated with their effeminate facial features (Lee, Lee & Park, 2020). Myketiak (2016) examines how fragile masculinity is linked to mass shootings in the USA; the perpetrators tend to use their masculinity to position themselves against women and men of other ethnicities, and therefore rationalise their violence through hegemonic masculinity going against people of different sexualities, genders, ethnicities and social classes. The paper concluded that these men use violence to prove their self worth, dominance and superiority.

The UK's stereotypical traits of masculinity are often based around sport, most likely rugby or football, and the drinking culture associated with that sport. Dempster (2011) examines how hegemonic masculinity and drinking culture intersect at university and result in laddish behaviour. Dempster (2011) concludes that sport and drinking are key aspects of masculinity within students at university. De Visser and Smith (2007) also examine the relationship between masculinity and drinking within young British men finding quotes such as "you've got to be a lad" and hearing multiple of their participants emphasising the importance of 'keeping up with the pace' of drinking with their friends or peers. De Visser and Smith (2007) also touch upon the cultural differences of black and asian young men's experiences of alcohol

in comparison to their white peers, stating that white boys under 18 are far more likely to have had experienced alcohol than their peers of other ethnicities.

Another key association with masculinity in society is the relationship between masculinity and promiscuity. This builds from ideals of not wanting to be associated with homosexuality which links to hegemonic masculine ideals. Literature often focuses on promiscuity within gay men such as Cook and Cottrell (2023) which discusses how sexual promiscuity becomes a stereotype for both gay and heterosexual men being unclean. Dasgupta (2021) observes how social media leads teenage boys to 'flaunt' their bodies on social media in order to gain social status and respect amongst their friends.

To summarise, this section has outlined links between each theory of masculinity and how they are observed within contemporary society. This section has especially emphasised how masculinity varies across cultures, generations and time which can be seen within the work of Parmentier (2016), Smith and Turner (2015) and the comparisons that Lee, Lee and Park (2020) draw upon as well as De Visser and Smith (2007). These variances across culture and time illustrate Bourdieu's concept of field which will be discussed in the following section.

Bourdieuian Theory

Bourdieu's work relates to structure and agency. Structure within sociology means the status quo of society, it is the societal structure that is in place that, through multiple factors, affects every person's life (Sewell, 1992; Archer, 1999). In contrast, agency is the free will of individuals which can be used to challenge the status quo (Sewell, 1992). For example, the concepts of capital, habitus, field and doxa (as will be discussed in more detail below) explain how structure is reinforced in every vein of society. However, concepts like symbolic violence and the fact that Bourdieu addresses that habitus and field can grow or adapt, shows how agency can impact the structure of society.

Bourdieu's concept of capital built upon Marx's concept of economic capital, however Bourdieu argues that there are more forms of capital that should be considered when discussing power, social stratification and the comparison of structure and agency. Bourdieu said that the accumulation of capital is how people gain power (Laberge & Kay, 2002; Agbenyega & Kilbthong, 2015). The four types of capital are economic, symbolic, social and cultural. Bourdieu also conceptualised field, doxa and habitus which are crucial in understanding how capital is gained or relevant in particular scenarios (Grenfell, 2009). These concepts will be explained through this chapter. It is thought that Bourdieu wanted to build his concepts on both objectivity and subjectivity, hence he conceptualised both habitus and field in order to analyse the dichotomy between social agents and social structure (Laberge & Kay, 2002). Capital, field, habitus and doxa are all interconnected, when used together they are most effective as an analytical tool (Wacquant, 1998). These concepts are especially useful when examining social class (Tomlinson, 2004). Giulianotti (2015) discusses how Bourdieu's terms of habitus, field and capital are interdependent and combined will affect a person's practice. Having introduced some key concepts from Bourdieu, the discussion will now aim to expand upon each concept in greater detail in the following sections of this chapter.

Bourdieu and 'Capital'

Bourdieu (1986) wrote the seminal paper on capital, in which he said there were four types; social, cultural, symbolic and economic, however there is also mention of other forms of capital in Bourdieu's earlier work such as *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). The 1986 paper was called 'The Forms of Capital', where Bourdieu argued that capital is not a purely economic concept and can be attributed to other factors, which is where the other concepts of social, cultural and symbolic capital were devised in relation to analyses of social status and class structure. These concepts will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter. Bourdieu said that the accumulation of capital is how people gain power and that cultural and economic capital are equally influential (Laberge & Kay, 2002; Agbenyega & Kilbthong, 2015). This differs from Marxist and neo-Marxist views, which would argue the only way to gain power would be through financial capital (Bieler & Morton, 2004). Many academics see Bourdieu's theories about capital and power transfer through society

as more detailed and therefore more accurate than theories from Marx such as of the Superstructure (Desan, 2013). Bourdieu is often described as a Marxist even though he didn't like to label himself as one (Garnham & Williams, 1980; Honneth, 1986; Beasley-Murray, 2000).

Jenkins (2014) and Gilleard (2020) also outline how Bourdieu discusses social stratification through the four forms of capital. The concept of capital from a Bourdiesian perspective is broader than financial, capital is a resource that can be either tangible or intangible, monetary or nonmonetary (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995). Bourdieu (1986) states that capital is any resource in a social arena that aids an individual to make gains from engaging in said arena. Capital can not only be used to evaluate a persons' status at one time, but also to plot their trajectory through life (Wacquant, 1998). Capital is a form of power and can impact how much influence an individual or group may have over a situation (Tomlinson, 2004). Capital is the resources an individual possesses, accumulates, and exchanges in order to augment their hierarchical position in society (Ceron-Anaya, 2010). Bourdieu also believed that competition is an intrinsic aspect of capital and that it can only have value when it is scarce or inequitably distributed. A result of this is that individuals are constantly struggling to obtain certain forms of capital and simultaneously devalue other forms of capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Each type of capital will be illustrated now that the notion has been introduced, and the discussion will then shift to other ideas from Bourdieu that were previously identified as Habitus, Doxa, and Field.

Economic Capital

This subsection of the literature review will explain and discuss definitions and examples of economic capital. Economic capital can be either financial resources or material resources that can be directly translated to financial resources (Wacquant, 1998). Economic capital has also been described as any effects that represent wealth (Ceron-Anaya, 2010). Land and livestock are examples of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Wacquant, 1998). Home ownership is also an example of economic capital (Gilleard, 2020). Additionally, a resource can only be categorised as economic capital if it can be directly converted into money (Ceron-Anaya, 2010).

Huang (2019) says that economic capital only comes from elements of production such as land, factories, jobs, possessions or inheritance. Economic capital can be inherited, as per the previous sentence, which shows how financial and social capital can become easily linked. Additionally, economic capital can be accumulated by investing ones' income. The difference between inherited capital and capital that comes from oneself is exemplified in the colloquial terms 'old' and 'new' money (Trigg, 2001). 'Old' and 'new' money are also associated with the other forms of capital; for example if an individual comes from an 'old money' background they will have a higher symbolic capital in arenas or fields associated with the upper and middle class, whereas if someone comes under the term 'new money' they will have a higher symbolic capital with a lower class demographic (Levina and Arriaga, 2014; Trigg, 2001).

Huang (2019) also discusses the transformational relationship between economic, social and cultural capital; social and cultural capital can be transferred to economic capital. For example, someone with a good education, and therefore high cultural capital is more likely to attain a higher paying occupation, the same can be said for someone with a good social network (Huang, 2019). However, the value of cultural capital cannot be directly exchanged for social or economic capital in every situation (Huang, 2019). Jarness (2017) refers to the 'rich' and the 'cultural elite' which exemplifies the comparison between cultural capital and economic capital. Although generally the 'cultural elite' also have a high volume of economic capital as well as high cultural capital this is not the same for 'rich' individuals who may have high economic capital but not necessarily high cultural capital. This can be seen in comparisons between 'old' and 'new money'.

A Marxist approach would argue that all capital comes from economic capital in the same sense that symbolic capital comes from economic, cultural and social capital (Desan, 2013). However, Desan (2013) argues that because of Bourdieu's more detailed definition and stratification of capital it is a more comprehensive theory. Furthermore, both theories can be used to show the oppression and exploitation of the lower classes by the upper classes (Desan, 2013). Umanailo (2020) writes about economic capital's use as a political tool and how marketing economic dominance can spark social change. They concluded that although economic capital

is very influential on the performance of a political party, economic capital does not dominate political movements.

Social Capital

This section of the literature review will outline social capital within the aforementioned forms of capital identified by Bourdieu. Bourdieu's theory of social capital was developed in the 1970s and 1980s (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986; Siisänen, 2003). Bourdieu's theory focuses on how social capital can give individuals power, status and influence. Social capital is made of two components; group membership and social networks (Siisänen, 2003). Bourdieu (1986) said that social capital is dependent on the size of a person or group's social network that can be utilised. By being part of a group you automatically have access to the group's social networks (Palmer & Thompson, 2007). Modern examples of social capital include trade unions, political parties, and secret societies such as the Freemasons (Siisänen, 2003). A basic example of social capital in sport, would be a person's physical strength (Bourdieu, 1977). However, being a member of a highly regarded sports club would also elevate an individual's social capital. Social capital can also be inherited from one's parents, through their social connections (Paccoud, Nazroo & Leist, 2020). This is often seen when a parent is heavily involved in a sports club that their child then goes on to become a member at, whereby that child will already be recognised or associated with the parent.

Although Bourdieu tried to set himself apart from Marx and has concepts that differ, Navarro (2002) discusses how the term social capital is used to break capitalist relations. Navarro (2002) uses Bourdieu's theories to pick apart America's class system. Siisänen (2003) also discusses Putnam's theory of social capital which is made up of three components: moral obligations and norms, social values and social networks; however he argues that Bourdieu's work fills a lot of gaps in Putnam's. For example, Putnam's work fails to elaborate on the individual's relationship with social capital and only looks at the concept more broadly as a collective value within society (Siisänen, 2003). This is where Bourdieu's work is more appropriate when addressing how individuals navigate sport through their relationship to society's expectations of masculinity.

Cultural Capital

This review will now discuss definitions and examples of cultural capital based on Bourdieu's conceptualisations. Bourdieu (1977) defined cultural capital as instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth seen as socially desirable. Examples of cultural capital can include rare symbolic goods, skills and titles (Wacquant, 1998). Following a religion can also be an example of cultural capital (Gemar, 2022). Physical examples of cultural capital have been said to include verbal and non-verbal competencies, interaction styles, attitudes and behaviours (Shim, 2010). Accents are also a physical example of cultural capital, other examples include education, clothing and objects such as books or art (Bourdieu, 1986). Desan (2013) mentions that the 'upper class' are more likely to have higher cultural capital than the 'lower class'. Desan (2013) also states that cultural capital is not power in itself but is a result of power as it is a set of proficiencies only relevant to the dominant class that are observed as resources. From this we can see that Bourdieu believed an interest in classical literature and music would give someone cultural capital; however cultural capital changes depending on the field an individual finds themselves in (Jenkins, 2002). For example, if you wanted to have a high cultural capital within a group of university students now you would listen to music that is in the charts today.

Robbins (2005) discusses the emergence of cultural capital as a concept from Bourdieu's research in Algeria and goes on to explain the cultural analysis report written by Bourdieu alongside Passeron, the report was based on two questionnaires. Each questionnaire was completed by different groups, both questionnaires started with the same personal background questions. Then the first questionnaire focussed on education and political views whereas the second went on to focus on hobbies outside of education such as reading classical texts or listening to music such as classical and jazz (Robbins, 2005). Bourdieu believed people to be carriers of culture and often writes about acculturation; where people adhere to a particular culture, commonly the most popular one (Robbins, 2005). This can be seen in the colonisation of countries by the British Empire all over the world (Herskovits, 1938).

Other terms that Bourdieu associates with cultural capital include 'distinction'. Bourdieu (1979) argues that distinction is a function of division. Ceron-Anaya (2010) says that distinction comes from an accumulation of multiple forms of capital. Distinction is in essence what makes someone appear to be desirable or in a desirable position. Another term Bourdieu associates with cultural capital is that of 'conspicuous consumption' which is the competitive and extravagant consumption practices and activities that allude to belonging to a superior social class (Patsiaouras & Fitchett, 2012). This links back to the terms 'old money' and 'new money'; different activities and commodities are associated with different social classes and whether you have always had money or have only gained wealth recently (Trigg, 2001). Since the industrial revolution the class system has changed significantly, especially in developed countries; the terms old and new money show how there are subsections within the upper class based on behaviours such as conspicuous consumption and how all of Bourdieu's forms of capital can impact one's status or distinction (Trigg, 2001).

Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital will now be discussed. Symbolic capital originates from material forms of capital therefore can be disguised as economic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Symbolic capital can also be a person's qualifications or authority because it gives them a social position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013). Another definition of symbolic capital is a trait of favorability, recognized by a majority or those who possess power (Wiegmann, 2017). The colour of people's skin or whether they are perceived as fat or thin can also affect their symbolic capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013). Another example of symbolic capital is when wealthy people give time and money to charity (Wacquant, 1998). Huppatz (2012) claims that all forms of capital can be translated into symbolic capital because symbolic capital can afford an individual any of the other forms of capital. Examples of symbolic capital which will be discussed throughout this study include that of masculine capital and physical capital; each of these can improve a person's status within sport or society and will be discussed further throughout this study.

Symbolic capital is also labelled as any form of capital which people would not consider being capital usually (Wacquant, 1998). Ceron-Anaya (2010) states that symbolic capital is formed through cognitive structures that allow individuals to understand hierarchies in society such as social positions; upper or lower classes. Ceron-Anaya (2010) also discusses how distinction can come from symbolic capital; 'Distinction... results from a deliberated accumulation of other types of capital - social, economic, or cultural - and the exhibition, whether intentional or not, of it' p.339. Bourdieu (1979) says that distinction is a function of division. Honneth (1986) builds upon this and says that Bourdieu uses distinction to describe both class struggles and symbolic forms of oppression and how these concepts relate to each other. Symbolic capital can not only be accumulated by individuals but also by academic institutions or social clubs, which can lead them to gaining an institutionalised state which may consist of customs or certain dress codes (Ceron-Anaya, 2010).

Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013) state that with high symbolic capital comes distinction and that profit and power come with symbolic capital. Individuals or groups with low symbolic capital - for example, a small charitable organisation that supports a niche cause - struggle to accumulate funds or media coverage (Pret, Shaw and Drakopoulou Dodd, 2016). A person or group with low symbolic capital may not be valued as highly, in terms of the quality of their work, input or time.

Habitus

As mentioned earlier, all of Bourdieu's concepts integrate in order to capture the wider picture that his theories can be used to build. This section will start by discussing habitus and go on to outline literature around Bourdieu's other concepts of doxa, field and symbolic violence. Habitus is the Latin word meaning a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, usually referring to the body (Jenkins, 2002). As mentioned earlier. Bourdieu (1990) said that habitus is 'society written into the body, into the biological individual' p.241 and Laberge and Kay (2002) explain habitus as 'an embodied internalised system of schemes of dispositions, perceptions and appreciation, that positions in the social space are 'translated' into practices and preferences' p.241. In more understandable terms, habitus is a frame, for a group or

individual, to view the social world through; it affects how a group or individual reacts to the situations and places they are in (Laberge & Kay, 2002). Habitus has also been referred to as an unconscious schema and disposition with which people see the world through (Wacquant, 1998). These dispositions are shared by people with similar experiences because they are developed through social conditioning, which also means that they are capable of changing due to new experiences or environments (Wacquant, 1998).

MacArther, *et al.*, (2017) produced a study using Bourdieu's theories of habitus, doxa and field to understand drinking culture in young people; the study interviewed twenty-eight 18-20 year-olds. The study found that friends were integral in drinking experiences and that drinking with their friends was associated with fun and enjoyment; this caused a desire for social and symbolic capital, to be a key motivator in these young people's drinking habits. However, wider cultural norms were seen as shaping these behaviours, through the internalisation of commonly accepted behaviour and later externalisation of norms through the habitus. The study suggested that applying Bourdieu's theories leads them to believe population-level interventions that disrupt the field would be effective in regulating alcohol consumption. This study is a clear example of how habitus, field and doxa influence the behaviours of groups and individuals.

Bourdieu argues that different positions, such as marriages, alliances, or positions of authority in a social space (such as educational institutions or workplaces), produce different habitus (Laberge & Kay, 2002). Giulianotti (2015) describes habitus as a socialised form of subjectivity, comparing it to a field which is an objective construct that comes from different agents within the field. As mentioned previously, Bourdieu's work can be related to the sociological debate of structure and agency. Archer (1999) explains that structure refers to society, whereas agency refers to the individual. Abel and Frohlich (2012) use Bourdieu's theories on capital and social structures to examine how structure and agency influences health and lifestyles; after referring to Bourdieu's theory on reproduction of social inequality they found themselves asking how much the perception of potential choices is socially structured through class specific habitus and social capital. Abel and Frohlich (2012)

concluded that when trying to create change on a social level there must be promotion from both the structural and the individual side.

However, Tomlinson (2004) criticises Bourdieu for failing to discuss gender and the influence male power has in the perpetuation of certain habituses. Thorpe (2010) also states that gender should not be thought of as one field but as a factor within most fields. This could also be applied to habitus; gender will have a large impact on how someone perceives themselves and others. However, Tomlinson (2004) also emphasises Bourdieu's contribution to the understanding of the field of sport because sport is a microcosm of society and consists of multiple fields within which status is constantly a goal, therefore sport is a strong example of how Bourdieu's concepts can be exemplified.

Field

Another of Bourdieu's concepts is the 'field'. A 'field' refers to a cultural environment (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995). Bourdieu said that social space can be used to describe field (Thomson, 2014). Bourdieu also compared a field to a game; the game relies on individuals to participate and although it is not wholly predictable as to which positions those individuals will assume it will be largely influenced by habitus (Giulianotti, 2015). Whereas, Thompson (1991) defined field as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations which are dependent on the distribution of different resources or "capital". Wacquant (1998) refers to field as microcosms with their own rules, order and forms of authority. Each field is prone to imposing typical proclivities on those that enter into it (Wacquant, 1998). As with habitus, fields can change, grow, shrink or disappear entirely over time (Wacquant, 1998). A field must have autonomy to be a field; with this autonomy comes resistance from individuals from other fields who defend their own or oppose others (Wacquant, 1998). Examples of field are artistic, religious or economic, amongst others (Tomlinson, 2004). Wacquant (1998) also uses the scientific field as an example of this concept. Symbolic capital and therefore distinction will give a group or individual influence to establish new rules or customs in their field (Ceron-Anaya, 2010). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) state that within a certain field, different types of capital will have more or less influence due to the nature of that field. For example,

in a professional field such as science, having a high level qualification such as a PhD will give someone higher symbolic capital, whereas in a more social group, such as a group of football supporters, having a PhD is less likely to gain as much symbolic capital as someone who works with the football club (Thomson, 2014).

Jenkins (2002) states a field is the structured system of social positions which dictates the situation for the individuals within that field. Jenkins (2002) also talks about the influence capital has on social positions; positions can be either dominant, subordinate, or equivalent. The boundary of a field is when it stops affecting practice and is based on the struggles that take place within itself (Jenkins, 2002). These struggles come from the agents (individuals) grappling to improve their positions based on the determining capital of their field (Jenkins, 2002). Jenkins (2002) also mentions that different fields in society can be more dominant than others; for example, politics is a dominant field because it has a large influence on society. Additionally, there can be interrelated fields and fields within larger fields (Jenkins, 2002). Friedland (2009) says that a characteristic of a field is a common specific goal, which shows how there can be interrelated fields, because they may share a goal but have different expectations or other separate goals.

Doxa

Bourdieu's concept of doxa is seen within field, doxa is a principle which gives structure to field; it is a set of rules we, as humans, accept within our societies (Bardocz-Bencsik & Doczi, 2019). Doxa has also been described as a set of unquestioned beliefs, that is assumed to be natural by individuals and society (Charlesworth, 2000; Vakalopoulos, 2022; Zahavi, 2009). Doxa is between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and therefore is the common opinion or expected behaviour (Bourdieu, 1977). Anything outside of the assumed doxa is unorthodox; for example, challenging the status quo, and is assumed to be prohibited, even if the individual is oppressed by said status quo (Wacquant, 2008). Smith (2001) states that doxa can be used as a political tool, and can limit the public's field of knowledge; agency can only be achieved when people have the will to push against these limits. Smith (2001) also states that an issue with Bourdieu's concept of doxa is that it only limits agency when the individual is not sufficiently self-aware.

Doxa is also said to be the natural attitude which is self-evident, taken for granted, and accepted as unproblematic (Bourdieu, 1990; Schutz & Luckman, 1974; Vakalopoulos, 2022). Doxa has also been described by Giulianotti as actions or behaviours that go without saying (Giulianotti, 2015). Another description from Giulianotti (2015) is that doxa is a dominant ideology, where oppression in society is inevitable. Doxa gives the sense of normality around an individual's personal experience (Gunderson, 2020; Vakalopoulos, 2022). Bourdieu (1990) says that because of doxa, even the most disadvantaged in society are seen as a natural part of life. Wiegmann (2017) says that common sense is the doxa of the field. Giulianotti (2015) also mentions that doxa goes unquestioned by both the oppressed and oppressive groups. However, Vakalopoulos (2022) criticises Bourdieu for neglecting to take into account emotions within doxa and points out that Bourdieu predominantly used emotionally neutral terms.

Symbolic Violence

Symbolic violence is an example of how Bourdieu's concepts of capital and those of habitus, doxa and field can interact to create a challenge between groups. Symbolic violence stems from symbolic power which Bourdieu said to be the power to make people believe what they are being told or to obtain something, whether tangible or intangible, through an action that is seen as arbitrary, which would normally be obtained by force. This subsection will therefore discuss literature which explains the nature of symbolic violence and its enactment in various contexts.

Symbolic violence is a system that perpetuates structural inequality between groups in society (Wacquant, 1998). Bourdieu (1979) describes symbolic violence as an instrument of domination which ensures the domination of one class over another. Symbolic violence occurs when doxa creates an unequal distribution of capital (Everett, 2002; Wiegmann, 2017). The violence in symbolic violence refers to physical domination; this comes as a result of individuals seeing the current social order as normal and appropriate (Wiegmann, 2017). Bourdieu describes symbolic violence as the imposition of systems of symbolism and culture upon groups in a way they appear as legitimate (Jenkins, 2002). This leads individuals to

misrecognize power relations and therefore become subordinate to those using symbolic violence against them (Jenkins, 2002).

The concept of symbolic violence therefore derived from the notion of symbolic power; Bourdieu uses an employer and employee as an example of people who hold symbolic power over others, where the employer can push the employee to submit in order for the employee to gain symbolic capital (Wiegmann, 2017). Jarness (2017) talks about cultural snobbery from the 'cultural elite' to the 'rich', this is an example of symbolic violence. Jarness (2017) conducted 46 interviews on Norwegian middle class people aiming to focus on the dynamic between people within the middle class, drawing up Bourdieu's work on cultural capital. Additionally, Jarness (2017) argues that there is mutual antagonism between both the 'rich' and 'cultural elite'. Symbolic violence may also occur in a scenario such as a social researcher studying the lives of agents that have been biographically situated in quite different contexts (and therefore have acquired different perceptions) than himself/herself. But by adopting the notions of habitus and doxa, as they have been described until now, the researcher can overcome position-related barriers and, eventually, understand those agents' life-worlds. (Vakalopoulos, 2022) p.13.

Bourdieu and Masculinity

Bourdieu's anthology of concepts can be applied to many groups or aspects within society. As mentioned in the introduction this literature review will focus on society, sport and masculinity whilst applying Bourdieu's concepts of capital and that of habitus, doxa and field. This subsection will discuss the relationship between Bourdieu's concepts and masculinity and outline surrounding literature. Masculinity is a socially constructed concept and therefore changes based on time periods and different societies (Coles, 2009; Thorpe, 2010). Although there are multiple meanings of masculinity, each meaning states or implies that the male sex have an advantage within society over the female sex (Franklin II, 2012). There are also multiple theories of masculinity such as hegemonic masculinity, hypermasculinity, inclusive masculinity, toxic masculinity and tortured masculinity.

Multiple studies argue that Bourdieu's theories are too androcentric and neglect to take into account how gender can impact a person's capital, especially how this affects women (Laberge, 1995; Mottier, 2002). Although the focus of this study is not on women, Bourdieu's theories can still be applied to them. However the fact that most of Bourdieu's theories are myopic when referring to gender, helps this study by the volume of literature around masculinity and Bourdieu. Additionally, there is less requirement to assume what Bourdieu might have meant whereas if this study focussed on women it would create a greater need to assume or infer.

This chapter will therefore introduce multiple theories of masculinity as well as surrounding literature, discuss the relationships between Bourdieu's key concepts and masculinity theories, and outline literature which has also contributed to the discussion of masculinity and Bourdieu.

Masculinity & Economic Capital

This subsection will discuss how masculinity and economic capital impact each other in relation to Bourdieu's theory of economic capital and the accumulation of power. As mentioned previously economic capital is defined by Bourdieu as financial resources or material resources that can be directly translated to financial resources (Wacquant, 1998). Coles (2008) says that economic capital can be gained by distributing and commodifying the image of hegemonic masculinity. This could be linked to the Marxist belief that all forms of oppression feed into capitalism (Brenner and Ramas, 1984; Das, 2022). Therefore, masculinity in this form could be said to be an advantage when accumulating economic capital. Research dating back to the 1970s (Metcalf, 1977; Okelly, 1979; Robinson, 1977) shows that there is a gender pay gap, stereotypically in large corporations or high paying roles. Men who uphold the ideals of hegemonic masculinity will be more likely to occupy these roles as opposed to men that are seen as more feminine (Newburn and Stanko, 2013). Another angle from which the commodification of masculinity can be viewed, is the concept of the ideal masculine body type being exploited by the media and advertising of products such as protein, steroids, clothing, and gyms. These campaigns push the image of the ideal masculine body type in order to sell their product (Barber, 2016; Trujillo, 1991). Other products such as cars, watches, and

fragrances also often use stereotypical images of masculinity to promote their product and a certain lifestyle that is often associated with it, such as having a well-paying job, certain style, and an active social life (Hancock II and Karaminas, 2014).

Coles (2008) also talks about economic capital giving men financial independence and status as well as the opportunity to convert economic capital into physical capital through being able to afford a gym membership and nutritional foods which help them build a masculine body which reflects hegemonic masculinity. Coles (2008) also mentions how economic capital can be converted into cultural capital through education. Another similar paper is that of Archer, DeWitt and Willis (2014) who examine the aspirations of children aged 10-14. Based on their findings, they concluded that masculinity affords boys more confidence in their abilities and feel that a career in STEM would be suited to them; therefore, masculinity and being male can indirectly lead to a higher paying job than being feminine and female. Additionally, these workplaces are often male dominated, therefore men who do not fit the hegemonically masculine type may also feel left out or different (Archer, DeWitt and Willis, 2014). There is also a stereotype that men must be the breadwinner or provider for their family, this can be associated with hegemonic masculinity and exhibits how there is an expectation of gaining economic capital associated with masculinity (Harvey, Ringrose and Gill, 2013; Hunter, Riggs and Augoustinos, 2017).

Masculinity & Social Capital

Social capital is, as stated earlier, dependent on the size of an individual or group's social network that can be utilised (Bourdieu, 1986). This section will discuss the relationship between social capital and masculinity using literature such as Scheff (2006), Palmer and Thompson (2007) and Giuilianotti (1995). Scheff (2006) discusses the pressure on boys and men to suppress their feelings of grief, shame or fear and how the only acceptable outlet for their emotions is anger. This is because showing emotions through other forms is generally seen as a weakness, and therefore not masculine, amongst men and also some women. This links to Bourdieu's concept of social capital and shows how boys and men's behaviours can

impact how their masculinity is perceived and affects their social capital. Scheff (2006) describes the action of boys and men neglecting to share their feelings as 'silence'. This links to Sixsmith and Boneham (2003) who found that men do not share their symptoms or health concerns in the same way as women do; men are far more likely to suffer in silence or minimise their concerns.

Palmer and Thompson (2007) write about the social networks and resources that come in tandem with joining certain groups, specifically male, sport spectating groups where hegemonic or hyper masculinity are encouraged and highly valued. Their paper specifically looks at the South Australian football supporters known as the 'Grog Squad' or 'Groggies' and states that often the benefits, resources and networks are overlooked due to drinking, sexism and homophobia (Palmer and Thompson, 2007). This ethnographic report concluded that although the social connections and bonds formed in the Grog Squad were contrary to the definition of hegemonic masculinity, the behaviour observed definitely fell under that term, therefore the researchers believe that others should rethink the definition of hegemonic masculinity in order to allow for its dynamic nature (Palmer and Thompson, 2007). Cleland, Magrath and Kian (2018) also stated that violence, sexism and homophobia generate social capital for individuals in fanbases online. This was based on the authors' analysis of comments online responding to an article about a high profile footballer coming out as homosexual. Giulianotti (1995) also examined Scottish football fans behaviour across time and compared it to the 1992 European Championship Finals in Sweden; the study noted that behaviour was becoming more inclusive, and less aggressive or disruptive. This also supports Anderson's (2010) theory of inclusive masculinity and shows how group's behaviours are changing over time.

Wokeness is also becoming a popular term; some interpretations take 'woke' to mean someone overly sensitive about 'progressive' or liberal topics (Lyons, 2023). However, others believe that to be woke means to be aware and understanding of current social issues. Woke culture has risen quickly among Gen Z and Millennials due to the wide use of social media (Sobande *et al.*, 2022). Wokeness is therefore becoming a more popular part of the expectations of young men and people within

masculinity as misogyny and homophobia are becoming less tolerated throughout society (Sailofsky, 2022).

Masculinity & Cultural Capital

As defined earlier, cultural capital is symbolic wealth which makes a person seem socially desirable (Bourdieu, 1977). Wacquant (1998) gives examples of this as rare symbolic goods, skills or titles. An example of cultural capital and exhibiting an image of masculinity would be wearing clothing associated with men such as a suit, or more casually something that is 'muscle fit' as opposed to wearing items seen as feminine such as pink or bright patterns, however as times have changed some fashion trends have included more bright colours and patterns for men, this could also be linked to the theory of inclusive masculinity and how society's expectations are changing. For example Adams (2011) discusses the increase in boys wearing pink football boots and there no longer being the homosexual association of the colour.

As mentioned earlier, Coles (2009) says that what constitutes masculine behaviour can differ based on different societies. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) also said this, stating that there are multiple hegemonic masculinities at global, regional and local levels. For example, Batsleer (2014) mentions 'respectable masculinity' and talks about there being rough and respectable masculine behaviours. Batsleer (2014) specifically looks at 'muscular Christianity' in youth work, and how certain masculine behaviours can generate cultural capital in those instances. Boxing, discipline, competitive sport, and fitness are all mentioned as contributing to the concept of respectable masculinity.

Laberge (1995) discusses the relationship of masculinity and cultural capital. Using sport as an example, the paper discusses how masculine men in feminine sports compare to feminine men in feminine sports. The paper utilises the example of figure skating and states that masculine men would be rewarded for participating in a traditionally feminine sport whereas feminine men may be marginalised compared to men in other sports. Although this paper is taken from a feminist perspective and often tries to compare how men and women can be viewed through Bourdieu's

theories, these examples can help illustrate the relationship between masculinity and cultural capital.

For example, Klein (2006) found that if boys did not meet the normalised expectations of masculinity, while attending american high schools, they were bullied which resulted in them becoming excessively violent to compensate for their lack of cultural capital, this violence has been linked to school shootings. Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013) examines how at-home fathers compensate for their loss of masculinity by conspicuous consumption, in order to raise their cultural capital. Conspicuous consumption is purchase or use of goods in order to gain status (O'Cass and McEwan, 2004). They summarise that at-home fathers' conspicuous consumption shows how mobilisation is evident while they try to rebalance their masculinity through cultural legitimacy. An example of this might be a new father building an at home gym, by spending a lot of money on goods for what could be considered a particularly masculine activity and also giving himself space away from his new fatherly duties, he is preserving his masculinity in a way. The same could be said for joining a golf club, which would normally be an expensive commitment in a predominantly masculine space (Pini and Conway, 2017).

Masculinity & Symbolic Capital

As seen throughout this review, Bourdieu has conceptualised multiple forms of capital; as mentioned previously all forms of capital can be translated into symbolic capital (Huppatz, 2012). From this, academics have gone on to conceptualise other forms of capital that could come under Bourdieu's concepts; examples of these are masculine capital and physical capital which will be discussed in this section. Harvey, Ringrose & Gill (2013) draw upon research into young people's use of social media to understand teenager's masculinities and how they use social media to gain symbolic capital through showing off material goods such as designer labels to gain popularity. This is also another example of how economic capital can be transferred to symbolic capital.

Miller (2014) discusses the term masculine capital which can come under the umbrella of symbolic capital. Masculine capital arguably is the combination of

masculinity and symbolic capital. Miller's study compares masculine and feminine capital within heavy metal music versus folk music. Miller found that the lower levels of symbolic capital and high symbolic boundary-drawing in the heavy metal field increase the prevalence of gender as a basis of symbolic capital, whereas the high institutionalisation of symbolic capital and low symbolic boundary-drawing in the folk field decrease the importance of gender. De Visser, Smith and O'Donnell (2009) also discuss masculine capital and how Bourdieu's concepts of capital and field create credit, which is then gained through masculine behaviours resulting in masculine capital. De Visser, *et al.*, (2009) discusses how masculine capital can be influenced by men's individual health related behaviours. Although the study found that competence in stereotypically masculine health-related fields can equate to masculine capital and therefore compensate for non-masculine behaviour in other areas; the study also found that capacity to trade this capital is limited due to how different masculine or non-masculine behaviours are valued. This concept of masculine capital can clearly be linked to Bourdieu's theories of capital, arguably masculine capital can translate to symbolic, social or cultural capital depending on the scenario.

Physical capital is a term that is used to describe gaining power through fitness or skillfulness in a sport or activity (Coles, 2009), which could also come under the term symbolic capital. Redelius, Fagrell and Larsson (2009) examine the grading process in Swedish physical education, how it is based on symbolic capital and contributes to gender norms, and how that affects the way the students view their own value when it comes to physical education. Swain (2003) states that physical capital influences school boys social standing, resulting in boys who are taller or who develop earlier being more successful in sport and then also socially. Pronger (2002) discusses body fascism and physical capital, those with a higher physical capital will not receive verbal abuse or judgement as much as those with lower physical capital. Hill (2015) also says that there is an expectation for men to be sporty or physically active and that masculinity and physicality are inherently linked.

Shilling (1991) concluded that physical capital impacts social inequalities, including gender. For example, women are seen as less physically strong compared to men, which then impacts which occupations society sees them as appropriate for.

However, physical capital impacting social inequalities does not only apply to gender but it can also be seen in fatphobia; people viewed as fat are often blamed for their fatness and associated with being lazy, which also impacts which jobs, society and employers, see as appropriate for them (Newcombe, 2022). Similarly, Bridges (2009) conceptualised 'gender capital', similar to symbolic capital and hegemonic masculinity, as the value given to gendered behaviours. It is said to be constantly transforming, which aligns with Coles (2009) who stated that masculinity changes based on time period and society. Bridges (2009) also states that hegemonic masculinity appears differently in different fields.

Masculinity & Symbolic Violence

As previously mentioned, symbolic violence occurs when doxa creates an unequal distribution of capital (Everett, 2002; Wiegmann, 2017). Grzyb's (2016) article uses symbolic violence to analyse the pattern of 'honour killings' of women by their male family members; these killings are happening more often in Europe now due to immigration. Honour-related violence is not exclusively murders but also assaults, genital mutilation, and throwing acid on women. These killings are seen as expressions of patriarchal power to subjugate women and punish them for insubordination. It is seen that the women deserve them for challenging the patriarchal status quo and dishonouring the men of the family. Although this violence is very much physical, it also aligns with Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence: these acts reinforce the patriarchy and scare women into submission (Ariftha and Azhar, 2023). Other forms of symbolic violence that come from the same patriarchal values include forced or arranged marriages or the shunning of women from their communities for behaving in ways that do not align with their beliefs. Examples of symbolic violence more associated with the Western world include slut shaming and catcalling (Hoskin, 2019; Proust and Sandaña, 2022).

Symbolic violence can also happen between men. Trammell (2011) uses the example of men forming pairs in prison with the 'weaker' less masculine men being forced to exchange sex for protection from the stronger more masculine man, the less masculine men in these positions are known as prison wives. This is another

example of symbolic violence that is again physical but also symbolises control over the subordinates within the society of the prisons this is seen in. This example also illustrates how men exert their dominance over each other based on who is more stereotypically masculine. Toxic masculinity and the abuse of certain groups such as women and homosexual men, can be used as an example of symbolic violence. The symbolic violence we see toward homosexual men links to the hierarchy of masculinity within society; Cleland, Magrath and Kian (2018) for example, suggested that homosexual men are at the bottom of the hierarchy of masculinity within men due to the misogynistic views of other men associating gay men with women, this links to Anderson's (2011) points about homophobia mentioned earlier. This links to Bourdieu's (1990) comment that doxa creates a society where the most disadvantaged individuals are seen as a natural part of life. Therefore, doxa normalises symbolic violence towards marginalised groups such as homosexual men or heterosexual men that are 'too feminine' by society's expectations.

Mottier (2002) discusses how in 'Masculine Domination' Bourdieu states that the dominated can sometimes love the dominant; this was in reference to women loving men not in a romantic way necessarily but in a way that allows women to accept a male dominated society. This could be taken further and applied to internalised misogyny, where women police themselves and others based on misogynistic values. This could also be used as an example of symbolic violence and reiterates that gender is not one specific field but a factor that affects multiple fields (Coles, 2008). The media often perpetuates misogynistic narratives, both from men to women and women to women. The media reinforces sexism and misogyny by showing femininity as a weakness or failure (Barratt, 2018). This is reinforced through victim blaming and the policing of women's bodies. With the rise of social media, sexist trolling is also becoming a prevalent form of symbolic violence (Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). In terms of symbolic violence towards men in the media, it is normally towards men that do not align with the hegemonic masculinity of that society or time.

Masculinity & Habitus

As mentioned earlier, habitus is the effect society has on how we view the world, situations and environments (Wacquant, 1998). This can clearly be linked to masculinity, as habitus will have a big impact on how a man's masculinity is presented and perceived. Topic (2020) conducted a study on the expectation of women to present masculine behaviours in their jobs in advertising; the study concluded that women felt that they had to act in more masculine ways to be valued at work. Although this particular study focuses on women in the workplace it is easily transferable to men and clearly shows there is an expectation to behave in a more masculine manner in the workplace. Grosswirth Kachtan (2019) performed a study on two groups of soldiers from the same base but separate brigades, they found that within the two groups there were different expectations of behaviour and the way they presented themselves (i.e. the way they dressed) that were based on their masculinity as individuals within such specific groups.

Lilleaas (2007) interviewed sixteen handball players to discuss masculinity and emotions. Lilleaas found that there was a bodily habitus that most of the participants felt was the right or best one, which was lean and muscular. The study also found that the men were more likely to open up about their feelings to women than to other men, which could be linked to not feeling like 'enough of a man'. The study also indicated that the players felt they could not express certain parts of themselves within the club and had to adhere to a 'habitus'.

Masculinity & Field

This section will examine the relationship between field and masculinity. As mentioned earlier, field refers to a cultural environment (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995), and Bourdieu said that social space can be used to describe field (Thomson, 2014).

Coles (2009) stated that masculinity changes based on time period and society. Bridges (2009) also states that hegemonic masculinity appears differently in different fields. Seidler (2006) acknowledges this by stating that masculinity has changed in recent years because young people have grown up with different gender orders, especially in relation to how their parents or grandparents would have seen as they

grew up. Coles (2009) combined hegemonic masculinity with Bourdieu's concept of field, discussing the possibilities of there being multiple dominant masculinities working within a multitude of sub-fields bound by an overarching field of masculinity. Coles (2009) states that within the overarching field there are sites of domination and subordination, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and submission and usurpation.

Thorpe (2010) finds that the field of masculinity concept is problematic because it simplifies masculinity as part of one field which also encompasses gender. Thorpe (2010) goes on to say that gender should be considered as part of multiple fields as it can influence multiple areas and is not necessarily mutually exclusive to other fields or contexts. Thorpe (2010) states snowboarding, that the field they use as a case study, overlaps with multiple other fields, not just sporting, but also cultural such as music and fashion and therefore these fields share similar cultural values such as common gender rules. This exemplifies how fields are intersectional entities often crossing over with multiple other fields.

Hall, Hockey and Robinson (2007) write about the gendered perception of occupational roles such as hairdressers, estate agents and firefighters and how men conform to, draw upon and resist the gendered stereotypes of behaviour associated with these roles. These roles are examples of how expected behaviours differ across different occupational fields, which can be referred to as occupational socialisation. Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978) use the example of occupational socialisation within the military. Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978) analysed military indoctrination as a process of socialisation whilst examining how masculinity is structured by and for the army; the analysis found that the army operationalises masculinity in order to create conformity and a certain standard of behaviour.

Thompson and Bennett's (2015) review show that there are two generations of measures to evaluate masculine ideologies; the first they found focusses on hegemonic, traditional masculinity, and the second theorises local masculinity and puts emphasis on the differences between smaller group's standards of masculinity. This review helps outline the factors that influence the masculinity of men from different birth cohorts, stages of life, social class, sexual orientation, culture and racial or ethnic community. Coles (2008) also gives examples of subfields of

masculinity such as the field of aged masculinity, the field of black masculinity and the field of gay masculinity. Coles (2008) argues that because of the change in expectations across these sub-fields a man might assume a 'dominant masculine identity' in one field but not another.

Although this study may not be addressing how masculinity differs across ages, race or sexuality, these are all discussions which can be linked to Bourdieu's theories and can be extensions of the discussion of masculinity. By examining literature such as these, Bourdieu's theories and concepts become more clear in applied scenarios similar to that of this study.

Masculinity & Doxa

As mentioned earlier doxa is the common opinion or expected behaviour (Bourdieu, 1977); expected behaviours, masculinity and social capital can all be clearly linked. Expected behaviours will differ within different fields; Landrine, Bardwell and Dean (1988) use the example of drinking to illustrate how doxa influences men and women's habits. The study found that there are expectations of men to drink certain alcoholic beverages, in this case beer, and to get drunk by doing so; the study found that these contribute to the traditional gender role of men.

Bourdieu (1990) says that because of doxa, even the most disadvantaged in society are seen as a natural part of life. This may explain why society normalises the ways expectations of masculinity, and femininity segregate people into groups that are accepted and groups that are unaccepted. However, it is seen more often that there is space for everyone, which supports Anderson's (2010) theory of inclusive masculinity. As the doxa has changed, society has moved away from more traditional styles of masculinity such as hypermasculinity.

Masculinity and Sport

This section will use literature to examine the relationship of masculinity and sport, using multiple theories of masculinity, as outlined previously, and observing how they apply to sporting contexts. Masculinity has long been associated with sport since

concepts such as 'muscular Christianity' (Kidd, 2006; Watson, Weir and Friend, 2005). Muscular Christianity was based on the idea that physical fitness and being manly contributed to having good morals (Watson, Weir and Friend, 2005). Muscular Christianity and the spread of Christianity around the world also lead to the spread of certain masculine values such as physical fitness and sportsmanship (Watson, Weir and Friend, 2005). The development of many modern sports we spectate and participate in today came about during the period of industrialisation which is also tied to modern day masculinity (English, 2017). Since these initial historical interconnections between masculinity and sport multiple developments have been made. As mentioned this section will use literature that examines the relationship between masculinity and sport.

Although participating in sport is widely viewed as healthy, Robertson (2003) argues that the competitiveness, disciplining of the body, and pushing of boundaries could lead to temporary or permanent bodily impairment. However, Robertson (2003) did also find that participation in sport for men led to a sense of enjoyment, achievement and confidence. Additionally, Robertson (2003) warns that the promotion of a 'sporting body' as a healthy one can be problematic and have detrimental effects on men's body image and participation in physical activity. Robertson (2003) concluded that when promoting health work and encouraging men to participate in physical activity, considerations of the relationship between masculinity, sport and health, should be taken, in order to avoid replicating damaging hegemonic masculine discourses. On the other hand, Wasyliw and Clairo (2018) found that although male athletes were more likely to conform to masculine norms, they were also more likely to seek help when they needed it, particularly in regards to mental health. This relationship between sport, masculinity and self compassion aligns with Anderson's theory of inclusive masculinity because inclusive masculinity does not just mean being inclusive towards others but also better at self-reflecting and asking for or accepting help when it is needed (Gough and Novikova, 2020). Inclusive masculinity and sport will be discussed in greater detail later in this section.

Sport has also been associated with hegemonic masculinity, due to the emphasis on physical strength, toughness, competitiveness and success or winning (English, 2017). English (2017) argues that reform of sport could lead to a reduction in

hegemonic masculinity in sport which is viewed as harmful and marginalising. English (2017) states that by expanding outcomes success can be achieved by playing well and improving, sport can become more inclusive and move away from the traditional hegemonic masculinity characterisation. Similarly, MacDonald (2014) uses ice hockey in Canada as an example of masculinity in sport to explore how sport perpetuates some of the harmful characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. This paper discusses how the problematic socialisation of boys and young men in ice hockey encourages hazing rituals, violence, homophobia, substance addictions and suicide. The paper goes on to point out that Canadian ice hockey seemed to be behind the UK, specifically looking at football, in terms of inclusive masculinity. MacDonald (2014) concludes that not only does the culture of masculinity within ice hockey need to be examined further but also the culture of masculinity across Canada. Jeanes and Magee (2011) observed the relationships between men and their sons who participated in elite junior football at professional clubs. They found that the fathers tied their own self worth to the success of their sons, this put pressure on their relationships with each other.

Trujillo (1991) analyses how the media use sports stars to promote hegemonic masculinity. By using baseball star Nolan Ryan as a case study, Trujillo (1991) analysed five features of Ryan that the media focussed on: 'male athletic power'; a 'capitalist worker'; a 'family patriarch'; a 'white rural cowboy'; and, a 'phallic symbol'. The features were chosen as they represented hegemonic masculinity in America. The analysis concluded that hegemonic masculinity in sport encourages unhealthy competition between men in fields wider than just sport. The paper also acknowledged that there are many different groups that take in sport and the media that goes with it, and these groups do not all support or share the image of hegemonic masculinity. Park (2015) analyses the media coverage of Jeremy Lin, the first American of Taiwanese and Chinese descent. Park (2015) notes how the media promotes the discourse of white and masculine being 'the norm' and anyone who falls outside of this dominant ideological field or hegemonic masculinity becomes 'the other'. In this case Park (2015) found that by making Lin's success such a 'miracle' they were emphasising the low expectations of Asian male's athleticism.

Messner's (1990) seminal work also discusses violence in sport and how that relates to masculinity. Messner (1990) said that in the late 1800s to early 1900s organised sport became an experience that validated men's masculinity as it gave them a homosocial cultural sphere which gave them a psychological separation from the feminization of society as well 'proving' that men were superior to women. Messner (1990) discusses how violence is a key form of control men have over women and that in societies where violence and fighting are socially accepted men have more power and rights than women, whereas when this is policed more, women are more likely to have closer to equal rights. Messner (1990) said that combat sports such as rugby and boxing were birthed from women gaining more rights in society therefore allowing men an outlet for violence and a way to exhibit their superiority over women. In this paper Messner (1990) was referring to white, middle and upper class men; lower class and other ethnicities were not involved in the same sports as the higher classes due to the social divide, sports such as boxing and rugby were seen as gentlemen's sports. Witt (2020) builds upon Messner's work to look at how the media glamorise violence in the case of serial killer Elliot Rodger and how by extension the media glamorises violence associated with masculinity.

This also links to Majors (2017) which states that popular belief was that non-white men and men of lower social classes would not be able to compete successfully against 'gentlemen'. Majors (2017) goes on to state that due to institutional racism and lack of opportunities black men are not able to express themselves in many fields, sport being one of the exceptions to this. Therefore, because of the lack of opportunities compared to white middle class men, black men have different expectations and expressions of masculinity. Ferber (2007) also talks about how white masculinity is used to reinforce white supremacy and there is an obsession within sport of controlling black bodies which forces black men to display a certain type of masculinity. The controlling of black bodies can also be linked to racial stacking within sport; where a black person will be put in a certain sport or certain position based on preconceived ideas of their athleticism due to their race (Woodward, 2004; Nobis and Lazaridou, 2023).

This leads on to tortured masculinity, which is often related to violence and aggression in sport. Butler and Charles (2012) discuss the disciplining and punishing

of male jockeys' bodies in horse racing. This paper goes on to discuss the different perception of male and female bodies, including how female bodies are considered weak in comparison which leads to female jockeys being at a disadvantage and therefore they are seen less in the sport.

Miller (2009) analysed sport related identities and toxic masculinity, comparing the discourse around athletes and jocks. It was found that the term jock only referred to male athletes and conforming to masculine norms as well as being 'ego-oriented'. Whereas athletes were considered not to be gender specific and have a more task-oriented approach to sport. Additionally, athletes were negatively associated with some masculine norms such as 'playboy' behaviours. Bowman (2020) discusses toxic masculinity, specifically within MMA and how the media depicts this. Bowman (2020) states that UFC and MMA was birthed from reality television which has pushed the image of 'hard men' and toxic masculinity onto the fighters of these sports. Bowman (2020) concludes that MMA can be a place where masculinity can be more open and inclusive and it is the media that needs to change in order for this to become apparent.

Another topic within the umbrella of masculinity and sport is that of lad culture. Lad culture is commonly described as mix of boorish socialising, drinking, sport and pack behaviour (Jefferies, 2020). Multiple studies have observed the relationship between lad culture and higher education as well as those factors relationship with sport (Jefferies, 2020). Dempster (2009) investigates the role of sport in framing hegemonic masculinity by interviewing 24 undergraduate students. This article found that sport was key in framing hegemonic masculinity and whilst participants recognised the importance of sport in constructing masculinity, many were critical of sportsmen's 'laddish' practices and attempted to disassociate themselves from similar practices. However, they remained complicit to the more general attributes of hegemonic masculinity, especially ideals of strength and independence.

Adams (2011) discusses the relationship between inclusive masculinity and sport, by interviewing and observing an American college soccer team, it was concluded that these young men were more exhibiting a more inclusive form of masculinity which included being well groomed, well styled, gay friendly as well as emotionally and

physically closer to each other and other men in their lives. Adams (2011) used the example of wearing pink soccer boots as symbolic representation of the progression in masculinity from previous generations behaviour within sport. Cashmore and Cleland (2012) have also found that sport is becoming more inclusive when considering masculinity. Cashmore and Cleland (2012) surveyed 3500 football fans and professionals in regards to their views on gay football players. It was concluded that there has been a rapid decline in homophobia amongst football supporters, with 93% of fans, from all ages, agreeing that there is no place for homophobia in the sport. Additionally, fans blame agents and clubs for lack of openness and secrecy about gay players, and by changing this there would be a more inclusive environment for players to come out.

Hickey (2008) outlines how sport and physical education can lead to hyper-masculine attitudes and behaviours due to the historical encouragement of hardness, solidarity and stoicism. Attitudes have now shifted as illustrated by Anderson (2010), therefore coaches and teachers are becoming increasingly aware of the negative effects of hyper-masculinity which can perpetuate entitlement, abuse and exclusion (Hickey, 2008). This paper concluded that in order to reform sport and physical education, social interventions should be implemented in order for children and young people to be able to say no to peer pressure, abuse or injustice. Additionally, the paper states that actions should be taken in partnership with sports clubs and family members in order to encourage positive change.

Anderson (2008) argues that sport segregates men into homosocial environments which reduces their contact with women and therefore promotes sexism, misogyny and anti-effeminate attitudes. This study also observed the same men in mixed gender sports and concluded that this led to the opposite effect, reforming the views of the men to be more inclusive. Anderson (2008) therefore concluded that participating in mixed gendered sports could lead to a decline in negative behaviours associated with male team sports including violence against women. The specific team sports Anderson refers to are described by Messner (2002) as the institutional centre of sports and include the likes of football, basketball and hockey. Magrath (2017) also observes the cultural changes around elite football academies, with a

focus on LGBTQ+, concluding that these environments are becoming more accepting of alternative sexualities.

To summarise, sport and masculinity have long been associated with each other within literature and in society. Some authors have argued that sport promotes the unhealthy, non inclusive forms of masculinity whereas some authors believe sport is becoming more inclusive as time goes on. The following section will outline literature that has used Bourdieusian theory to examine the relationship between masculinity and sport.

Bourdieu, Masculinity and Sport

As outlined earlier in this chapter, Bourdieu (1978) acknowledged that men dominate, not only in society but also sport. However, it was also acknowledged that there is a hierarchy within male groups, whether this is based on social class or other factors. The trichotomy of masculinity, sport, and Bourdieu has received relatively little attention in academia; nonetheless, this section will attempt to summarise those papers which have focussed on them. This section will also include publications that may have only focused on two of the themes but have also addressed or applied the third - such as publications that discuss Bourdieu, men and sport, or Bourdieu, gender and sport.

One paper Thorpe (2010), applies Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital to Connell's work on hegemonic masculinity, using snowboarding as an example. This paper brought new insight into masculine identities and interactions which help to explain how masculinity differs across cultures and age groups. For example, Thorpe (2010) found that the snowboarders who had a lot of experience and regularly board down the mountain on more dangerous routes, were considered 'real men' due to the amount of risks they took. The paper concluded that the concepts of field and habitus can be used to explain how men's experiences of snowboarding differ as well as their ability and desire to accumulate capital.

Another study Metcalf (2018) interviewed 70 fifteen and sixteen year-olds to research how the fields of physical education and physical culture perpetuate gendered norms and rigid beliefs of who should be masculine, who should be feminine and what are acceptable behaviours for certain groups. The study applied Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, field and doxa concluding that capital is allocated based on gender and individual's bodies within sport and physical education. The study concluded overall that physical education and schools more generally regulate young people's bodies which affects participation in sport and physical activity, with gender being a strong determining factor. This therefore normalised sport and physical education as being key within a young male's success and undermined the presence of a young female who is physically active.

A study by Robinson and Robertson (2014) used Bourdieu's theories to consider improving health promotion for men. The paper considers how social, symbolic and masculine capital play into the promotion of physical activity and healthy lifestyles for men. This paper concluded that although masculinity and gender are important to take into consideration, there are many other factors including social class and ethnicity that also should be considered when promoting men's health. Additionally, fields are fast changing therefore staying up to date on social inequalities and expectations of masculinity is crucial in keeping promotions current.

Light and Kirk (2000) draw upon Bourdieu's theories in order to examine how young men playing rugby at an elite Australian high school have a relationship with hegemonic masculinity. The paper concluded that despite there being societal and cultural changes, moving away from the traditional characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, the young men playing rugby at this school were still reproducing the traditional forms of hegemonic masculinity. Rivera and Tilcsik (2016) observe how employers bias their views when hiring based on how much and which sports individuals have participated in. When looking at law firms, bankers and consultancy, it was found that men would be more likely to get the job if they participated in masculine sports and were seen as too passive if they were interested in the arts. Although this does not directly use Bourdieu's theories, Stemple (2018) uses this example to illustrate how men's relationships with sport can afford them cultural capital.

Whereas, Hovden and von der Lippe (2019) examine the way the media use hierarchical gender ideologies to promote certain forms of masculinity. Hovden and von der Lippe (2019) use Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital to analyse how the media manipulates the information and stories shared with the public about men and women in sport. The study found that the majority of coverage still focussed on mens sports and sports coverage is a 'dominating masculine industry' p11. The study also found that when there was coverage of women it compared them to men and talked about their masculine body types.

Hill (2015) uses Bourdieu's concept of capital to analyse how boys use masculinity, muscularity and physical fitness to gain social status within the field of sport. Hill (2015) also acknowledged how sporting bodies are not only associated with masculinity but also whiteness which leads to other ethnic groups' bodies and experiences being devalued. This study begins to discuss the intersectional relationship between ethnicity and masculinity. The study concluded that further attention to the investment of young people's bodies and the examination of their intersected identities, will allow physical educators to understand how young people choose to participate in sport and physical activity inside and outside of school. Therefore educators can adapt the curriculum and pedagogical practices to avoid restricting young people's engagement.

By using Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Metcalf (2019) explores how sports media messages are interpreted by 15-16 year olds within a framework of gendered habitus. Two key themes were found, the first being that young people expected female athletes to be underrepresented and sexualised and the second being that the media's messages which promoted female attractiveness were internalised within young people's habitus. These themes led to sport being an unimportant factor in females social capital and the media's prioritisation of sportsmen led to young women not seeing themselves playing or participating in sport. This paper concluded that the role of sport within a gendered habitus reflects hegemonic masculinity which promotes sport as being for men.

Gottzen and Kremer-Sadlik (2012) examine how men juggle two contrasting models of masculinity by conducting an ethnographic study on fathers involved in their children's organised sports. The contrasting models of masculinity in this case being fatherhood and sport; where in fatherhood a man is expected to be supportive and caring whereas in sport men are expected to push each other to excel and perform well. This ethnography found that men must attempt to balance pushing their children to excel and also support them regardless of their performance. Gottzen and Kremer-Sadlik proposed that men may value a more inclusive approach to masculinity however they also exhibit orthodox masculinity in other domestic scenarios. Although this study does not explicitly mention Bourdieusian theory, it can be linked to the notions of doxa within distinct fields and how when the fields of fatherhood and masculinity intersect they must balance the doxa of being supportive but also push their children.

An example of masculinity and symbolic violence is from Cushion and Jones (2006), who conducted an ethnographic analysis which looked at the relationship between coaches and youth soccer players. The analysis concluded that coaches used symbolic violence to keep the players 'in their place' because they were seen as masculine role models and more experienced.

Bunn, *et al.*, (2016) examine men's experiences in a group-based weight management programme that uses men's symbolic attachment to professional football clubs to encourage them to lead healthier lifestyles. By creating a doxa that appeals to their masculinity and interest in sports this study found that interactions and shared habitus was key in encouraging these men to participate in the weight management programme and therefore in leading healthier lifestyles (Bunn, *et al.*, 2016).

Methodology

Epistemology & Ontology

The research philosophies adopted by researchers shape important assumptions we make about views of the world (Johnson and Clark, 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) describe the process of beginning a research project, as an onion, where each layer leads to another until the centre of the research 'onion', where the technique for data collection and data analysis approach is situated.

Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) state that epistemology is what the researcher believes to be acceptable knowledge, the knowledge in question may differ based on the project and on the researcher however Marsh and Furlong (2002) argue that an individual will always learn towards certain epistemological and ontological positions. Another definition of epistemology comes from Thomas, et al (2023) who state that epistemology is a branch of philosophy that addresses securing knowledge and understanding its status. 'Epistemology' is defined by Crotty (1998) as the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective adopted and thereby in the methodology. In contrast, the 'theoretical perspective' of a project is the philosophical stance informing the methodology, thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria (Crotty, 1998). Examples of theoretical perspectives include positivism, interpretivism and critical inquiry (Al-Ababneh, 2020).

Crotty (1998) also defines 'methodology' as the strategy, process or design lying behind the choice and use of certain methods and how this links to the desired outcomes. Finally, 'methods' have been defined as the techniques used to gather and analyse data related to a research question or hypothesis (Crotty, 1998). Crotty (1998) fails to define ontology as a separate concept from epistemology; whilst the two concepts often do overlap, many argue that a researcher's ontology will inform their epistemology and therefore there cannot be one without the other (Ejnavarzala, 2019). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) state that ontology is a branch of

philosophy which is concerned with the nature of social phenomena as entities. Similarly, Snape and Spencer (2003) argue that ontology is what can be known or discovered about the world.

Although ontology and epistemology are often used in conjunction with each other and have many overlapping features or approaches, there are key differences between the two. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) state that epistemology is what the researcher deems 'the acceptable knowledge' whereas ontology is the nature of reality. In contrast, Gruber (1995) defines ontology as 'an explicit specification of a shared conceptualization' (p.907). Taking epistemological and ontological stances are key in determining how to analyse and interpret data and therefore yield different forms of knowledge (Ribbens Mccarthy et al., 2003).

Some commonly used ontological stances are relativism, idealism and realism. Relativism, is explained by Willig (2012) which says that when a researcher adopts a relativist position it is to understand how the participants are constructing meaning in what they have experienced; the researcher is less concerned with the truth and more concerned with how and why the participant has perceived an event or experience. An idealist approach recognises that knowledge is unstable and constantly evolving and maintains the belief that reality is socially constructed (Fleetwood, 2013). This approach also argues that reality is doubted and denied and can be multiple and/or a process (Fleetwood, 2013). Realism is the opposite of idealism because it states that reality is independent of human thoughts and beliefs (Al-ababneh, 2020). Due to the nature of this study - for example, the qualitative interviews and its narrative analysis approach - the project adopted a relativist approach. This approach was most appropriate because this project aimed to understand in depth the experiences of some young men; however, the aim was not to necessarily create a representation of society as a whole.

An alternative ontological position is positivism. Positivism comes from the word posited, meaning something that is given. Therefore positivism and taking a positivist approach that only considers knowledge that is grounded and not speculative. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) state that this philosophical approach can lead to law-like generalisations. This approach is often seen within scientific and

technological fields. Positivism is argued to be objective (Al-ababneh, 2020). Remenyi, et al., (2005) state that to apply a positivist philosophy one must have a well structured methodology, quantifiable observations and use statistical analysis. Positivism assumes that researchers will be objective in their analysis and interpretation when examining data. Although positivism is a useful ontology to adopt when doing quantitative and scientific research, to adopt a positivist position within a sociological study such as this would mean to oversimplify the experiences of those interviewed for this study. Abbott (1990) argued that although positivism is useful in certain scenarios when used in sociology, it is best done so combined with interpretivism so as to avoid confusion when discovering anomalies and to be able to understand the character of social life.

In contrast, interpretivism is an epistemological approach that transpired as an alternative to positivism in order to create an understanding of human and social reality (Atkinson & Young, 2008; Veal & Darcy, 2014). An interpretive approach aims to observe cultural and historical interpretations of the social world (Veal & Darcy, 2014). Similarly, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) state that interpretivism is an epistemological stance that advocates that it is necessary for the researcher to understand the differences between humans in our roles as social actors. This approach is more likely to be adopted within the social sciences than a positivist approach due to the subjective nature it holds which aids in avoiding law-like generalisations (Al-ababneh, 2020). An interpretivist philosophy considers each field unique and differs from other situations and scenarios. However, Scauso (2020) critiques an interpretivist approach, stating that the approach can make data vague and less accurate by generalising findings. Nonetheless, Elbardan and Kholeif (2017) state that a benefit of an interpretivist approach is that it can outline the complexity of different people's opinions within a subject. Although it is useful to get different opinions, that does not lead to a full answer, realist research sees the tangible that relativism does not which can lead to plans on improving the structure of society (Elbardan and Kholeif, 2017).

This study has utilised qualitative research methods, which can be seen in how the interviews are conducted and how the data is analysed. Willig (2012) states that qualitative researchers aim to capture the quality and texture of the participants'

experiences whilst attempting to understand the implications of those experiences, both for the participants and for others. Taking a qualitative approach emphasises the inference of how people answer questions as opposed to what they answer; for example, verbal utterances can be positive or negative in regards to a question (Hollstein, 2011). Many aspects of normal communication are reliant on interpretation therefore taking a qualitative approach to interviews help bridge the gap that a quantitative approach may leave (Hollstein, 2011). The inference of *how* people answer questions - as opposed to *what* they answer - links to the adopting of an interpretivist approach, which is the stance taken in this research project (Chowdhury, 2014). The interviews were based on individuals' experiences which cannot be measured; the process also has little standardisation due to the semi-structured nature and open-ended questions (Hollstein, 2011). Having used qualitative interviews focused on the experience of those participating, it is important to apply an appropriate ontology and epistemology - hence why the project adopted a realist ontological position which allows the researcher to understand that although the participants may all have had shared experiences, they will all view them differently as individuals.

Narrative Analysis

Given the aforementioned adoption of a narrative analysis approach within the methodological process of the project this section will outline literature that helped solidify the decision to use narrative analysis in this project. Hinchman and Hinchman (1997) define narratives as discourses that have a clear sequential order which associates events in a significant or relevant way for a certain audience. Czarniawska (2004) says that all things are or can be treated as a narrative; however a narrative is most often understood as a spoken or written text that gives a chronological account of an event or series of events. The key difference between a narrative and a story is that a narrative can be a series of chronological events with no meaningful plot and structure; once these are included the text can be considered a story (Czarinaawsa, 2004).

Elliott (2005) stated that although narrative analysis became more popular in the 1990s and early 2000s there was not a common definition of the term. However, to

conduct a narrative analysis means to examine or scrutinise a person's experience as a journey or story, something that can be viewed as a whole or as smaller subsections. Human understanding and the forming of identities takes a narrative form (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). Therefore, analysing the experiences of individuals in this way is a very natural process; by interviewing individuals in a way fitting with a narrative analysis, we give the individual an opportunity to 'speak their truth' or 'tell their story'. However, Gubrium and Holstein (1998) warn that the interviewer or researcher can project cultural meanings and expectations onto a participant's narrative.

Smith and Sparkes (2008) outline a 'storied resource' perspective as one approach to narrative analysis. This approach takes the stance that one's self is made up of a multiple of narrative resources gained through society and culture. Atkinson, *et al.*, (2003) said that we need to analyse the cultural resources with which people construct their narratives. Smith and Sparkes (2008) outline one type of narrative analysis as being a 'dialogic' perspective. This perspective focuses on the experiences of research participants primarily as social and relational (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). This approach creates a view of culture as 'speaking itself' through the stories of people's experiences; these people are culturally submerged and act as carriers of culture (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). Therefore narratives being examined in this way are more relevant to the society than the individual (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). Another type of narrative analysis is to take a 'performative' perspective which takes the view that narratives are solely social and completely separate from the individual. Smith and Sparkes (2008) said that when taking a performative perspective narratives are not viewed as cognitive, internalised structures or schemas through which people understand the world and themselves, but as storied actions.

Methodology

In order to maintain an ethically sound study, ethical considerations must be put in place. Informed consent is one way to ensure participants understand what they are agreeing to (Bhutta, 2004; Kadam, 2017; Millum & Bromwich, 2021). Before being

interviewed participants had to read the information sheet, privacy notice and complete the consent form (See Appendices 2,3 and 4). The information sheet explained what the participant has been asked to do, how many other participants there will be, what the benefits and costs are, how the data will be kept and who to contact for further details. This information sheet also states that participants could withdraw their data at any point during the research (Edwards, 2005; Schaefer & Wertheimer, 2010). This is important because it allows for participants to maintain autonomy over what they have given (Wiles, *et al.*, 2008). Additionally, all data was kept anonymous and confidential. In order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality this study used pseudonyms (Wiles, *et al.*, 2006). The privacy notice also provides information to ensure informed consent; this document explains how data will be kept, what it will be used for and where it will be shared. The research project and therefore the documents given to the participants were given ethical approval prior to the participants being recruited (See Appendix 1).

Participants and Sampling

This study aimed to interview 22 young men; this sample size was chosen based on similar studies by Jarvis (2015), who conducted 12 interviews; Budden, *et al.*, (2020) however carried out 37 interviews. Liston, *et al.*, (2018) who were examining how masculinity impacts men's attitudes to medical help when experiencing head injuries conducted 20 interviews. Taking the ontological and epistemological positions of the researcher into account, as well as the type of study, conducting 22 in-depth interviews, which ranged from 20 to 90 minutes was a justifiable choice (Zadowska, *et al.*, 2022). Smith and Sparkes (2016) say that the importance of interviews is not to get a perfectly representative group but to look in detail how selected people view the world. The criteria for participants to be interviewed is heterosexual, cisgender males aged between 18 and 25 who have participated in physical activity or sport. This age group was chosen because societal expectations of masculinity have recently changed and this generation, known as Gen Z, tend to be more open to challenging traditional expectations of masculinity or more generally, societal norms (Schaille, *et al.*, 2021). Additionally, this study chose to focus only on heterosexual, cisgender males due to this group rarely being focussed on as their own group; they are often used as the baseline to be compared to more marginalised groups such as LGBTIQ+

or women in sport (McKeown, et al., 2010; Anderson, 2011). There were no other exclusion criteria such as race, religion, disability or socio-economic background.

This project used purposive sampling to assign these participants to the study. Participants will be recruited through contacts from previous studies by the researcher, who have said they are happy to be contacted again and social media; this will create a mixture of participants all within the selected age group. Participants will be emailed an official invitation and asked to confirm they would like to take part. When conducting research, it is always important to recognise and consider biases that could skew the data. The most likely bias that may arise in this study is that of 'in-group bias'. 'In-group bias' is where people will agree or have the same view as others from their group (Smith & Noble, 2014). This bias is most likely to arise due to the majority of participants the researcher knows are from their university cohort and contacts (Smith and Sparkes, 2016). Therefore, many of the participants are university educated which means that the experiences discussed will be predominantly focussed around university sport.

Biases

In order to avoid in-group bias, purposive sampling has been used to include others from outside the university where many participants will come from. Purposive sampling is where you choose specific participants (Bakkalbasioglu, 2020). A limitation of purposive sampling is that it relies on the judgement of the researcher to select who should participate in the study (Rai & Thapa, 2015; Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). The inherent bias of this technique counteracts other possible biases when used within niche subjects (Tongco, 2007). It should be acknowledged that bias is not considered as great an issue when adopting an interpretivist approach (Travis, 1999). In an attempt to address the biases that arose during this study, the researcher acknowledged their own biases, others biases and how their role as the researcher influenced the study.

It is therefore important to be reflexive on one's own biases when collecting and interpreting data. The term and practice of reflexivity grew from introspection and critical realism; meaning to look at one's self and acknowledge and act upon our own biases (Finlay & Gough, 2008). Reflexivity should lead to greater insights into person and social experience (Finlay & Gough, 2008). Everyone carries their own biases which can shape a data collection and analysis (Grimes and Shulz, 2002). Often a researcher will look for data that confirms their hypothesis or personal experience (Yanos and Hopper, 2008; Smith and Noble, 2014). Although this study does not have an explicit hypothesis, it is still likely that the researcher will have formed their own expectations of topics that will arise in the data collection. Biases that this study encountered would include that the researcher knew the majority of participants previous to the study, some in a deeper capacity than others' however this could still affect the way the researcher interpreted the participants experiences and how the researcher chose to question the participants when using off script probes (Luff, 1999; Smith and Sparkes, 2016). It could also be argued that knowing some of the participants was a benefit due to the likelihood of a pre-existing rapport leading to more indepth off script probes. Another bias the researcher encountered would be their existing prejudices and stance on masculinity as well as social class and even the difference in cultures between certain sports (Luff, 1999; Smith and Sparkes, 2016). In order to practise reflexivity the researcher liaised with their supervisors after interviews and throughout the analysis often asking questions on specific conclusions that had been drawn. This allowed for the use of critical friends to advise and create a process of triangulation to minimise biases.

The participants who are interviewed will also have their own biases about their experiences due to their upbringing and involvement in those situations (Hewitt, 2007). The participants may alter or censor their experiences because they are aware that the interviews are being recorded (Yanos and Hopper, 2008). Catania, McDermott and Pollack (1986) found that participants censored themselves more in face-to-face interviews than in self-administered questionnaires. They may also censor themselves because they are being interviewed by a woman of a similar age to them; if they were interviewed by a man they may feel more expectation to act in a masculine way, whereas men often seem more comfortable opening up and being vulnerable when speaking to women (Herod, 1993). Participants may also censor

themselves because they do not want to admit to what they have done or seen in certain situations.

Additionally, some participants knew the researcher before the interview, this may be through a social or professional capacity, which could also have influenced the way participants censor or alter the descriptions of their experiences (Luff, 1999). As mentioned previously, the majority of the participants had some pre-existing rapport or interaction with the researcher, which may have influenced how the interview transpired (Smith and Sparkes, 2016). For example, one of the longest interviews was with someone the researcher had known closely and for a considerable amount of time; the length and depth of this interview may be due to the pre-existing rapport (Luff, 1999). However, to avoid intimidating or making uncomfortable the participants who knew the researcher less, the interviews were structured so that the 'simple' questions were at the beginning; these questions (See Appendix 5) were about their background and upbringing however not particularly in depth (Smith and Sparkes, 2016). The interviews then went on to ask more in depth questions about their views of masculinity and society before asking them about more specific experiences they may have had. Smith and Sparkes (2016) recommend structuring the interview in ways similar to this to put participants at ease early in the interview.

Data Collection and Analysis

The interviews used a semi-structured script in order to have the flexibility to allow individuals to talk about their own experiences without being solely guided by the script (Dadzie, *et al.*, 2018). The use of interviews helped give depth and the in person opportunity to probe and question the participants on their views and experiences (Roulston & Choi, 2018). The semi-structured nature of the interviews aided this further by allowing the researcher to go off script with those participants more willing to discuss their experiences in depth (Dearnly, 2005). The main focus of the interview questions were how the participants thought their background influenced their relationship with sport and physical activity, how they viewed masculinity and society, and what sort of pressures they have been subjected or party to. This allowed for the application of Bourdieusian theory in unpicking

masculine behaviour through reference to aforementioned concepts such as 'doxa', 'habitus', and 'capital' within the data analysis stage.

After the interview process the interviews were transcribed and a thematic analysis, which examined the relationship between the participant's life history, their relationship with sport and their relationship with masculinity, was applied to establish patterns or opposing experiences (Williams & Moser, 2019). This study used an inductive analysis, which let the data determine the themes of discussion. Each interview was transcribed fully verbatim from the audio recordings and coded using Otter AI software. After the transcriptions, a narrative analysis was applied to each transcript. Each short narrative was placed on a spectrum of masculinity based on how each participant felt they aligned with society's expectations of masculinity and with being a 'lad's lad'. This spectrum was used to form the four groups that form the results and discussion. After the narrative analysis, themes were outlined and codified from the data, using a thematic analysis approach informed by theories of masculinity, using an inductive approach. Then Bourdieu's concepts were applied deductively. An abductive approach means to combine an inductive and deductive approach and is based on the systematic methodical investigation of atypical and unexpected findings against the backdrop of many preexisting sociological ideas (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). This abductive approach to theoretical analysis is thus illustrated in the following chapter.

Results and Discussion

This chapter will discuss the findings and analysis of this research project. There will be four subsections of this chapter, organised based on the spectrum of masculinity with which these narratives have been organised. The four groups will be those who consider themselves the most masculine, those who consider themselves to align somewhat with society's expectations of masculinity and those who do not consider themselves masculine by their perception of society's standards.

Each subsection will follow the order of discussing the experiences of each participant, how they compare and contrast with other participants, and how their experiences have influenced their approach to their own masculinity, inclusivity and participation - not just within sport, but also within their day-to-day lives such as in their occupations and social groups. Each section will use multiple theories of masculinity, such as inclusive masculinity theory (Anderson, 2010) and hegemonic masculinity theory (Connell, 1995) amongst others outlined in the literature chapter, to analyse the experiences of each participant of this study. Each section will also apply Bourdieu's key concepts of habitus, doxa, field, and the four forms of capital as outlined in the literature review chapter.

As outlined in the previous chapter, the interviews from the data collection of this study have been constructed into narratives to give the reader a brief insight into the experiences of each participant. Each narrative covers the familial structure, area of upbringing, education and main sporting interests of each interviewee as well as an insight into their own perception of their masculinity and their experiences in sport. Table 1 also provides summary information on age, familial structure, area of upbringing, education, race and main sports.

	Age	Race/ Nationality	Location of upbringing	Familial Structure	Education Level	Main Sport/s
Mitchell	23	White/South African	Urban South Africa	Mum and Step-Dad	Working towards a Masters	Rugby Cricket

Harvey	21	White/British	Rural UK	Mum, Dad & Sister	Working towards an Undergraduate Degree	American Football & Football
Benji	20	White/British	Urban UK	Mum, Dad, Older Brother & Twin Brother	Working towards an Undergraduate degree	Rugby & Rowing
Hugh	23	White/British	Semi-rural/ suburban UK	Mum, Dad and Sister	Working towards a Masters Degree	Cricket & Football
Will	23	White/British	Semi-rural/ suburban UK	Mum & Dad	Undergraduate Degree	Hockey
Dylan	20	White/British	Suburban UK	Mum, Dad & Brother	College	Rugby
Billie	25	White/British	Urban/ Suburban UK	Mum, Dad & two Sisters	Undergraduate Degree	Tennis & Football
Kieron	20	White/British	Semi-rural UK	Mum, Dad & Two Siblings (Genders not specified)	Working towards an Undergraduate Degree	American Football & Football
Anthony	23	Black/Caribbean	Suburban Caribbean	Mum, Dad & Brother	Working towards a PhD	Rowing & American Football
Harold	22	White/British	Semi-rural UK	Mum, Dad & Brother	Working towards a Masters Degree	Rugby, Volleyball & Kayaking
Barney	23	White/British	Semi-rural UK	Mum, Dad &	Working	Rugby,

				Brother	towards a Masters	Touch Rugby & Rowing
Evan	24	White/British	Semi-rural UK	Mum & Dad	Working towards a PhD	Football & Cricket
Sean	23	White/Canadian	Semi-rural Canada	One house with his Mum & Step-Dad and one with his Dad, Step-mum and two step-brothers	Working towards a Masters	Ice Hockey
Frank	22	White/British	Rural UK	Mum, Dad, Brother & Sister	Undergraduate degree	Rugby & Shooting
Reggie	21	White/British	Semi-rural UK	Dad, Brother & Sister	Working towards Undergraduate Degree	Rugby & Football
Elliot	22	White/British	Rural UK	Mum & Dad	Working towards a postgraduate degree	Rowing & Shooting
Kaleb	23	White/Israeli	Suburban Israel	Mum, Dad, Brother & Sister	Working towards an Undergraduate Degree	American Football
Stephan	24	Black/British	Urban UK	Mum, Dad, Brother & Sister	Masters	Rugby, Football & Baseball
Freddie	22	White/British	Rural UK	Mum, Dad & 2	Undergraduate	Football

				Sisters	ate Degree	
Harry	23	White/British	Rural UK	Mum & Sister in one house and Dad & Step mum in another	Undergraduate Degree	Cricket
Kallum	23	White/British	Rural UK	Mum, Dad & Sister	Undergraduate Degree	Hockey
Lewis	22	White/British	Semi-rural UK	Mum & Dad	Undergraduate Degree	Football, Running & Tennis

Table 1

These narratives have also been put on a spectrum ordered from those who consider themselves the most masculine to those who consider themselves the least masculine. This spectrum has been ordered based on the researchers' perceptions of the participants' answers throughout the interviews. However, two specific questions were most influential in forming this spectrum - those questions being *'How well do you think you align with society's expectations of what a masculine man is?'*, and *'Do you consider yourself a 'lads lad'?'*. The narratives within this spectrum have also been colour-coded according to the key used within the full analysis of these interviews. These colour-coded sections highlight key themes identified throughout the analysis. The spectrum has also been split into four groups based on which participants are most similar based on their perceptions of their masculinity. However, it must be noted that just because they have been placed in certain groups based on their masculinity, these groups do not necessarily indicate how inclusive or self aware they are.

To help the reader understand the decisions put forward by the researcher in the ordering of these narratives on this spectrum, it would be beneficial to explain where and why certain participants sit on this spectrum. For example, in the first group called 'Laddish Masculinities' there was one participant, Mitchell, who considered themselves to be highly masculine and a 'lad's lad'; therefore he was put at the most

masculine end of the spectrum. The following two considered themselves to be masculine but either showed understanding of the negative connotations of being a 'lads lad' (Benji) or expressed a slightly more inclusive form of masculinity than the traditional hegemonic form that Mitchell was most associated with (Harvey). Will also considers himself masculine by his perception of society's expectations however he discusses being able to 'turn off' the 'laddish' behaviour and similar to Harvey and Benji he would like to associate himself with an even more inclusive form of masculinity. These four made up the most masculine group and will thus be the main focus of the first subsection of this chapter.

The following subsection will focus on Dylan, Billie, Kieron, Anthony, Harold, Barney, Evan, and Sean. Each of these participants falls into the second group because they consider themselves masculine but do not consider themselves to be a 'lad's lad'. Throughout the interviews the behaviour associated with being a 'lad's lad' is connected with drinking culture, male promiscuity, and 'partying'. Dylan, Billie, Kieron, Anthony, Harold, Barney, Evan, and Sean all consider themselves to be masculine but not 'lad's lads'. Sean and Harold also mention that they hope that they promote a more inclusive form of masculinity. This second subsection of participants will be called 'Navel Gazing Lads'.

Frank, Reggie, Elliot, Hugh, Kaleb, Stephan, and Freddie make up the third subsection of the spectrum called 'Diluted Masculinities'. These participants all consider themselves somewhat masculine but not 'lad's lads'. Some of these participants were more difficult to place on the spectrum; for example, Frank was hesitant to say whether he felt he aligned with society's expectations of masculinity and being a 'lad's lad'. Stephan also felt disconnected from lad culture because he associates that with white boys behaviour, not his, he is Black and attended a predominantly white school. Kaleb was difficult to place within this group due cultural differences and some of his answers, for example he did not understand the term 'lads lad'. Reggie and Elliot also considered themselves somewhat masculine but questioned what masculinity meant to society. Finally, Freddie considers himself masculine but hopes that he is a role model for the positive aspects of masculinity.

The final subsection is made up of three participants: Harry, Kallum, and Lewis, referred to as 'Nonconforming Masculinities'. These three participants all discuss their emotional sides. Harry says he has been called sensitive by multiple people which led him to believe he does not align with society's masculine expectations. Lewis talks about his build and how he thinks that does not make him seem masculine. Kallum mentions that he was bullied by 'lad's lads' and therefore does not want to be associated with that type of culture.

To summarise, participants have been put into four groups which will be discussed in depth in the four subsections below. The first of these groups is called Laddish Masculinities which consists of four participants who felt they aligned with masculinity and 'lad culture' the most strongly. The second group consists of nine participants who have been grouped together on the basis that they believe themselves to align with society's expectations of masculinity but do not associate themselves with being a 'lads lad'. This group is called Navel Gazing Lads. The third group is made up of six participants and has been grouped based on the common beliefs that they are somewhat masculine by society's standards and do not consider themselves to be 'lad's lads'. This group is called Diluted Masculinities. The fourth and final group is made up of three participants who all fall into this group based on the fact that they do not consider themselves to be particularly masculine nor do they consider themselves to be 'lad's lads'. This group has been named Nonconforming Masculinities. As mentioned above these groups are based on the spectrum created based on how the participants view themselves according to the interview questions. The point of these groups is not to segregate the types of masculinity but to illustrate the spectrum within which these participants find themselves on, many participants discuss how their behaviours and views have evolved over time which has also led to their masculinity evolving. It must be noted that the order of participants on this spectrum and the inferences therein may be interpreted differently by others who examine the data. As such, the categorisation is subjective and cannot be deemed irrefutable; this means that there are limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn however by taking a reflexive approach these limitations can be analysed and mediated, these will be reflected on in the conclusion chapter.

Laddish Masculinities

As outlined earlier, the following section will discuss the participants that consider themselves to be particularly masculine and “lad’s lads”. This is based on their answers to specific interview questions which were used to create the spectrum of masculinity. One participant stood out as very pro masculinity and lad culture whereas others considered themselves masculine but in a healthy positive way. The discussion of each participant will not only focus on the participants as individuals but will also compare and contrast their experiences against one another, many participants have shared experiences or beliefs.

Masculinity, Attitudes towards Women and Promiscuity

The first participant that will be discussed is Mitchell. Mitchell was put at the very top of the spectrum which is due to him considering himself both masculine and a ‘lads lad’. Mitchell comes across as the outlier of this group and possibly of the entire study. Mitchell shows distinct comparisons to the rest of the group in terms of his attitude towards masculinity and his lack of awareness around the potentially harmful aspects of it. This is because, although Mitchell seems to show some awareness of how his behaviours and experiences are not considered normal or appropriate, in the right setting he will still continue to engage in them. For example, Mitchell talks about the way he censors his behaviour when he is around women or in certain settings. To some extent it is understandable that people will behave differently within different fields, for example in a professional setting someone would not act the same way they do around their friends. As outlined previously, field is one of the concepts developed by Bourdieu pertaining to a cultural environment (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995). However, Mitchell censors his behaviour in social settings around women he is friends with. He talks about how if he is with his male friends he would comment on a woman's body saying “Oh, she's fit or she got a big bum”; however if he was around girls he says “Because then I think I'm objectifying a woman.” This comment shows he understands what he is doing is not necessarily appropriate, however he continues to act that way he says earlier in the interview “And if I'm with girls and more worried people just keep my comments to myself and be normal.” Which implies that he knows this behaviour is not the standard. This also shows that the field shifts when different individuals enter it, in this case being a female friend.

This, amongst other themes throughout the interview with Mitchell, leads to the conclusion that his style of masculinity is more on the hegemonic side of masculinity (Connell, 1995).

One point that he returns to multiple times is the link between masculinity and promiscuity, Mitchell says:

“I could get any girl I want when I play rugby like that sounds horrific, but that's how it is that when you play rugby you think you're on top of everyone else, as opposed to a hockey player. Like if you didn't get out of the toxic masculinity side, I'd say I think I could get way more girls than a hockey player could get”.

This comment is particularly interesting because he mentions toxic masculinity which again shows he has some awareness around his behaviour or attitudes being potentially harmful. However, maybe it is not his attitudes that are harmful but society's attitudes towards masculinity and certain sports. He may be correct that rugby players are more popular with women than those who play other sports. This also links to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital: through playing rugby, he feels he gains status which results in him being able to attract 'any girl he wants'. Physical capital, an extension of symbolic capital, can also be drawn upon here; physical capital is not exclusive to strength and skill but also relates to attractiveness, having an attractive partner can lead to social status through symbolic capital. Additionally, masculine capital could be increased by having an attractive female partner, or being popular with multiple women.

Part of hegemonic masculinity theory covers the treatment and views towards women, reducing them to objects for male pleasure is part of the oppressive nature of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Other categories of masculinity such as toxic masculinity also are centred around heterosexual sexual relationships, toxic masculinity and incel's behaviour stems from their belief that women owe men sex (Scaptura, 2019). Mitchell also mentions that homosexual men would be considered less masculine than heterosexual men; “I'd say from how I grew up if you're gay,

you're not really termed masculine at all.” He also said that men who are less popular with women would be considered less masculine than men who are more popular with women. When asked “So my question is, if a guy is so both guys in this case are heterosexual, so both of them like women, one of them is more popular with women, than the other. Yeah. Which one do you deem more masculine?” Mitchell answered “The one that gets more women's attention.” It has been suggested that homosexual men are considered to be alike to women because both groups have sex with men and both groups are considered ‘less than’ compared to men, leading to the conclusion that homophobia is rooted in sexism and misogyny (Demitrou, 2001; Lilleaas, 2007). This also links back to masculine capital and being popular with women (Edwards, 2003).

Physicality and Masculinity

Another theme that Mitchell refers to multiple times is the physicality associated with masculinity. Other participants also mention this, not just from this group but from multiple groups; however in this section only participants from this group will have their interview answers discussed. Mitchell says that it is a “dick swinging competition” between who is “bigger than the other person”, however Mitchell says that it is more important to ‘be big and go to the gym’ for rugby than other sports such as cricket. Harvey also mentions that there is an expectation to play sports and to be “muscly” in order to be considered masculine. Academics have put forward concepts such as physical capital and masculine capital as extensions of Bourdieu’s four forms of capital, both of these concepts could be based on symbolic capital due to their non-material nature and how they result in social capital more than economic capital (Huppatz, 2012). Mitchell implies that going to the gym is almost as key as being big, the act of having a gym membership and attending can be a form of cultural capital as it is something that we consume (Wacquant, 1998).

Masculinity and Drinking Culture

Another theme seen across Mitchell’s interview as well as Harvey, Benji and Will’s is that of the drinking culture associated with masculinity and sport, this was especially

but not exclusively seen within sport societies at university. Mitchell discusses the difference between club and university drinking culture, elaborating on how it is not just about the consumption of alcohol but also the behaviour associated with it;

“You want to drink beers and shout and be loud and get naked and all that anymore? Like that's... you want to be jacked up. At uni. There's a big difference. Between culture at uni as opposed to clubs and other places. Don't get me wrong. I still think that clubs are getting naked and getting drunk and all of that but I think that extends at uni is just, we hear in our colleges like jocks, the jocks or whatever you want to call it. That might be the difference. I haven't experienced club cricket or rugby yet, as I will do soon in summer, but I think that's the base point of have yet been uni I think is more intense. I have no idea how to conduct the stereotypical American college jocks like that kind of vibe. I think that's you're not gonna get that when you're 32 years old. I hope not. If you like that when you're 32.”

When Mitchell mentions that “you’re not gonna get that when you’re 32” he implies that this sort of behaviour would not be expected from someone ‘grown up’ or more mature and that the behaviour he described is acceptable at university age but not later. This is an example of how masculinity varies and progresses through different fields (De Visser and Smith, 2007; Parmentier, 2016). Similar to this Will discusses how in hindsight he would have done things within his sport society differently and mentions how a lot of the social aspect is based around heavy drinking saying “I'd say I think if I could do it again, I'd like to do more non alcohol events”. Will also says that “more freedom” and access to alcohol at university leads to this culture as well as “pressure to fit in”. This pressure can also be linked to doxa, or the expected behaviour (Bourdieu, 1977).

In Benji's interviews he talks about “their very strict and like drinking rules at society” and gives an example:

“I've heard they had this joint session with the cheerleaders and they just made the cheerleaders stand outside, didn't let them in and stuff like that and if they wanted to go to the toilet they had to be accompanied...”

This answer shows again that the drinking culture within sport societies is not just about all those who attend engaging in binge drinking but nuanced rules which result in certain individuals being left out, in this example the cheerleaders. In another example given by Will, he mentions some of his team members who did not want to drink a lot being less likely to engage with the rest of the group due to the socials being predominantly based on alcohol. Throughout the interview with Harvey he mentions how the majority of peer pressure is linked to drinking and how it can lead to dangerous and tragic outcomes:

“Part of his initiation was they were out in the town and one of the older players told like saw a bus stop and told him to run through the bus stop... And he was paralysed in one leg from the waist down. So he never played sport again changed his whole life. Just because someone older in the team told him to do something... And that's the whole premise of initiations. You know, you're just trying to gain respect from the older members of the team, and so they pressure you into doing stuff that you wouldn't necessarily want to do.”

At the end of his interview he realises how strongly drinking culture, masculinity and sport are interlinked saying “And how, like how drinking, like cultures in sport links to everybody's idea of what like what masculinity means and how much of a link there actually is”. Although the analysis of the interviews in this study used peer pressure and University drinking culture as two separate themes it is clear that they interlink within the experiences of multiple participants.

As mentioned the discussion of peer pressure within this group links to Bourdieu's concept of doxa which is a set of unquestioned beliefs assumed to be natural by individuals and society (Charlesworth, 2000; Vakalopoulos, 2022; Zahavi, 2009). The doxa in this case being the expectation to drink and engage with the behaviours associated with university drinking culture. If a person fails to meet the expectations

then they are either pressured to conform, shunned or feel naturally excluded from the field. Exclusion from the field can lead to a decrease in social capital because they lose access to the network of people.

Changing Masculinities

A final notable theme from this group, seen the most within Harvey and Will's interviews, is the awareness of toxic or unhealthy relationships with masculinity. Both Harvey and Will mention or imply that they wish to promote a more inclusive form of masculinity. For example, Will says:

"I like to think I can break down more differences and indifference on differences and sort of being a bit more open minded than some men in terms of just society of accepting differences in sort of like society."

This links to inclusive masculinity theory as proposed by Anderson (2010) which suggests that modern masculinity norms have moved away from homophobic and misogynistic behaviours and are more accepting of marginalised groups; although Will is not explicit in which differences he is referring to by not stating it could show he is referring to multiple groups. This also reflects the changing doxa within society; the age group known as Gen Z are pushing for a more inclusive society and want more protection of the rights of marginalised groups such as people of colour, women and the LGBTQ+ community (Schailée, et al., 2021). Seeing awareness like this within the group that considers themselves the most masculine is especially supportive of Anderson's theory of masculine norms becoming more inclusive.

Both participants go on to discuss ways they have tried to foster more inclusive environments. For example, Harvey discusses promoting the women's team within his American football society:

"We had a big push with them to get a girl's team this year, and... we got about 25 signups which was really good. We were so excited and we got to the first session, and I think three people turned up and we were like, "oh, you know, might be our fault... social media... we didn't post

enough”, or whatever. So we put on another... I think and by the third week we had there was nobody left. The three girls that were coming said, look, we want to stay involved, but you know three people, obviously not enough to do anything.”

Not only did Harvey and his team promote and encourage a women’s team, when they were not successful at first they continued to promote the team and engage with the few who were in attendance. Will and Harvey were both in senior positions within their societies and both gave examples of promoting more inclusive environments within those societies. This shows their use of their social capital to promote positive change, not just throughout their society but throughout their universities. They used their social capital within their specific fields in order to promote a more inclusive doxa. This links to Smith’s (2001) discussion of social agents pushing against the current doxa in order to create change.

Navel Gazing Lads

This group looks at those who consider themselves masculine to a lesser extent than the previous groups and do not consider themselves to be ‘lads lads’ as much as the previous group. These participants mention the negative connotations associated with being a ‘lad’s lad’, such as drinking culture, male promiscuity, and ‘partying’, and wish to remove themselves from those connotations. This group also attempts to promote a more inclusive form of masculinity based upon their increasing self-awareness, hence the label of Navel Gazing Lads. As mentioned previously, these groups were formed based on the spectrum (see Appendix 6) put together by the researcher based on questions from the interviews, therefore the groups are put together subjectively. This group is made up of nine participants; Hugh, Evan, Anthony, Sean, Dylan, Billie, Kieron, Barney and Harold. This subsection will discuss and compare themes from within and outside of this group. The main themes of this section are a) physicality and masculinity, b) lad culture, and c) how diversity impacts the culture of clubs and societies.

Physicality and Masculinity

Another theme shown amongst this group as well as in others is the link between masculinity and physicality or physical capital. Anthony, Sean and Dylan also mention how their, or society's, expectations of masculinity are centred around physical capital. Anthony says "I feel like there is this societal pressure for men to be so called manly, being big, strong and doing those manly things, hitting people in sports". Often when the participants are using the word big to describe a masculine body type they mean muscular as opposed to tall or just large. Anthony says that part of this pressure comes from women finding certain body types and sports more attractive than others saying that:

"...like a lot of women will see rugby players as sexy because they're big guys who hit people. They'll see fighters, boxers sexy because they're big guys.. Something like ping pong or golf? Any non-contact sport that involves a lot more fine motor skill tends to not get as much praise from women or other men to be fair."

Robertson (2003) argues that the strong link between masculinity and sport reinforces hegemonic ideals of masculinity. As Anthony said it also leaves people, who do not meet the expectation, out or behind. Although there are different expectations of masculinity, especially based on physical capital such as facial attractiveness and body types, across different cultures, the growth of social media has increased Westernisation and therefore the hegemonic expectation for men is to be muscular (Gerami, 2005; Pochyla, 2012). Welch (1997) states how physicality can be key in the perception of masculinity. Hill (2015) also discusses how men use physical capital to gain social status.

Kieron also says that there is an expectation for men "to be sporty" which is inherently linked to physical capital (Hill, 2015). This links to multiple aspects of masculinity such as 'muscular Christianity' (Watson, Weir and Friend, 2005) and tortured masculinity; Butler and Charles (2012) discuss the use of sport in 'torturing' the body of men. Sean talks about his size and muscularity impacting his masculinity, stating "I would say that for a man I'm, like, kind of like a bigger guy,

slightly more muscular than like the average guy... sporty... so that kind of aligns with the stereotypical masculine man". Barney's view is slightly less pressured but still aligns with the other participants beliefs:

"So I think, generally, be for the most part, quite physically active. Sort of outgoing. The general expectation is you should be able to be relatively... relatively strong... relatively in shape because they're not asking for... certainly not asking for everyone to be an Olympian but the general expectation is you should be fairly physically active."

However, many participants within this group note that masculine expectations are not limited to physicality; Harold talks about using his "body in terms of like to help people out". Harold could mean using his strength or size to help others with physical tasks or to help them feel safe around others. which links to Donaldson's (1993) statement of masculinity being associated with physical labour through specific occupations, which shows there is an expectation that part masculinity consists of using your body in order to provide or 'do good'. This also ties in to Dylan's comments on how he utilises his physicality:

"I enjoy keeping fit. I enjoy training my body. I'm in the fire brigade, which is quite a masculine job. It's also mindset as well over just your actual body and wellbeing stuff."

In Dylan's comment he also mentions mindset - a strong or tough mindset, as well as characteristics such as being resilient or stoic, are associated with masculine expectations (Connell, 1995). This also links back to sport and not just being mentally tough but physically tough, which many participants have touched on including Mitchell and Kaleb. On the other hand, Sean believes that masculinity is not a prerequisite for success within sport:

"I don't think they do at all to be entirely honest. I've met dozens of athletes who I would consider not to be like masculine people but are like incredible athletes. And then I've met people who are like, very

masculine men, or masculine, I guess. And just like awful athletes... they just don't perform."

Sean's point implies that he adopts an inclusive approach to masculinity because the opposite of his position would be to believe that sport and masculinity are inherently linked; by believing that anyone is capable of being an "incredible athlete" shows he does not uphold ideals which would be considered hegemonically masculine (Anderson, 2010).

Lad Culture

A key theme which sets this group apart from the previous is a consensus of not wanting to be associated with 'lad culture'. 'Lad culture' has become something found in specific fields, particularly associated with sport at universities and only within specific sports such as football and rugby (Phipps and Young, 2015; Jefferies, 2020). Billie discusses why he does not consider himself a 'lad's lad':

"my perception of a lad's lad is like a guy that is always like as a big group of guy friends. Who...socialises a lot with groups of guys and they're in that sort of group. Or as I've never really had some... high school I did, but I've never really had like a big group of friends that I'm... You know, I have like friends but not like the 'lad's lad' together in a group sort of thing."

Billie's explanation shows how he interprets a big group of male friends as being all 'lad's lads', which shows how lad culture and being a 'lad's lad' is interpreted differently. In Barney's interview he discusses how having a group of all male friends leads to lad culture:

"..it can go too far. But when you're getting 10, like potentially 100 lads together, it doesn't take many to be a bit dodgy, to sort of make things boil over."

This is an example of mob mentality which is often associated with masculinity, especially within spectatorship of sports (Palmer and Thompson, 2007). Barney's experience in rowing, rugby union, and touch rugby have shaped these views of lad culture; it can be argued that he has had experience in a variety of sporting fields. Touch rugby is often a mixed sport and he plays for a mixed team at university. Participants' experiences and opinions on mixed sport and diverse groups will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Another example of group mentality resulting in a specific doxa that links to aspects of lad culture is when Hugh, similar to Mitchell from the previous group, mentions that promiscuity and being a 'lad's lad' are linked and has experienced that side of the culture within sport. He discusses being 'flirty' and "playing away from home" as being part of lad culture and within sport "in some of the teams, they're only interested in your sex life." This implies that not only are the actions of promiscuity normalised but the discussion amongst men about their sex life is also normalised. This normalised behaviour around promiscuity amongst the group became part of the doxa within this field, as it does within others (Edwards, 2003). Although it is becoming more normal for activists, influencers and media outlets to advocate for healthy positive discussions around sex (De Ridder, 2019), the discussions Hugh refers to are often more about competition or bragging and would not be considered healthy. The discussion of their sex lives revolves around the objectification and dehumanisation of women. Therefore this sort of behaviour can be associated with forms of masculinity such as toxic (Pascoe, 2016) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995).

Another participant who discusses his views on lad culture is Evan, who says he does not find "that kind of culture particularly comforting or welcoming to me." He also says that he does not "find that particular humour associated with sort of a lads culture as well particularly funny at all", referencing jokes aimed at individuals or groups such as homophobic or misogynistic 'jokes'. This type of humour is associated with hegemonic masculinity because it leads to the oppression of women or other marginalised groups. This can also be linked with the Bourdieusian concept of symbolic violence, which can be when a group will mock another in order to

oppress them (Jarness, 2017). In lad culture, symbolic violence is used to make that group feel as though they are at the peak of social status - therefore 'lads' mock groups they do not consider as important as themselves. This is also something Harold touches on, saying part of lad culture includes "laughing at the expense of others." Finally, Evan talks about how the views of groups that engage or promote lad culture do not align with his own:

"...some of their views to those outside of that group or outside of that sort of collective and I probably wouldn't necessarily agree with anything will probably be I don't want to say bigoted but slightly, slightly skewed to what actually reality looks like if those views so yeah."

Similar to Barney, Evan goes on to talk about diverse groups fostering different kinds of environments to this, which will again be discussed later in the chapter. Another participant from this group who does not consider himself to be a 'lad's lad' is Anthony, who is one of the few participants in this study who was raised in another country; he is also Black. Anthony says he does not consider himself a 'lad's lad' because:

"Like, my main motivation is not to like please other men and my societal groups. My main motivation is to be content with myself. So I'm not the type of person to go out partying. It doesn't do anything for me. If I spend time with my friends, it's usually in a constructive environment that's not involved in drinking. So I wouldn't say that I'm a 'lad's lad', so to speak."

Anthony points out that a lot of lad culture is based around drinking culture and clubbing culture. This aligns with literature such as Phipps and Young (2015) and Jefferies (2020). Harold and Hugh also say that lad culture consists of 'a lot of drinking'. Anthony later discusses how he feels more comfortable drinking with his Men's American Football team as opposed to his university team:

"Mainly because of the demographic of the team. I particularly don't care for hanging out with posh white kids for me it makes me uncomfortable so I rather not, it's just such a big difference in sort of cultural

upbringing... So their fun is go get a pint, whereas me is like, I'd rather go to the gym... But then I decided to go get a drink with the guys in London. And it was a lot more positive because there's a lot more similar cultural upbringings that we like. We just had a lot better discussion. Like the jokes were just funny... Even though a similar setting, we both went to a pub."

Anthony's discussion shows the difference in doxa between the two fields, even though both fields are within the same sport. Anthony said that "that culture just resonated a bit more" perhaps this is because the habitus of his teammates from his Men's team aligns more so with his own and therefore the doxa within the field they share. Although these men were also in an all-male group and attending a place where they can drink there is a different doxa than what Anthony considered lad culture. This shows how race and culture, or to use Bourdieusian terms, habitus can impact the doxa of a field and also the perception of other fields (Laberge and Kay, 2002). This also shows how masculinity is defined differently amongst different cultural fields (Bridges, 2009; Coles, 2009). Harold said that:

"...I think, I definitely, have participated in lad culture. But again, I think that it's not necessarily the same lad culture portrayed in wider society, definitely not like this type of lad culture that is in rugby or cricket or something like that."

This implies that lad culture is something specific or perhaps is based on perception. To look at the perception of lad culture as a whole through the eyes of all participants within the study, Lewis from the final group mentions how some people might view him as a 'lad's lad' but that is not how he views himself. As mentioned, lad culture is a fairly recent addition to sporting literature; from this study, it is clear that there are multiple perceptions of lad culture based on an individual's habitus. It is also clear there are other subcultures within sport that have not been defined as clearly as 'lad culture' but perhaps would be worth further research and development. These subcultures may be specific to sport, age or culture or other factors that are yet to be connected. For example, Gerami (2005) discusses how masculinity has different expectations across different cultures but the dominant form of masculinity is based

on Western expectations which leads into the next section on diversity and culture within sporting fields.

Diversity and the Culture of Sports Clubs and Societies

It is argued that masculine expectations change across fields and cultures (Bridges, 2009, Coles, 2009). This resonates with the theme expressed by participants within this group that more diverse groups foster more welcoming cultures. When talking about diversity in this instance, gender, race and class are referred to. In the previous section, Anthony discussed his university's lack of diversity whereas his Men's team is based in South London meaning it is likely to be considerably more diverse; therefore it is logical that Anthony, someone who is Black and raised outside of the UK, is more likely to feel comfortable there. Similarly, Evan talks about his choice to leave his cricket club due to him not feeling like he aligned with their culture; he describes it as "toxic" and mentions a "bullying culture", whereas at his new club he felt a lot more welcome:

"So mixing with a slightly different group of people. And the culture was much different there. And so sort of moving away from that kind of old environment in this new environment was much more beneficial and much more welcoming, accepting of people's differences and a much more positive environment to be part of."

Although masculinity is not mentioned, the difference between the two clubs, one being more hegemonic and the other being more inclusive, could still be associated with styles of masculinity. Symbolic violence is when the doxa creates an unequal distribution of capital (Everett, 2002; Wiegmann, 2017). Indeed, symbolic violence can be used against individuals within a field or from one field to another. When probed about his experiences of pressure to act in certain ways within sporting fields Evan talks about the pressure to conform and the repercussions of not playing along:

"If you do conform, you may be going against kind of what you... you agree... agree with and what you kind of view it as being true or right."

Then if you don't conform, like I mentioned previously, you then become a beacon of everything that they're against, and then the views on then their views are then projected on to you which is a as a tough place to be in."

This illustrates how Evan felt there would be symbolic violence from the field towards him if he did not conform to the doxa. Evan discusses what factors lead to the diversity and more positive culture of the club he later joined:

"...more urban, sorry, than the previous one. More ethnic minorities ~~and~~ involved there as well. People have more of a working class background in there as well. So there's a massive culture shift there as well, which for me, was very, very refreshing and actually really nice to be part of."

Neither of Evan's cricket clubs were at university level; however diversity still made a big impact on the culture and therefore Evan's enjoyment in participating. Even within the same sports, these fields are both vastly different most likely due to the range of habitus in one group versus another. With a greater variety of habitus there seems to become a less rigid doxa allowing for the inclusion of more individuals and resulting in less symbols violence.

Evan, Billie and Barney all comment on the difference having mixed gendered sports has on fields within sport. Billie says that:

"People are on their best behaviour. I think that men are slightly differently with women and they're I think... they're slightly more sensitive because they kind of think that women will be more sensitive. So they kind of act you know, appropriately to, you know, like when people say, like, 'oh, don't say that, like 'there's ladies around' or whatever."

This shows how when women are included within a field the doxa changes; however the way Billie talks about the change in behaviour implies that it is merely performative and is not because it is 'the right thing to do'. Perhaps people are just altering their behaviour to gain symbolic capital within the group once women are

included. Barney agrees with Billie on how the atmosphere within mixed sports is different:

“...whether it's right or wrong, there is a change in atmosphere how people act when it is mixed gender. If it's a whole, all-girls sport, I'm sure they act differently too than if it's a mixed sport. I don't know. I've not, I can't comment on that. But it would definitely be different. In what ways I don't know but yet there would definitely be a change.”

Evan believes that mixed gendered sports do not lead to a change in behaviour on an individual level but remove the individuals who do not wish to participate with women or those of another gender:

“I think there'd been no question that it'd have to be different because those people who held those views just wouldn't participate in mixed gender sports at all because they think ‘oh, they're nowhere near as good as what I am in the sport’ or ‘it's pointless’”

This implies that Evan believes that those with the most hegemonic views of masculinity would choose not to participate alongside women because they think themselves to be superior, which is a common trait of those Connell (1995) would place under the term of hegemonic masculinity. Barney talks about not just including women within the team but within more senior positions leading towards a greater change in doxa amongst the field:

“Yeah, probably, especially if you have some girls in more senior positions in that squad in those social circles, who could just sort of step, if anyone does end up crossing the line, then they're able to step in as well as the blokes. And you can get both sides of the sort of argument, I guess.”

By manipulating the field to be more diverse, whether that be more women, more ethnic minorities, or others from marginalised groups, the doxa of a field can be changed. Additionally, as Barney said, more change will happen if others are given

more senior roles that are representative of the wider group. Future research may observe how diverse groups foster different cultures of masculinity and femininity based on the inclusion of those of different genders, backgrounds and ethnicities.

Diluted Masculinities

This group is made up of those participants who felt they aligned slightly with society's expectations of masculinity, but not as much as those in the previous group. They began questioning the way masculinity impacted their approach to certain fields and some wanted to promote a positive form of masculinity to other men and boys. Summarising the characteristics of this group, it is argued that these participants all consider themselves somewhat masculine but not 'lad's lads'. This was either due to hesitation in aligning with society's expectations of masculinity, a disconnection from lad culture and possible cultural differences. This group consists of 6 participants; Kaleb, Stephan, Freddie, Elliot, Frank, and Reggie. The main themes of this subsection will be a) the rise in inclusive masculine fields, b) the relationship between masculinity and social class, and c) the different expectations of masculinity between different ethnicities.

Rise in Inclusive Masculine Fields

A key theme within the interviews of these participants is that they feel the cultures around masculinity and sport are becoming more inclusive. Freddie, Reggie and Kaleb all mention improved inclusivity around marginalised groups throughout their interviews. Kaleb who's main sport is American football talks about the sport 'evolving' arguing "I think it's a more accepting environment now for every type of body every type of person." Kaleb later goes into more depth and says the sport is "open for both male and female athletes, and there are a lot of good female athletes in American football in the UK as well." Freddie on the other hand acknowledges that his main sport, football, is not currently as inclusive as it could be however he wishes

it was more inclusive, later in his interview he talks about how the introduction of mixed gendered teams would improve the culture of the sport but not immediately:

“...however, if it changed tomorrow, it would get worse. I think because there is still very much a prejudice against women in football as well as they've done the last few years. I think it's definitely going in the right direction.”

Freddie's comment suggests that in order for a cultural change within football, and perhaps sport more broadly, the doxa has to change slowly over time because there are still a lot of sexist attitudes towards women, especially those within sport. Frank talks about an experience whilst shooting;

“...one of the girls made dangerous move. She had a discharge on her shotgun... ended up shooting a shed... One of the boys started screaming 'ah fucking women. This is absolutely typical of you, this is why you shouldn't join the Army. You shouldn't do stuff like this.' And yeah, I kind of had to turn around and pull him to the side to say... Don't scream and shout. Take the nice peaceful manner rather than looking for a fight.”

The man who Frank described as screaming and shouting clearly had some underlying views about women taking part in shooting and by extension the Army, which supports Freddie's point of there still being many sexist attitudes towards women within sport and wider society. Even though some men coach, work with and play alongside women, it does not mean they are completely free of misogynistic or sexist views. This can also be said about an individual's views on racism and homophobia. Stephan argues that many men's inclusive approach is merely “superficial” and when they are in other fields they still show this hegemonic views:

“Sexism and homophobia, racism. Racism, less so actually, but homophobia, definitely... the inclusivity that they have is very superficial and surface level. If you could like, if you could be a fly on the wall in a locker room and hear what one guy is saying to another guy, or hear just

hear the jokes that people might make in secret or private... don't think you'd be calling them inclusive people.”

This shows how the doxa of different fields is key in how men present themselves and which forms of masculinity they are choosing to promote. Stephan says that they care more about issues that affect themselves than other groups:

“I'd say the mental health aspects. Yes. Because I think that's, that's mainly... I think the reason why that is the aspect which I think men are inclusive the most with is because that is something that affects them personally or affects that kind of demographic that I'm thinking about personally... where guys can be struggling with mental health and often don't want to say anything. So I think that's something that they become more inclusive with.”

This could be linked with fragile masculinity as often when men feel threatened by the improvement of women's rights and place in society it is linked to their own masculine fragility (Rubin, Blackwell & Conley, 2020; Stanaland, Gaither and Gassman-Pines 2023). Perhaps in order for men to become more concerned with issues that Stephan feels their support for is only performative it is important to show these men how the patriarchy does not benefit them as well as it not benefitting women. Unlike Stephan, Reggie feels things are improving more broadly:

“I think sport is moving in the right way, in terms of masculinity and inclusivity and stuff like that. Yeah, there's problems in the past that, like even in college has been really bad stuff with sort of sexism, stuff like that. But it was 10 years ago now. I just can't see that happening anymore. And since I've been at university and the sports teams, there's been no sort of major like scandals...that I can remember to do with the sports teams... hopefully it will stay like that after I've gone.”

It could be argued that although Reggie has not seen or been party to any problematic or 'scandalous' behaviour, to use his language, that problematic behaviour still goes on within the teams he is a part of. He may not see some

behaviour as problematic, or certain people may only show that behaviour to others within the field. However, it could also be argued that the teams he has been a part of are, for the most part, more inclusive and accepting of others than what is currently considered the standard. As more individuals and teams adopt more inclusive approaches positive cultures will be fostered within multiple fields within sport, whether at more elite levels, grass roots level or university level.

The experiences of these men within sporting fields align with inclusive masculinity theory put forward by Anderson (2010) which argues that masculine expectations are moving away from homophobic and misogynistic tendencies. Warin (2009) also argues that a more inclusive approach to sport in general promotes a more inclusive approach to masculinity, which aligns with the experiences above and the comments of the likes of Barney, Mitchell, Anthony and Dylan from the previous groups, who believe that masculinity and sport are heavily linked. However, Billie, Stephan and Freddie do also mention their belief that sport and by extension society still has a long way to go. These beliefs link to one of Freddie's later points, namely that it takes time for the doxa to change. As these smaller fields doxa become more inclusive so will other fields through individuals engaging in multiple fields, through role models promoting a more inclusive form of masculinity and through social media. Larsson, Linnér and Schenker (2018) discuss how class can impact leisure time and access to sport.

Masculinity and Social Class

Another theme within this group of participants is the relationship between social class, sport and masculinity. Reggie, Freddie, Elliot and Frank all mention or imply how social class impacts the culture of their sports. Freddie, whose main sport is football, talks about different ways masculinity is shown based on which social class someone fits into and why he thinks that is:

“So low level classes, you might see more almost like physical fighting in a way so... the low level gangs are actually physically fighting in the streets, stuff like that. When you're talking about more upper classes

you'll probably see a more of like, I'm a better man than you are. I have more, more of like... almost like financial war or like, vocal war. I earn more money than you or I'm more successful than you or anything like that."

Freddie believes that there is a different doxa for different social classes when it comes to exhibiting their masculinity (Bridges, 2009; Coles, 2009). As mentioned, Freddie's main sport is football which is notorious for the hooliganism of its spectators (Dunning, Murphy and Waddington, 1991). Football is considered a working class sport due to the accessibility and the popularity of it within working class communities, this reiterates Freddie's conclusion around the working class masculine doxa. Rugby is considered a higher class sport, rugby union in particular, as is associated with having much more gentlemanly rules and spectators (Sheard, Maguire and Dunning, 2013). Freddie goes on to talk about why he thinks there is a difference between doxa for different social classes:

"The general trend is as the classes go up, the level of intelligence goes up, and people are more smart about how they look after themselves. So you won't find someone who's very intelligent scrapping in the street because they know that that's gonna get them a criminal conviction or something like that. So there will be more clever about how they show their masculine dominance if you say."

When Freddie is discussing intelligence and education this can be associated with the Bourdiesian term *habitus*, which impacts how individuals perceive the doxa and fields around them. Individuals will gravitate towards the fields and doxa that aligns most with their own *habitus*. Therefore if an individual is from a working class background they are more likely to associate with others from a similar background.

Reggie, who attends a prestigious university in the UK (which is known for having a high number of privately educated students), discusses how he thinks privately educated men influence the behaviour of sports teams at university.

“...I didn't go to private school but I hear a lot of stories about how, you know, it's all rugby lads, you know... I think if you go to maybe other universities where it's more, more state schools mix or like a high proportion of state school to private school, I think it'd be a lot different because we grew up in mixed environments, whereas a lot of these private schools... there's not a lot of mix into the culture.”

Similar to other comments of this nature throughout the interviews conducted, Reggie believes that mixed gendered environments lead to more inclusive environments. Additionally, Reggie mentions ‘rugby lads’ as being the main type of sportsman from a private school which reaffirms the previous point of rugby being associated with a higher class level (Sheard, Maguire and Dunning, 2013). Elliot, who talks about his experience rowing at university level, also sees the link between what is considered an upper class sport and privately educated athletes:

“I think when you look at people who takes part in the sport, and mainly from educated backgrounds, and then might go into universities. So you have some of the... some of the top people in the sport who have got a privately educated background.”

Sports such as rowing are sometimes not considered as masculine by those of a lower social class due to it not being a typical team sport or having no contact. Rowing has often been associated with private schools and specific universities, limiting how accessible it is for those who do not have a private or higher level of education. This reiterates how masculinity has different expectations across different social classes and different fields (Bridges, 2009; Coles, 2009). Elliot also participated in clay pigeon shooting, as does Frank who says “shooting is definitely it's a lot more private and harder sport to get into”; he goes on to talk about the costs of licences, before being able to even buy a gun. Frank also talks about the culture progressing slightly:

“Six years ago, you showed up with an over and under guns for shoots, they would ask you to leave. You know, it's embarrassing. Nowadays, as

long as they're not showing up with a semi auto shotgun, they're welcome to stay.”

Despite these progressions, shooting is still one of the sports most associated with being upper class and is considered very inaccessible for many people to participate in (Hillyard and Burrige, 2012). However, Frank does believe that it is very gender inclusive saying that:

“Some days I'd have more girls turn out to go for a shoot some days more boys. It was always a good mixture. It didn't really being different genders, didn't affect people's skills.”

Masculinities and Ethnicities

In a similar vein, Stephan talks about the different expectations and exhibitions of masculinity between black and white men:

“One thing I don't get with this whole masculinity thing but like the one thing that there's a lot of homosexual behaviours like guys grabbing each others bums, having their dicks out and rubbing it in guys faces... And I think that's a very white thing to do. I don't know any black guys who would one, participate in that... I think it might just go back to the fact that maybe white people feel free to do whatever they want because of white privilege... And the fact that they're more free to do what they want with no repercussions, whereas black people less so. But yeah in terms of the ideals of masculinity, I think... there's certain things that one race would do that another race wouldn't.”

Stephan's comments here show how he feels there is a different doxa for black and white men across society, which impacts how their masculinity is exhibited. In an

interview outside of this group, Anthony talks about his culture being a lot more homophobic and how Caribbean men's masculinity is heavily based on that:

"Granted in the Caribbean, men are expected to be extremely homophobic. That's something that stems deeply ingrained in culture, which is something that I had to learn, that's not right. So that's a societal expectation of all men is to be homophobic and to hate every single thing that sounds gay."

This links to Anderson's concept of homophobia and shows that the dominant form of masculinity in these young men's cultures is not as inclusive as they themselves would choose to be. Stephan also talks about slang used when him and his friends say something that could be a homosexual innuendo:

"I'm a hypocrite because I can still make homophobic jokes to my friends. Even just like it means we have this thing called pause which is basically like 'no homo' and even to say 'no homo' is actually homophobic because is it wrong? Why, why do you have to say no homo if there's nothing wrong with being gay?"

It is possible that Black men choose not to engage in these homoerotic behaviours from a place of homophobia. Majors (2017) says that due to institutional racism and lack of opportunities black men are not able to express themselves in certain fields, which links with Stephan's conclusion of white privilege giving his white peers the belief they are free to act this way whereas he feels he is not. However, it would not be uncommon to see the white men who choose to engage in this homoerotic behaviour to also make homophobic jokes or remarks. It must be recognised that both Anthony and Stephan talk about their self-awareness that homophobic behaviour is not acceptable, which indicates a more inclusive style of masculinity; however, as seen above, Stephan does say he finds himself being hypocritical because he knows it is not healthy behaviour but continues to do it. Perhaps this is because of the doxa of the fields within which he regularly finds himself. Future research may wish to examine further the different expectations and evolutions of

masculinity across different races and cultures as society moves towards a new era of social norms.

Nonconforming Masculinities

This final section will cover the remaining participants; Harry, Kallum and Lewis. As mentioned previously, this group is based on those who deem themselves the least masculine based on their answers within the interview the researcher put them at the least masculine end of the spectrum. As mentioned through this chapter, awareness and inclusivity play a large role in which theory of masculinity each participant falls under. Those that show the greatest self-awareness, and awareness and acceptance of others, are most likely to fall into the inclusive masculinity category, whereas those who show the least awareness are more likely to fall into the hegemonic masculinity category. In regards to characteristics of this group, unlike other groupings the three participants in this section all come across as very self-aware and inclusive to others, given that in other sections there has been more of a mixture of awareness and inclusivity.

A key shared theme amongst these three participants is that they are all able to give an exact reason as to why they feel they are not masculine, whereas in other groups participants would be unsure as to whether they were masculine or not. Harry discusses the influence of growing up predominantly in a single parent household; he spent the majority of his time living with his mother and feels the influence of this has resulted in him being less masculine:

“I didn’t know how to, like... really, like, shave your face. That sort of stuff. I remember my mum had to teach me, something my dad wasn’t around and have a father figure to see how the masculine man should be. I kind of saw like, how my mum was. So, for example, like, I’m very, like, I’ve been told I’m very sensitive, like my girlfriend always tells him very sensitive. Stuff like that.”

Masculinity: Mental and Physical

A common theme throughout this study and throughout masculinity is the concept of masculine men being emotionless but aggressive or assertive. Harry believes that his mother being the main influence at home led him to being more sensitive. Similarly, Lewis discusses both the physical and behavioural aspects of masculinity that he feels he does not meet. Physicality has been a common theme throughout many participants' interviews including Mitchell and Lewis. Donaldson (1993) writes about the physical labour associated with being a masculine man and how the bodies and physicality are valued. Welch (1997) also states that physicality can often be key in how a person's masculinity is perceived by themselves and others, stereotypically the taller more muscular men would be viewed as more masculine. Lewis discusses why he thinks he is not particularly masculine:

"Because I'm not particularly muscular. Or I've never been. I can describe it like, I wouldn't describe myself as being masculine... But I feel like I've always been like, very not as, not timid but kind of the opposite of aggressive, non-confrontational, maybe. Yeah, non-confrontational, and yeah, just always, like have been a small and skinny young man really, I'd say."

According to Zaitchik & Mosher (1993) traits of hypermasculinity include violence being perceived as manly and toughness as emotional self control. Kallum mentions the relationship between masculinity and lack of emotion, describing it as toxic:

"I think a masculine man in society is seen as a very... I don't know how to describe it... a laddy... gets on well with other guys. Very big, strong, that sort of demeanour, as I would sort of say quite toxic. I just feel like... um, not really connected with their emotions of a brick wall when talking to. And I would say I'm very in touch with emotions. I'm very happy to talk. I'm a... I love... I love to listen. I don't feel like I aligned with the stereotypical man."

These quotes show the physical and behavioural doxa of masculinity and the impact it has on those who feel they do not meet the expectations. It could be argued that because they look at themselves through this lens of hegemonic masculinity they are enforcing that type of masculinity. However, when Kallum shows awareness of that type of masculinity being 'toxic', he shows understanding that what once was the most common form of masculinity is not necessarily the correct nor healthiest approach. When asked why Kallum did not consider himself a 'lad's lad', he said "Because I was bullied at school and it was bullied by 'lad lads' and it wasn't fun for me, but it made me who I am today. I'm happy with that". He implies that he would rather be how or who he is now than be a hypermasculine male. Additionally, it has been argued that hegemonic masculinity is merely the dominant form of masculinity at any given time or within any given field therefore as the younger generations such as 'Gen z' are moving away from the more hypermasculine, less inclusive form of masculinity it could be argued that inclusive masculinity theory is becoming the more hegemonic form within this field. Perhaps this generation is becoming more inclusive because so many young people have themselves had negative experiences associated with the less healthy forms of masculinity leading to a wider social change.

Inclusive Masculinity

Lewis also shows he aligns more with inclusive masculinity when discussing the negative connotations of the word 'woke'. Wokeness is becoming a more expected aspect of modern day masculinity as misogyny and homophobia are less tolerated amongst Gen Z and Millennials (Sailofski, 2022).

"I think it's like what, for me, is being kind of liberal and accepting, and open to... kind of open to realising that maybe values that you want to hold aren't necessarily true. So actually, in a way I'd say yes, I am. Well, some people's perception of being woke is like having... like, different movements in people's faces." (Lewis)

"Yes, sometimes people see like, a lot of negative connotations around that word." (Researcher)

“Yeah, definitely. I don't think there should be negative connotations around that word. So I'd say yeah, I'd say really, now we've spoken about it. I would describe myself as being woke.” (Lewis)

Prior to this section of the interview he also described himself as inclusive to others and open minded which implies a more inclusive approach to others within society, such as those who would fall into the hegemonic masculinity category.

Harry also appears to come under a more inclusive form of masculinity based on his answers around his approach to inclusivity. He says he's “very inclusive” and “wouldn't be able to do his job” otherwise. Harry coaches children and he said the majority of them are not white, and that he has also lived with multiple black South Africans through his time at University. Harry also discusses the homophobia that is prevalent in the area he grew up; the awareness he shows makes it clear he does not agree with homophobia and therefore implies he takes more inclusive approach to masculinity and the inclusion of others:

“I feel like like Cornwall was very homophobic, like, seriously homophobic. So I didn't know this. This is gonna be off topic, but I didn't have a gay friend until my second year at uni. Not because of like... I just, like avoided... again, because I don't know anyone that I went school with that's gay”

Just because there weren't any people ‘out’ at his school does not mean that there were not any gay people; however it shows that they did not feel comfortable ‘coming out’ in that environment which itself holds the same weight and proves his point that the area was homophobic. It is important to reflect on the fact that some individuals may perceive themselves as being inclusive or may say they act inclusively - however they may feel pressured to say that due to the nature of the interview or how others may perceive them to not be as inclusive as they see themselves (Smith and Sparkes, 2016). Mitchell and Kaleb are examples of this - they both deemed themselves to be quite inclusive but some of their answers appeared to indicate otherwise. Additionally, just because someone considers themselves to be masculine does not mean that they are an example of an

unhealthy form of masculinity or that they are unaware of what it means to be inclusive. Harvey, from the 'Laddish Masculinities' group, is an example of this; whilst he considers himself to be very masculine and very inclusive, he also shows he is inclusive by using his position to help others access his sport.

University Drinking Culture

Another theme common amongst these three participants is their discussion of drinking culture, especially at university. Harry and Lewis both talk about how they had little desire to join in with the drinking culture associated with sports societies at university. Lewis said:

"I don't want to be going into a team where I'm like forced to drink loads and loads of alcohol until I tell them 'no'. I can... I would have been definitely quite nervous."

The connection between masculinity and drinking culture feeds back into the ideals of hegemonic masculinity and creates a doxa of masculinity where if a man cannot 'handle his drink' he is considered less masculine and mocked by others within the field (Jefferies, 2020). Harry discusses how he thinks his age and experience helped him feel less pressured to adhere to this doxa of drinking culture:

"I feel like because I'm travelling before University. I went two years late. I kind of felt like I didn't need to impress anyone because I knew who I was... I wasn't going to risk my career ever doing anything stupid just trying to impress someone."

Having spent some time travelling before going to university affected Harry's habitus, which therefore influenced the way he interacted with the doxa at university. Perhaps Harry or his peers believed he had a higher cultural capital due to his travels and experience which made him less of a 'target' for the peer pressure normally forced upon new students. His age may have also been a factor within the field of his sport at university. Often boys or young men look up to other men older than themselves

for examples of masculinity (De Visser and Smith, 2007). Kallum also discusses the difference between university drinking culture compared to the culture in other scenarios, such as club level and his experience playing in Australia:

“For me, when I was younger, obviously I didn't drink, and then I went to Australia and then there was a bit more drinking. Then at university was heavy.. now living in London.. you'd have, like, two big nights a year. Not really, not really anything massive compared to at University, which would be those nights every week.”

This illustrates how the doxa changes through different fields and how the change in doxa from young men playing at club level to university is sudden and becomes something that surprises them (Jackson and Sundaram, 2020). The following comment from Kallum indicates that the doxa is also linked to the sport, his sport in this case being hockey:

“It is hard to be a part of a team and not drink because it is still the culture that is surrounded by hockey, surrounded by hockey drinking is. But it's just... it is a tough one. Not being able to drink, you sort of alienate yourself. But you do have very inclusive teams... then you can have a very highly trained team that would actually be disappointed if you drink.”

Other sports are also given specific reputations; the main sport mentioned throughout these interviews is rugby. Rugby is often considered a highly masculine sport; however, unlike football, at professional games spectators are considered more well-behaved and less ‘rowdy’ or ‘boisterous’. Multiple academics have mentioned the relationship between lad culture and university rugby teams (Phipps and Young, 2015; Jackson and Sundaram, 2020). Kallum argued:

“...the chants you hear at a football match of ridiculous, whereas on the weekend, I went to a rugby game, and you just you wouldn't say that. Like if you swore someone behind you and be like “There's children here, calm down, let's not do that”. Whereas at a football match, the children are swearing!”

In contrast at University level, even the first teams are considered to be the most 'laddish'. When referring to 'toxicity in sports', Kallum says that "everyone knows rugby is on top at university". Perhaps there is a link between rugby and social class which leads to the reputations of toxic masculinity and lad culture. There are definitely links between social class and different forms of masculinity within these fields (Messner, 1989). As Kallum said in broader society football is considered to be the most popular masculine sport. Whereas when discussing masculinity and sport within universities, a place where more highly educated and commonly more affluent people attend there is a different doxa around sport and masculinity resulting in rugby being at the top of the hierarchy. It is not uncommon for there to be separate doxa amongst different social classes (Light & Kirk, 2000). Additionally, there is often a higher proportion of privately educated rugby players and the north/south divide between rugby union and rugby league can also illustrate the social class divide within the sport itself (Collins, 2012). Phipps and Young (2015) look into rise in neoliberalism and lad culture at universities who argue that many universities hide how problematic these cultures are in order to preserve their image.

The following collection of quotes from Kallum helps summarise his view and what appears to be the experience of both Harry and Lewis from this group. Kallum's comments show how hard it is for young men to balance the, arguably problematic aspects of masculinity with the image they are trying to project to their peers:

"I think university really strips us down to basically who we are or at least physically what the sport represents. If you're a big blokey lad at university and you're playing rugby you're not going to be the best character, sometimes I've met some really lovely rugby guys, but some are glad I've really had more likes because they've just been dicks."

Kallum says "I think a lot of their masculinity depends on how other people view them." Which shows how important the symbolic capital of masculinity and physicality is within the fields of sport especially at university. It could be argued that at university the social circles individuals engage with can be influential on their future which may be linked to the importance of a masculine image. Gaining social

capital through being a valued member of a university team or society may lead to contacts. Acceptance into these fields is based on adhering to the doxa, those which are not naturally predisposed (due to differences of habitus) will find it harder to gain respect. Kallum also talks about the behaviour of the hypermasculine men from university sports societies:

“If you weren't like rougher, the better they are the cockier... as we know, there's exceptions but majority of the time they... they'd be cockier, there'd be more like, abrasive, like get out of my way sort of stuff.”

Again this illustrates the ‘toughness’ associated with the hypermasculine forms of masculinity (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993), which the men from these group do not associate themselves with.

This group has given insight as to why a large group of young people are favouring more inclusive forms of masculinity by explaining the influences from their habitus and how the hegemonic form of masculinity left them feeling as outsiders. This has resulted in these men choosing to take a more inclusive approach to masculinity based on their own experiences.

Conclusion

To conclude this thesis, there will be a summary of the main findings, with an outline and evaluation of the analysis of using masculinity theories and Bourdieusian theory. There will also be an evaluation of the methodological decisions made and a discussion of how this study might guide future research and the implications for sport and wider society.

Summary of Findings

As can be seen in the Results and Discussion chapter, although the participants were split into four groups based on their perception of their own masculinity, as interpreted by the researcher, often participants within multiple groups touched on similar topics. For example, drinking culture was heavily discussed by the 'Laddish Masculinities' group and the 'Nonconforming Masculinities group', but was also discussed within the 'lad culture' section of the 'Navel-Gazing Lads' group. The consensus was that drinking culture was especially prolific within university sport societies. Multiple participants (Will, Kallum and Harvey) felt that the drinking they and their friends or teammates participated in was excessive and they would not and do not drink like that any more. Peer pressure was also identified as a key feature of this theme, with multiple participants discussing how the pressure to drink creates an unwelcoming environment. Drinking culture and lad culture all feed into the theory of hegemonic masculinity (Jefferies, 2020). Additionally, when participants discussed their involvement with drinking and lad culture, they often reflected on how they would only behave like that in certain scenarios, a practice which aligns with the Bourdieusian concept of field and how one changes their behaviour to align with the doxa of that field (Wacquant, 2008). Lad culture and pressure to engage in excessive drinking also correlates with social capital - those that do not engage with the doxa are less likely to be included with the group than those that do, adhering to the doxa generates greater social inclusion and therefore greater social capital (Palmer & Thompson, 2007).

A second predominant theme from the interviews referenced an increase in inclusive approaches to masculinity. A number of participants felt that sport and society is

becoming more inclusive towards marginalised groups, such as women, the LGBTQ+ community, and ethnic minorities. Many participants do not just talk about society being more inclusive but also show that they try to adopt a more inclusive outlook towards all marginalised groups, such as discussions about including others in their sports societies at university. There is evidence of more inclusive attitudes however others may argue that society is becoming more polarised especially in certain cultures. On the other hand, other participants acknowledged that sport and society still has a long way to go before everyone has equal opportunities. The rise in inclusive fields and individuals aligns with Anderson's (2010) theory of inclusive masculinity, which argued that the dominant form of masculinity is one which is less homophobic and misogynistic. To compare to Bourdieusian literature, the development in inclusivity within society aligns with Parmentier's (2016) work which states that masculinity varies across generations and time; many participants compare inclusivity and masculinity to their experiences of it when they were young teenagers and hearing stories of previous years of university. Every participant within this study fell within the bracket of 'Gen Z', the youngest adult generation currently who could therefore be classed as their own field when compared to other generations, and therefore other fields of masculinity. Therefore the findings of this thesis must take this into account when comparing the narrative to broader society. Further research might choose to compare the evolution of masculinity between multiple generations to ascertain whether masculinity and broader attitudes are becoming more inclusive across a larger section of society. It must also be noted that this thesis only interviewed a small sample of young men, and they are thus not representative of their entire generation. As mentioned in the results and discussion, it should be noted that just because someone considers themselves to be masculine, does not mean they are inherently unaware or less inclusive (Smith and Sparkes, 2016). This consideration influenced the ordering of the participants into their four groups and the spectrum (See Appendix 6). Additionally, some participants may have said they are inclusive but do not appear that way in the interviews or to others.

Another common theme was the emphasis of the relationship between physicality and masculinity, which was predominantly discussed in the 'Navel-Gazing Lads' and 'Nonconforming Masculinity' groups but also in the 'Laddish Masculinities' group. Some participants argued that being 'big and strong' was mostly associated with

contact sports such as rugby, whereas, others believed that masculinity is inherently tied to physicality and there is a pressure to be muscular and at the very least, sporty or physically active. Robertson (2003) states that physicality is a key aspect of hegemonic masculinity. This leads to the exclusion of men that do not meet the standard society sets for what an acceptable level of physicality is. Physical and masculine capital were both theorised as extensions of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital. De Visser *et al.*, (2009) states that masculine capital can be produced based on health related activities which aligns with what many of the participants mention. Additionally, Swain (2003) states that physical capital can impact social standing, which again correlates with the participants beliefs.

Another prominent theme which can be linked back to the concept of lad culture is the relationship between masculinity and promiscuity. This can also be associated with physical capital; certain participants mentioned how some sports appear more appealing to women, based on whether they are contact sports or not, and therefore impact a man's masculine capital. Additionally, a woman who is more physically attractive will gain a man more masculine capital if he were to date her. Other participants talked about the discussions within all male groups, mainly within sport, which are based on the objectification and sexualisation of women whether that be based on a woman's appearance or through the discussion of a man's sex life. These discussions are considered an aspect of hegemonic masculinity because the reduction of a woman to a sexual object leads to the oppression of women (Connell, 1995). Participants also explained they would only talk about women this way in certain fields and when other women enter that field the doxa changes and so does their behaviour (Landrine, Bardwell and Dean, 1988). This behaviour also goes back to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity because they are then only being inclusive when performing in front of women and not being inclusive when women are not present. This also shows how individuals' status changes across certain fields (Jenkins, 2002; Shim, 2010). For example a female rugby captain will have high symbolic capital amongst their team and possibly women more generally whereas male rugby players and men more generally may not hold that achievement in the same regard.

The final notable theme is that of masculinity and social class, which will also be linked to masculinities and ethnicities. A significant number of participants mentioned or implied how their experiences in sport have been impacted by social class. Some participants mentioned the comparisons of masculinity between the working class and higher class, whereas others focussed on how their experiences of traditionally upper class sports or scenarios have impacted their perception of private school influence on sports societies at university. Although race and ethnicity are a separate topic from social class, a couple of participants emphasised the same point from a different perspective. They both show how different forms of masculinity are accepted within specific fields. Bridges (2009) and Coles (2009) work aligns with these beliefs on masculinity varying across social class, whereas Majors (2007) explains that white privilege impacts the way black men are able to express their masculinity in socially acceptable ways. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and doxa can also be applied to both of these comparisons, explaining how individuals from similar habitus tend to form their own fields with doxa specific to their group which will therefore differ to those from a habitus of a different class or ethnicity.

Theoretical Reflections

As seen above, the application of multiple theories of masculinity has been key in understanding how the participants of this study interact with their and others' masculinity within sport and by extension society. The discussion of masculinity has predominantly focussed on either Connell's (1995) hegemonic masculinity theory or Anderson's (2010) inclusive masculinity theory. It can be argued that aspects of toxic, tortured and hyper masculinity can all be connected to hegemonic masculinity, due to those forms of masculinity all feeding into the oppression of women and men who do not meet the masculine doxa. One key theoretical consideration that alters how hegemonic masculinity is perceived within this study is that Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that hegemonic masculinity is whichever form of masculinity is dominant at that time and cannot be reduced to a group of traits. Hegemonic masculinity theory was conceptualised in the 1990s therefore there have been many cultural and societal changes since then. Theories of hypermasculinity, tortured masculinity and toxic masculinity all came after hegemonic masculinity and

gave more nuanced explanations and subcultures of masculinity. Currently, and only within this generation, inclusive masculinity seems to be the dominant form of masculinity. To gauge if this is a growing trend across other, older generations more research must be done. Throughout this paper when hegemonic masculinity has been referred to it has been based on what the researcher and the participants consider to be the older less healthy approach to masculinity. This shows how hegemonic masculinity is viewed as a previous dominant form of masculinity and is predominantly based upon the exclusion of marginalised groups within society such as women and the LGBTQ+ community. Additionally, multiple participants made reference to how masculinity is associated with different contemporary expectations, with multiple participants implying they want to 'be better' than previous examples of masculinity.

Bourdieuian theory has also been key in the analysis and discussion of the experiences of masculinity that the participants of this study have put forward. Although the concepts of habitus, doxa and field have been applied more than the four forms of capital, physical capital (Swain, 2003) and masculine capital (De Visser, *et al.*, 2009) have been very useful in explaining what conforming to the doxa of these discussed fields leads to for the participants of this study. Therefore not only Bourdieu's original concepts but also developments of his original concepts, mainly symbolic capital, have been key in discussing the experiences and perceptions of the participants' masculinities. Understanding how each person's experiences can be applied to these ideas has been made possible by Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, doxa, and fields adaptability to everyone regardless of gender, ethnicity, or social class. Particularly when considering masculinity and ethnicity, which, while they may not have been considered to be a significant component of the findings, are just as significant as the debates on social class. Although Bourdieu's theories were originally conceptualised with social class and structure in mind, Bourdieu's theories have been applied within many fields, including gender and masculinity. Given that gender and masculinity create hierarchies within society, the application of Bourdieu's theories translates in a valuable way to the discussion of masculinity within society. This can be seen within literature shown in the literature review chapter, such as Hill (2015), Hovden and von der Lippe (2019), Metcalf (2019), and Thorpe (2010).

Methodological Reflections

To observe the sampling and interview process in hindsight, the use of semi-structured interviews was beneficial in discussing a variety of topics that may not have applied to each participant, especially due to the large number of interviews conducted. The semi-structured nature of the interviews also allowed participants to elaborate on experiences that were most influential throughout their lives and in developing their own masculinities (Dearnly, 2005). The structure of the interview questions was also beneficial in putting participants at ease at the beginning by asking basic questions about their family and background before going into more detailed questions about their experiences of sport and masculinity (Luff, 1999; Smith and Sparkes, 2016). One variance related to this is that some participants already had preexisting relationships with the researcher whereas others did not. This either resulted in participants making assumptions about the basis of the questions (such as Stephan and Mitchell assuming masculinity was only toxic masculinity as opposed to other forms), or it led to participants such as Harvey and Stephan who knew the researcher quite well to talk about their experiences in great detail resulting in some of the longest interviews of the study (Luff, 1999; Smith and Sparkes, 2016). Finally, the data group could have been more diverse; due to the participants being found through the researcher's personal network the majority of participants were educated or being educated to a university level. Many participants were asked their opinions on the difference in drinking culture between university level sport and club level sport; future research may choose to use a more equally distributed group to see how the culture of masculinity and drinking differs between these fields given that this was frequently remarked upon by participants. Another disparity is that those from the UK who participated were predominantly from the South which may have skewed the overall experiences of the participants. However, due to the nature of this study these limitations are acceptable because the aim is not for the data set to be representative of all young men; instead the aim is to gain an understanding of the experiences of some men from this age group, through the 'thick description' advocated by qualitative, interpretivist approaches.

In relation to the data analysis, an interpretivist approach was key in delving into the possible reasoning behind the participants' experiences being the way they were, because taking an interpretivist approach allowed the researcher to question and infer why the participant answered the way they did or why they interpreted an experience a certain way. The narrative analysis was also beneficial in organising the participants into the spectrum and groups of masculinity as well as organising the experiences they shared in their interviews into more concise journeys (Dearnly, 2005). One disadvantage of using the narrative analysis to form the spectrum was that it was very much based on the researcher's own interpretation, therefore had another conducted this study there may have been different participants in different groupings (Gubrium and Holstein, 1998). Using Bourdieusian and Masculinity theory abductively helped give meaning to the nuances of masculinity across different fields. Additionally, concepts such as physical and masculine capital were key in understanding how capital is afforded and can lead to status within each field. The theories of masculinity such as hegemonic and inclusive masculinity were key in understanding the changes in masculine attitudes throughout the lives and societies that the participants have experienced. The use of Bourdieu and Masculinity theories gave clear structure to the analysis however whilst analysing for masculine themes many links to Bourdieusian theory would also become clear. However, the traditional four forms of capital from Bourdieu (e.g. economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) were not used as much as the concepts theorised by those that built on Bourdieu's work (e.g. masculine and physical); therefore masculine and physical capital were found to be very appropriate to the analysis during the abductive application of Bourdieusian theory.

Future Research and Implications

Many topics arose in the results and discussion chapter which may prompt future research to delve deeper into the nuances of modern day masculinity. Although literature, such as Seider (2006), Bridges (2009) and Coles (2009), has previously covered how masculinity varies across cultural fields; future research may choose to observe how different ethnicities, religions and cultures expectations of masculinity

differ and how that impacts inclusion and behaviour within sport at club and university level. Additionally, future research may choose to examine the cultural and ethnic factors that lead individuals to and away from lad culture at university level. This thesis had some participants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds; however, this was not anticipated to be a main focus of the current project. Therefore there may be benefits to further research in this area. It is important to take an intersectional approach to a topic as broad as masculinity; as mentioned masculinity changes across time and cultures therefore what one person or field considers to be masculine may be the opposite in another context or field (Smith and Turner, 2015; Parmentier, 2016). White, western masculinity may appear to be the dominant form of masculinity from the perspective of this study and the majority of studies on masculinity because other cultures may not believe masculinity is worth studying nor may they have the resources to focus on sociological issues due to economic circumstances (Gerami, 2005). However, achieving this was outside of the scope for the scale of a project such as the current work.

Another theme from this thesis which may prompt further research is how social class and private education influences masculinity particularly within sports societies at university and how this promotes lad culture. Other research such as Phipps (2018) and Phipps and Young (2015) has begun in this area however further research may wish to build on this study by examining the broader sociocultural and political factors that lead to the emergence of lad culture within private schools and gendered spaces. Multiple participants in this thesis discussed the implications of social class on masculinity and how the movement of those of a higher social class spreads some of the masculine behaviours associated with a higher social class.

In a similar vein to lad culture and university, the drinking culture associated with masculinity and sport at university level, which has long been considered unhealthy by the medical field (Wechsler, *et al.*, 1994; Holt and Powell, 2017; Yi, *et al.*, 2017), may need to be addressed through a preventative lens. Participants in this study recounted stories of people getting seriously injured and banned, as well as reflecting on their own experiences confirming they would not choose to drink as much as they did during their university years. Perhaps as masculine groups become more inclusive of others, such as people who do not drink on religious

grounds, drinking culture at university will become less excessive on its own. However, future research could also use Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, doxa and field to learn more about who is most likely to drink to excess or engage in lad culture based drinking. Bunn, et al. (2016) touches on the relationship between masculinity and alcohol using Bourdieusian theory; however their paper is more focused on how symbolic attachments associated with masculinity can be used to encourage healthy lifestyles. Therefore it would be beneficial for future research to link Bourdieusian theory, masculinity and drinking culture in more depth.

A similar but more broad topic that future research may wish to cover is the changing nature of masculinity and whether inclusive masculinity is purely a Western concept that is not being adopted in other parts of the world (Gerami, 2005). Some participants in this thesis touched upon different expectations of masculinity in other countries suggesting that not everywhere is as progressive as some of the participants in this thesis. This aligns with the work of Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) which states that hegemonic masculinity cannot be simplified to a group of traits but is fluid across time. As alluded to earlier, the findings in this case are predominantly based on white, western views of masculinity and do not reflect other countries that are becoming less inclusive towards groups such as women and the LGBTQ+ community (Kim and Paradis, 2015). Social media and westernisation are and will push more countries towards a more modern, inclusive form of masculinity (Yumul, 2010; Prianti, 2019). Some of this change stems from corporate social responsibility, as powerful corporations begin to have more money than some countries they also beginning to have more power and influence, therefore boycotts from these companies can push countries to align their laws and customs in favour of previously oppressed groups (Anggusti, 2021; Song and Lan, 2022). However, there are some countries that push against this which result in laws and social norms which oppress women and the LGBTQ+ community (Adamczyk, Kim and Paradis, 2015; Tolkachev and Tolordava, 2020).

In conclusion, this thesis has analysed the experiences of a group of young men from Gen Z using theories of Bourdieu and multiple theories of masculinity. This has demonstrated how these men view masculinity in the modern day and how they feel it influenced their experiences in sport and physical activity as well as other areas

such as school, university and work. Given ongoing social issues such as gender-based violence in male-dominated industries such as sport and corporate settings, this thesis adds to the wider array of academic literature on masculinity in contemporary society. By learning more about modern day masculinity, more clarity is given to how best to tackle the patriarchy in a way that benefits multiple groups such as heterosexual men, homosexual men, and men in general who do not feel they conform with society's expectations of masculinity. Therefore heterosexual cisgender male allies will be key in tackling gender and sexuality inequalities moving into the future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Ethical Approval



Evie Kite
Department of Sport, Health Sciences and Social Work
Oxford Brookes University

05/01/2023

Dear Evie,

Faculty of Health & Life Sciences Ethical Approval

Thank you for your recent ethics application submitted to the Sport, Health Sciences and Social Work Department Research Ethics Office. I am pleased to inform you that your study has been approved.

Reference Number: HLS/2022/VI/105

Study title: How the Expectations of Masculinity Affect Young Men with Experience in Sport and Physical Activity

The approval period for the data collection phase of the study is one year from the date of this letter. If you need the approval to be extended please do contact me nearer the time of expiry.

Should the recruitment, methodology or data storage change from your original plans, or should any study participants experience adverse physical, psychological, social, legal or economic effects from the research, please inform me with full details as soon as possible. Likewise, please refer any other issues or complaints to me at the earliest opportunity.

We wish you well in your research.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Vasiliki Iatridi".

Vasiliki Iatridi

Faculty Research Ethics Officer

Appendix 2 - Information Sheet

Study title

How Expectations of Masculinity Affects Young Men with Current or Previous Experience in Sport and Physical Activity

Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to participate in this research study. Before committing to participating, it is important for you to understand why the research is being undertaken and what it will consist of. Please take your time to carefully read the following information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The aim of this study is to investigate the impact of masculinity on the behaviours exhibited by young men in sport and physical activity settings, and to examine the reasons for common forms of masculine expectations in society. This study will run for approximately a year from October 2022 to October 2023.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate in this study because you fit the criteria of this study which is; a cisgender male (someone assigned male at birth) aged between 18 and 25 who has participated or does participate in sport or physical activity. Between 20-30 participants will be interviewed in total.

Do I have to take part?

It is your decision whether you choose to participate in this study. If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet as well as a privacy notice that explains how your data will be collected and used, and you will be asked to give your consent. You can withdraw at any point during the study without giving a reason.

If you are a student at Oxford Brookes, your decision whether to take part or not take part in the study, or take part and withdraw will have no impact on your marks, assessments, future studies or standing within the sporting community.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you choose to take part you will be interviewed, either face to face at Oxford Brookes Headington Campus or online via Google Meet, for approximately 30-60 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to allow for accurate transcription and data analysis. The questions will ask about your personal background, your background in sport and your experiences of masculine cultures and the pressures society puts on individuals in sport and physical activity environments.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

As mentioned the interviews will take approximately 30-60 minutes but this may differ for each participant. There is a possibility of sensitive issues coming up in the interviews; if you do not wish to answer any particular questions you do not have to.

Brookes Wellbeing Team 01865 484650 wellbeing-recpt@brookes.ac.uk
 Samaritans 116 123 www.samaritans.org
 Oxford Nightline 01865 270 270 <https://oxford.nightline.ac.uk/talk>

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Participants in this study will be aiding this and future research, because the study aims to deconstruct masculinity and provide insight into toxic cultures within sport, such as discriminatory behaviours due to the pressures societal puts on men's masculinity, and supporting work towards the development of inclusive sporting communities. Participants will be offered vouchers in return for their time of a value up to £20.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations).. Data will be collected in secure private spaces either online or in person. All data will be kept on password-protected laptops, in encrypted files and on secure drives such as Google Drive. All data will be published using pseudonyms. The data will only be shared between the student researcher and their supervisory team. Data generated by this study will be retained in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity. For the purposes of this study, the data will be retained until the completion and conferment of the Masters by Research degree; at this point, the data will be deleted.

What should I do if I want to take part?

Participants should email the researcher (Evie Kite) to 19018083@brookes.ac.uk stating they would like to take part through the completion of the attached Consent Form. Participants should opt in to take part by the 31st of May.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All data generated and collected in this study (recordings etc) will be retained in accordance with the Oxford Brookes University policy on Academic Integrity and can be withdrawn, up to the point of analysis. You will be able to access your individual data upon request up until the point of analysis; if you wish to do this then please contact Evie Kite to 19018083@brookes.ac.uk directly..

Participants will only be available to access the overall findings from November 2023 once the study is final and complete.

The data will be used for publication of the final thesis for a Masters by Research and may be used for publication in an academic journal or text.

Who is organising and funding the research?

Evie Kite is self-funding this study for her Masters by Research. This research is being conducted by a Masters by Research student (Evie Kite) of Oxford Brookes University in the Department of Sport, Health Sciences and Social Work within the Faculty of Health and Life Sciences.

Who has reviewed the study?

This research has been reviewed by the Health & Life Sciences Faculty Research Ethics Committee of Oxford Brookes University.

Contact for Further Information

If you have any questions about the study please contact Evie Kite via the email address 19018083@brookes.ac.uk. If you have any concerns around the way this study is being conducted, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Thank you

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Version Number

Version 2 - 14th November 2022

Appendix 3 - Privacy Notice

Privacy notice for research participants

This privacy notice provides information on how Oxford Brookes University collects and uses your personal information when you take part in one of our research projects. Please refer to the research participant information sheet for further details about the study and what information will be collected about you and how it will be used.

Oxford Brookes University (OBU) will usually be the Data Controller of any data that you supply for this research. This means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. The exception to this is joint research projects where you would be informed on the participant information sheet as to the other partner institution or institutions. This means that they will make the decisions on how your data is used and for what reasons. You can contact the University's Information Management Team on 01865 485420 or email info.sec@brookes.ac.uk.

Why do we need your data?

The purpose of this research is to investigate the impact of masculinity on the behaviours exhibited by young men in sport and physical activity settings, and to examine the reasons for common forms of masculine expectations in society. This will be achieved by interviewing young men on their experiences in sport.

OBUs legal basis for collecting this data is:

- You are consenting to providing it to us; and / or,
- Processing is necessary for the performance of a task in the public interest such as research

What type of data will Oxford Brookes University use?

Audio recordings of interviews and transcripts of interviews will be gathered for this study.

Who will OBU share your data with?

Third party processors that host or have access to the data (due to email and online accounts) include Google Services, with whom Oxford Brookes has a security agreement.

Will OBU transfer my data outside of the UK?

No. However, Google Drive may store folders containing study's data outside of the UK.

What rights do I have regarding my data that OBU holds?

- You have the right to be informed about what data will be collected and how this will be used
- You have the right of access to your data
- You have the right to correct data if it is wrong
- You have the right to ask for your data to be deleted

- You have the right to restrict use of the data we hold about you
- You have the right to data portability
- You have the right to object to the university using your data
- You have rights in relation to using your data in automated decision making and profiling.

Where did OBU source my data from?

The data will come from participants completing interviews.

Are there any consequences of not providing the requested data?

There are no consequences of not providing data for this research. It is purely voluntary. Should you want to withdraw from the study at any point, please see the participant information sheet for more information regarding this matter, it may be that some of your data has already been used. If you require more information on this matter please contact the study's researchers.

Will there be any automated decision making using my data?

There will be no use of automated decision making in scope of UK Data Protection and Privacy legislation."

How long will OBU keep your data?

In line with Oxford Brookes policies data generated in the course of research must be kept securely in electronic form for a period of time in accordance with the research funder or University policy.

Who can I contact if I have concerns?

In the event of any questions about the research study, please contact the researchers in the first instance (contact details in the study participant information sheet). If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee at ethics@brookes.ac.uk. For further details about information security contact the Data Protection Officer at: brookesdpo@brookes.ac.uk or the Information Management team on info.sec@brookes.ac.uk

Appendix 4 - Consent Form



CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project: How the Expectations of Masculinity Affect Young Men in Sport and Physical Activity

Name, position and contact details of the student and lead supervisor

Evie Kite

19018083@brookes.ac.uk

Dr Stuart Whigham

swhigham@brookes.ac.uk

		Please initial box	
		Yes	No
1	I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.		
2	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.		
3	I understand that the interview is being audio recorded.		
4	I agree to participate in the interview process.		
5	I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications		
6	I agree to take part in the above study.		

Name of Participant		Date		Signature	
Name of Researcher		Date		Signature	

Appendix 5 - Interview Questions

Please can you confirm that you've read the privacy notice & information sheet?

Please can you confirm that you're happy to be recorded?

Are you aware all data will be anonymised and kept securely?

Are you aware you can withdraw or edit your data from this study at any time even after the interview?

Are you aware that you can choose not to answer any questions or stop the interview at any point if you feel the need?

Please can you tell me your age?

What sort of place did you grow up? (Rural, Semi-rural, Suburban or Urban)

Who lived in your house while growing up?

Do you consider your family sporty/physically active?

In what ways did your family influence your participation in sport?

What type of school did you attend? Private or state

How did your school view sport? What was the culture surrounding sport?

What level of education do you have/are you in?

How old were you when you started playing sports?

What is the highest level of sport you have played/competed at?

Which sport(s) do you participate in/have you participated in?

Do you go to the gym?

Do you think you have a positive relationship with sport and physical activity?

How well do you think you align with society's expectations of what a masculine man is? Would you describe yourself as a 'lad's lad'?

How do you think sport (and/or physical activity) and masculinity go together?

Do you think masculinity benefits sport (and/or physical activity)?

How do you think sport (and/or physical activity) and masculinity are portrayed in the media? Positive or negative?

How would you describe the culture of your sport (and/or physical activity)? Is it inclusive to people of all genders and sexual orientations?

How do you think the culture of your sport (and/or physical activity) has changed in recent years?

Would you describe yourself as woke/inclusive to others/open-minded?

Do you think you act differently around your sports friends?

Have you ever felt pressured to act a certain way or do certain things around your friends/teammates?

Do you find yourself altering your behaviour in certain situations? For example using certain phrases you would normally consider inappropriate.

Do you challenge the behaviour of your friends/teammates if you don't agree with them? How do you approach challenging them? Why don't you challenge them?

What do they do that you don't agree with?

Do you think this would be different if you were in a mixed gender sport?

Are there people you wouldn't act like this in front of? If so, why?

I've asked all my questions, is there anything else you would like to add or discuss that this interview has prompted?

Appendix 6 - Narratives on a Spectrum of Masculinity

These narratives have been codified with key themes from the full analysis and ordered from those who consider themselves to align the most with society's expectations of masculinity from men and whether they perceive themselves to be 'lad's lads' to those who do not consider themselves to meet society's expectations of masculinity or to be 'lad's lads'. Not everyone was able to answer these questions in full due to cultural differences. This list has been ordered based on the researchers' perceptions of the participants' answers. The colour coding of the name corresponds to which group they belong to.

Red = Laddish Masculinities

Orange = Navel Gazing Masculinities

Yellow = Diluted Masculinities

Green = Nonconforming Masculinities

Drinking culture and masculinity

Drinking culture at university

Men only playing with other men leads to more discrimination - mixing with other

genders would improve the culture

Doesnt feel like he aligns with a masculine man

Social class/private schools expectations of masculinity

Private schools being more focussed on sport

Masculinity becoming more progressive/positive

Media and masculinity

Different Generations expectations of masculinity

Peer pressure in sport

Promiscuity & masculinity

Mitchell (23) was born and raised in urban South Africa, living with his mum and step-dad, who he considers very sporty. He attended a private school that valued sport very highly, possibly more than academics according to himself. Mitchell is currently completing his masters degree. He started playing sport when he was 5, his main sports are Rugby and Cricket, he also goes to the gym about 5 times a week and has done since he was 16. Mitchell thinks that he fits society's expectations of masculinity well, is a 'lads lad' and is a good leader. **He also thinks that popularity with women is a big part of masculinity.** Mitchell also thinks that masculinity is very dependent on peoples physicality for example being big and strong. **Mitchell has also experienced a lot of the university drinking culture within his rugby team at university.**

Benji (20) grew up in an urban area living with his mum, dad, twin brother and older brother. He considers his family fairly sporty but himself the most. He attended a state school with no particular emphasis on sport, however his College rugby team was very successful. He mentions the symbolism being part of the rugby team gave him and made him feel. He is currently completing his undergraduate degree. His main sports are rugby and rowing. He rows competitively for his university which is one of the most highly regarded for rowing in the UK. He also goes to the gym twice a day six times a week. He thinks he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity both mentally and physically but only sometimes acts like a 'lads lad'. **Benji said that his rugby coach was very encouraging of the team being good students and healthy people as well as successful sport players.**

Harvey (21), grew up in a rural area, living with his mum, dad and sister. Harvey was the sporty one out of his family although the rest of them still had their interests. His family were very supportive and his dad was his first ever football coach, Harvey started football at 3 years old. **Harvey's education was at an all boys private school with a very heavy influence on sport. The school had a lot of funding specifically for sport and Harvey chose to stay at this school for sixth form so he could continue with his sports.** Harvey is in his third year of his undergraduate degree but also did a

foundation year so his 4th year at university. Harvey's main sport is American football and he's competed at college level in America under the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics. He goes to the gym 4 or 5 times a week and used to go even more. Harvey thinks he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity, both physically and culturally. He also believes that masculinity has progressed a lot recently and is more about being mature and self-less, he understands that at a first glance people may see him as a stereotypical masculine man but he thinks once people know him they see him as his more progressive example.

Will (23) grew up in a semi-rural meets suburban area with his mum and dad. He attended a state school with little emphasis on sport but an inclusive approach. He is currently completing his masters degree. His main sport is hockey which he has competed at the Premier Division level and university level. He would say that he aligns somewhat with society's expectations of masculinity and being a lads lad but not completely and he can sometimes turn it on or off. When he was a senior member of the university hockey team he made an effort to promote socialising that wasn't only based on drinking however looking back he feels he could have done more.

Dylan (20) grew up in a suburban area, living with his mum, dad and brother who were outdoorsy but not sporty. Dylan attended a state school which was very inclusive in terms of sport. He then took vocational qualifications at college. He started playing sport around the age of 5 years old and his most played sport was rugby. He considers himself quite masculine but not a lads lad. Dylan also believes that everyone should be able to participate in anything they choose regardless of race, sexuality or gender.

Billie (25) grew up in an urban meets suburban area with his mum, dad and two sisters, who were all sporty. He attended a state school where he thought it made you popular if you were good at sport. He started playing sport around 5 years old with his main sports being football and tennis. Billie played football at an academy level. He has an undergraduate degree. Billie wouldn't say he's a 'lads lad' but does

align with society's expectations of masculinity. He also think that mixed environments in sport are a lot more welcoming.

Kieron (20) grew up in a semi-rural town with both parents and two siblings. He says his family were sporty/ physically active but only influenced him a bit. He went to a state school that covered the basics in sport but was inclusive to everyone. He started playing sport when he was 4. Keiron is currently completing his undergraduate degree. He's played football to county level and in the national league for American football. He also goes to the gym four or five times a week. Keiron says he aligns with what he thinks society's expectations of masculinity are but that he's not a 'lads lad'.

Anthony (23) grew up in suburban affluent area in the Caribbean living with his mum, dad and brother. His family were all sporty and encouraged him and his brother to participate. Anthony went to a private school however it didn't have the funding for coaches so didn't have a huge emphasis on sports. He started playing sport at 6 or 7 and has competed for his country at an international level. He is currently completing a PhD. He currently plays American football and goes to the gym five or six times a week. Anthony says he aligns decently with society's expectations of masculinity but is more outspoken than others. He does not consider himself a 'lads lad' and says 'if I spend time with my friends, it's usually in a constructive environment that's not involved in drinking.'

Harold (22) grew up in a semi-rural area in a house with his mum, dad and brother who were all very sporty. He went to a state school that had a big emphasis on sport and was inclusive for the most part up to a certain point where the emphasis was then more performance based. He is currently completing his Masters. He started playing rugby around 9 years old, which was one of his main sports. Currently his main sport is kayaking which he does with his University. Harold wouldn't say he's a lads lad but would say that he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity however he would say his form of masculinity is more inclusive.

Barney (23) grew up in a semi-rural area with his mum, dad and brother, all being sporty apart from his mum. Barney attended a state school with a 'fairly positive' outlook on sport with the main focus being on participation and inclusion. Barney is currently completing his Masters degree. His main sports are rowing and rugby and he goes to the gym almost every day. Barney thinks he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity fairly well but doesn't think he's a lads lad. **Barney thinks that rugby culture especially at university isn't very inclusive or welcoming unless you are already accepted within.**

Evan (24) grew up in a semi-rural area, with his mum and dad, who he considers very sporty and who encouraged him to become the same. Evan attended a private school with a big emphasis on sport and is now working towards his PhD. Evan started participating in sport at about 3 years old and the highest level he's competed at is premier league cricket. His main sports currently are football and cricket, with him working as a football coach at a national league team. He thinks he aligns well with society's expectations of masculinity however he doesn't find lad culture comforting or welcoming. **Evan's experiences of sport have led him to feel that masculinity can be detrimental to multiple groups within sport and society, he thinks more diverse clubs and teams foster better cultures.**

Hugh (23) grew up in a semi-rural meets suburban area in a house with his mum, dad and sister, who were all very sporty. He attended a 'rough' state school however it was very good for rugby. Hugh is currently completing his masters. His main sports are football and cricket however he has participated in a wide variety and competed in squash and basketball at an international level. Hugh does not think he conforms to society's expectations of masculinity and being a lads lad to some extent but not completely. **Hugh thinks that sport and physical activity should be for everyone and worries that putting too much emphasis on masculinity can leave people out.**

Sean (23), grew up in semi-rural Canada. Sean grew up in two homes in the same town, one with his mother and step-father and one with his father, step-mother and two step brothers. Sean's dad and cousins were always very sporty, more so than his mother. However, both parents were keen for Sean to be sporty and active. Sean started skating at 3 years old, with Ice Hockey being his main sport for most of his life, he's competed in Ice Hockey at a semi-professional level. Sean attended a state school and says that there aren't many private school options near him in Canada. His school was sporty but didn't have a huge emphasis on Ice Hockey. Sean is currently working towards his Masters. Sean would say that he's inclusive and feels that people should express themselves the way they want to. Finally, Sean thinks that he's considered masculine because of his build but likes to think that he'd be considered a more progressive type of masculinity.

Frank (22) grew up in a rural area, in a house with his mum, dad, brother and sister, who were all very sporty. Frank attended a private senior school which had a big emphasis on sport. Frank has an undergraduate degree and has competed in sport at University level and for the Army. Frank has participated in a wide variety of sports and goes to the gym, his main sports are shooting and rugby. Frank was hesitant to completely agree when asked if he met society's expectations of masculinity and whether he was a lads lad.

Reggie (21) grew up in a semi-rural area, in a house with his dad, brother and sister. He said his dad and sister were both very sporty but not his brother. He played rugby and football from around 7 and did swimming from as young as 5. Reggie attended a state school that was really good for sport, he said they tried to be inclusive but didn't always meet the mark. Reggie is currently completing his undergraduate degree at an anonymous but famously prestigious university. His main sport is rugby which he has played at university and he regularly goes to the gym. He doesn't think he completely aligns with society's expectations of masculinity and he doesn't consider himself a lads lad. However he thinks people who don't know him well would say he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity.

Elliot (22) grew up in a rural area with his two parents. He says his parents were sporty when they were younger but were quite old when they had him. He went to a state school which he thinks was only inclusive to those that were naturally good at sport. He is currently working towards a postgraduate degree. He has competed nationally in pigeon shooting and rowed at university. Elliot said he aligns reasonably well with society's expectations of masculinity but does not consider himself a 'lads lad'. Elliot also talks about the pressure to drink when involved in sports at university, rugby being the main one he mentions.

Kaleb (23) grew up in suburban Israel with his parents, sister and brother. He doesn't consider his family to be physically active. He attended a state school that didn't have a huge emphasis on sport. He is currently working towards his undergraduate degree. He plays american football and has done at a pro international level. He goes to the gym almost every day. Kaleb says that he averagely aligns with society's expectations of masculinity. He also says that masculinity can ruin the atmosphere in team sports.

Stephan (24) grew up in a suburban/urban area living with his mum, sister and brother who he all thinks are fairly sporty. He does however say that his older brother was the main influence because he saw him enjoying sport and wanted to join in. He said his family were supportive of him playing sport unless it clashed with going to church which then took priority. He went to a boys only state school which had an emphasis on rugby even though the local area was very football orientated. He has a Masters degree and played baseball for his university team. His other main sports were rugby and football. Stephan says he has some masculine traits and some feminine traits. He says he's definitely not a 'lads lad' and that that sort of behaviour is very 'english boy' related.

Freddie (22), grew up in a rural area with his family consisting of his mum, dad and two sisters. Freddie considers his family to be very active and sporty, he himself

started playing sport when he was 5 or 6. Freddie's education was at a state school with quite a relaxed approach to sport. He also has completed his undergraduate degree. Freddie's main sport is football which he has competed in the Hellenic League. Freddie feels he aligns with the positive expectations of masculinity and tries to be a positive role model for men in sports, he currently works in schools with children. Freddie also thinks that he's inclusive and open minded, and he wants anyone who wants to play sport to have that opportunity.

Harry (23) grew up in a very rural area across two households, one with his mum and sister and one with his dad and step-mum. He says his dad's side were quite sporty but not his mums. He attended a state school with no large emphasis on sport. He has an undergraduate degree. His main sport is cricket, which he has competed nationally in, although he has played many other sports as well. He also goes to the gym about 4 times a week. Harry thinks he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity visually but definitely not mentally, he thinks growing up in a female led household has had a big impact on this, he's been told he's very sensitive for a man. Harry also says he's definitely not a 'lads lad'.

Kallum (23) grew up in a rural area living with his mum, dad and sister. He says his family were very active and encouraged and supported him in playing sport. He's been doing sport as long as he can remember. Kallum attended a private school with a big emphasis on sport. He also has an undergraduate degree and played hockey at university. Kallum says he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity very poorly, he says he's very in touch with his emotions and loves to talk and listen. He says that there is a much more laddie and alcohol centred culture at university hockey compared to club level.

Lewis (22), grew up in a semi rural area, lived with his two parent (no siblings at home). He grew up with a sporty family who encouraged or expected him to be active. Lewis participated in a lot of sports such as football and tennis but mainly cross country running. He attended a state school with no huge emphasis on sport.

Lewis completed his undergraduate degree and didn't participate in sport at University because of the level and partially because of the expectation to drink. He thinks drinking culture is normalised within sport societies at university but looking back it was pretty bad. Lewis doesn't think of himself as a lad's lad but does think others may see him that way due to his friendship groups. He thinks that because boys and men only play football with other boys they feel more comfortable saying bad things such as sexist remarks. Lewis believes that if you're exposed to different types of people ie different genders, different races you're less likely to discriminate against people who are different from yourself.

Appendix 6 - Narratives and Transcription Analysis

Colour Coding Key

Drinking culture and masculinity

Drinking culture at university

Men only playing with other men leads to more discrimination - mixing with other genders would improve the culture

Doesn't feel like he aligns with a masculine man

Social class/private schools expectations of masculinity

Private schools being more focussed on sport

Masculinity becoming more progressive/positive

Media and masculinity

Different Generations expectations of masculinity

Peer pressure in sport

Promiscuity & masculinity

Examples of Analysed Transcriptions and Narratives

Lewis's most common words, narrative and analysed transcription examples.

Lewis

sport, culture, masculinity, masculine, football, university, describe, people, play, environment, running, perceive, question, thought, friends, school, feel, sorts, football team, confrontational

Lewis (22), grew up in a semi rural area, lived with his two parents (no siblings at home). He grew up with a sporty family who encouraged or expected him to be active. Lewis participated in a lot of sports such as football and tennis but mainly cross country running. He attended a state school with no huge emphasis on sport. The area he grew up in was predominantly white, so he believed football at university would be more diverse in terms of ethnicities and backgrounds. Lewis completed his undergraduate degree and **didn't participate in sport at University because of the level and partially because of the expectation to drink**. He thinks drinking culture is normalised within sport societies at university but looking back it was pretty bad. Lewis doesn't think of himself as a lad's lad but does think others may see him that way due to his friendship groups. He thinks team sports are often more masculine/have higher expectations of masculinity. He thinks of himself as woke & inclusive but thinks some people have perpetuated the negative connotations around the word woke. **He thinks he isn't as confrontational as a stereotypical man** and that he acts differently in football than socially or his other sports, because it's normalised. **He thinks that because boys and men only play football with other boys they feel more comfortable saying bad things such as sexist remarks**. Lewis believes that if you're exposed to different types of people ie different genders, different races you're less likely to discriminate against people who are different from yourself.

E Evie Kite
17:12 28 Jun

Habitus - background and upbringing affecting his behaviour

E Evie Kite
10:25 30 Jun

Doxa - expected behaviour within the field - but chose to reject this and remove himself

E Evie Kite
17:11 28 Jun

Doxa - expected behaviour within the field

Participant: Probably just like, I think it's best to just say it there and then and so you can't say that rather than in kind of leaving it and saying later on, but that's just personally how I'd go about it. Is somebody said something and I disagreed about what they were saying I thought it was kind of like discriminating or whatever... (inaudible) Almost to make it clear to them. It's okay to call it out because everybody's thinking like they just didn't feel comfortable enough, I think calling someone out does everyone else kind of favours.

Researcher: The sorts of behaviours within football if it was like a mixed gendered sport. Do you think you'd get less of the sexist and homophobic remarks?

Participant: There's two, I think there's two reasons one being if people are (inaudible) women is in kind of a sport, a school environment, for example, and not in that sport, sporting environment. And I think he's more likely to develop those kinds of like, maybe sexist views or whatever for more acceptable. So I think there's that in the sense of like, if you're just exposed to different types of people from when you're growing up, you're less likely to develop discriminates from being us and I think also the second factor is if you're surrounded by all sorts of people, you feel less comfortable. If you do hold sexist or homophobic and you're around women or a more diverse group, you would just feel less confident in saying those things to start.

Researcher: Okay, cool. I missed a question earlier. I'm gonna go back. If I did already ask you I'm sorry. What level of education do you have/are you in?

Participant: I think I think it's really different in the sense of like, you know, have you heard I know about like, you've heard like the term dressing room banter or whatever, right? So like boys being boys, I think that's still really does exist. So not saying that I would ever say anything like, like horrible in that environment, but you definitely hear it more. And you you're probably less likely to call it out in that stage just because it's just almost more expected and a bit like, this is what's happening, but I mean, yeah, and obviously when you think about it with football it's not, it's not a mix sport, really. It's not like when boys play football, they play against other boys or men. Yeah, I just think because of the nature of the sport. We uphold like less, less, people who hold horrible views, I think show more relaxed in those environments.

Researcher: When you say horrible views, what sort of like comments?

Participant: Stuff like homophobia or sexism and things like that. I think people might, may not say that kind of thing in public or whatever. For some reason, feel more comfortable saying it in that environment where they're around those who look like them. And are the same age as us.

Researcher: You've sort of already covered my question, but I was gonna see if you would challenge and behaviour of your friends. If you don't agree with them saying things like that?

Participant: I'd say no, but I'd say if it's difficult because the people, I play at work right now I really don't know very well. So I just sort of like joined the random team. But I knew one person in that team. So I don't really feel like I know them well enough to challenge them. So even if I had that person say that in public, I may not challenge them. As far as I don't know if that's necessarily (inaudible) environment doing that or just my relationship with those people. I feel like if I first playing football with someone I'd grown up and someone said something like that, we'd challenge them.

E Evie Kite
21:30 30 Jun

Doxa - if he thinks other people feel uncomfortable with things said he feels comfortable calling them out

E Evie Kite
21:29 30 Jun

How being exposed to different types of people leads to being more inclusive - inclusive masculinity theory

E Evie Kite
21:32 30 Jun

Hegemonic masculinity - boys being boys because they're all together and they feel safe to say 'bad' or 'unpleasant' things

E Evie Kite
21:17 28 Jun

Doxa

E Evie Kite
21:24 30 Jun

Pressure and expectation to back up your fellow players

E Evie Kite
21:16 28 Jun

Doxa & Field - the coming together of his colleagues and sport

Participant: Because I'm not particularly muscular. Or I've never been I can describe it like, I wouldn't describe myself as being masculine. Obviously that is kind of a subjective word. But I feel like I've always been like, very not as, not timid but kind of the opposite of aggressive, non-confrontational, maybe. Yeah, non-confrontational, and yeah, just always, like have been a small and skinny young man really, I'd say.

Researcher: Would you describe yourself as a lad's lad?

Participant: No, absolutely not. But then. Then I think perhaps some other people may perceive me as being but for me, I'm not.

Researcher: Why do you think some people would perceive you as being that?

Participant: Maybe because of the group of friends that I have like, that I surround myself with? Yeah, so I think if people look to me and like a group they might have, especially a group of boys. It may perceive me as being a kind of a lads lad because of the sorts of people that I've tended to, tend to hang around with. So yeah, I think that's why people perceive me as that.

E Evie Kite
14:47 22 Sept

Physical Capital - how masculinity is linked and being 'skinny' decreases masculine capital

E Evie Kite
17:19 28 Jun

Doxa

E Evie Kite
21:09 30 Jun

Expectations of masculinity within (Western) society

E Evie Kite
17:18 28 Jun

Physical capital

E Evie Kite
21:10 30 Jun

being tall & muscular gives you more physical and masculine capital

Mitchell's most common words, narrative and analysed transcription examples.

Mitchell

rugby, masculine, sport, people, cricket, play, south africa, question, girls, england, masculinity, gym, inclusive, women, uni, sporty, big, culture, lads, gay

Mitchell (23) was born and raised in urban South Africa, living with his mum and step-dad, who he considers very sporty. He attended a private school that valued sport very highly, possibly more than academics according to himself. Mitchell is currently completing his masters degree. He started playing sports when he was 5, his main sports are Rugby and Cricket, he also goes to the gym about 5 times a week and has done since he was 16. Mitchell thinks that he fits society's expectations of masculinity well, is a 'lads lad' and is a good leader. He also thinks that popularity with women is a big part of masculinity. Mitchell also thinks that masculinity is very dependent on peoples physicality for example being big and strong. Mitchell has also experienced a lot of the university drinking culture within his rugby team at university.]

Participant: Just the way I talk about woman we talked about a woman because there's not really a good thing, but like, as girls would speak about men when they together. It's not how they would speak to their guy mates. Not saying it's in a bad way, but like we make those people I know who I was, and I wouldn't make it okay.

Researcher: Thank you. And have you ever felt pressured to act a certain way or do certain things around your like sporty friends or teammates?

Participant: That you want to be a lot like jacked that when you were the rugby boys, you don't want to be like, hey guys, don't do that. You want to drink beers and shout and be loud and get naked and all that anymore? Like that's you want to be jacked up. At uni. There's a big difference. Between culture at uni as opposed to clubs and other places. Don't get me wrong. I still think that clubs are getting naked and getting drunk and all of that but I think that extends at uni is just, we hear in our colleges like jocks, the jocks or whatever you want to call it. That might be the difference. I haven't experienced club cricket or rugby yet, as I will do soon in summer, but I think that's the base point of have yet been uni I think is more intense. I have no idea how to conduct the stereotypical American college jocks like that kind of vibe. I think that's you're not gonna get that when you're 32 years old. I hope not. If you like that when you're 32. Yeah.

Participant: I think just the physical nature it'd be more like the hard hits like can you pick them up and drop, can you run through players in cricket, it's more skills based. So I think that just solely based on the physical element of rugby makes a massive difference in terms of masculinity.

Researcher: Do you think the etiquette around cricket like affects the way, the culture of the game?

Participant: I think it affects the culture of the game, but in England cricket is commonly played by really posh lads plus gentleman, and they're not really gonna be getting naked and chopping pints after a game and hitting the gym every day unless they're going through that elite pathway. So if we're talking my level where it's like County, I'd say county level one level below top. So I'd said based on your background, who's played like, especially in England I found that it's not the same breed of people you get a few of them but it's not the same drink. Let's get go to the gym. How many girls can we get? It's more let's just focus on cricket.

Researcher: How do you think that the culture of your sports differs based on like being home in South Africa compared to like being in England?

Participant: I think in South Africa, there's no options but to play sport, very different England are quite hard to adapt. Like England, only your private schools get most exposure to rugby or cricket. Very seldom you Okay? So you're not tapping into the

Participant: I think being, being in a team sport, I'll just use rugby it's because it's just perfect for it. Being in a team sport gets you socialising gets you talking people creating podcasts that people are doing people are doing everything, everything such so I think Sorry, I keep getting sidetracked on your question.

Researcher: So it was more thinking about like the behaviours and the psychological side of masculinity. How do you think that the media portrays that side of the media?

Participant: Yeah, I'd say like I said, if it's something in a magazine of just like guidance, like Men's Health magazine, I don't know if that exists in England, or like, does it go or something like that, just the whole book, you're not gonna get same fat guys aren't masculine, but they're not looked up to in the media as masculine men. So until we get loads of fat guys in a magazine and all of that they're not going to have as much of a pool as a bunch of big rugby players or a bunch of cricket players are being formed in their drills or hockey players in the gym. So I think just the physical side works well in the media. I think that's a good answer.

Researcher: Yeah, that's fine. Thank you. And if you want to talk about like compare rugby and cricket for this question, that would probably work really well. How would you describe the culture of your sport?

Participant: I'd say there's a big drinking culture. If you don't go pro for rugby. And how many girls did you get with tonight? And like, so I guess if you want to call that toxic masculinity, that very rugby culture that's kind of embedded into your system that we're talking about England. I didn't find it as much in South Africa in a very rare

E Evie Kite
14:45 29 Jul

His behaviour changes when he's not around women, is this because of his habitus that he thinks this is acceptable? Is his better behaviour around women merely performative?

E Evie Kite
14:25 24 Jul

He thinks the doxa changes as people get older, he wouldn't expect people of a certain age to act that way but it's acceptable when you're in your early twenties.

E Evie Kite
14:39 24 Jul

Physicality is again linked to masculinity

E Evie Kite
14:24 29 Jul

How the behaviour differs across different fields, at more elite levels in sport people will drink less, engage in less 'laddish' behaviours

E Evie Kite
14:14 24 Jul

More on physical capital leading to masculine capital and by extension a mans social capital

Participant: I think, it's a bit of a dick swinging competition. When it comes to rugby and cricket, maybe less, but it's there's still parts of it, that that's who's bigger than the other person who could match the other person back more. And you're only going to do that with gym. So you're not getting on really small and frail beating up guys who hit the gym every day and practice every day. So yeah, I'd say that's the link. Maybe the physical part of it is very masculine. Varies in sports, but I'd say that with rugby.

Researcher: What would you say about like the psychological side of it?

Participant: I know for a fact I feel like a piece that I could get any girl I want when I play rugby like that sounds horrific, but that's how it is that when you play rugby you think you on top of everyone else, as opposed to a hockey player. Like if you didn't get out of the toxic masculinity side, I'd say I think I could get way more girls than a hockey player could get I think was up to me more when I'm really good at Rugby instead of really good at hockey.

Researcher: Do you think like being popular with women is a big part of being masculine?

Participant: Probably yeah, I'd say from how I grew up if you're gay, you're not really termed masculine at all.

Researcher: But what if you were heterosexual but you like not as many women were attracted to you as if you were heterosexual and a lot of women were attracted to you? Who do you think would be on top in terms of masculinity?

E Evie Kite
14:44 24 Jul

Toxic masculinity and the competition that comes with certain sport cultures.

E Evie Kite
14:43 24 Jul

Hegemonic masculinity not regarding gay men as masculine.

Harvey's most common words, narrative and analysed transcription examples.

sport, big, people, masculinity, play, masculine, gym, year, american football, bbc sport, university, college, category, netball, team, portray, cover, feel, bit, week

Harvey (21), grew up in a rural area, living with his mum, dad and sister. Harvey was the sporty one out of his family although the rest of them still had their interests. His family were very supportive and his dad was his first ever football coach, Harvey started football at 3 years old. Harvey's education was at an all boys private school with a very heavy influence on sport. The school had a lot of funding specifically for sport and Harvey chose to stay at this school for sixth form so he could continue with his sports. Harvey does note that he feels the effects of starting sport so young, he experiences ligament issues in his ankles. Despite this Harvey thinks he has a positive relationship with physical activity and uses it as a coping mechanism. Harvey is in his third year of his undergraduate degree but also did a foundation year so his 4th year at university. Harvey's main sport is American football and he's competed at college level in America under the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics, he's also competed at county level in England for sports such as football, rugby and athletics. He goes to the gym 4 or 5 times a week and used to go even more. Harvey thinks he aligns with society's expectations of masculinity, both physically and culturally, saying that drinking culture is a part of being masculine. However, Harvey also mentions that masculinity was a grey area and can be interpreted in so many ways. He also believes that masculinity has progressed a lot recently and is more about being mature and self-less, he understands that at a first glance people may see him as a stereotypical masculine man but he thinks once people know him they see him as his more progressive example. These beliefs are echoed again when discussing the relationship between sport and masculinity, with Harvey saying you don't have to be masculine to be good at sport even if a lot of people would disagree. Additionally, Harvey says that some aspects of masculinity can benefit sport and some can be detrimental. Harvey says that the drinking culture associated with masculinity and his sport can be a detriment to his sport, that being American football. Harvey's inclusive form of masculinity is shown in how he helped his team encourage girls to join. Harvey also talks about how the drinking culture associated with sport and masculinity becomes dangerous and unhealthy.

They're not there's a whole different like thought process behind some topics. Trying to think like drinking maybe for example. Like the sporty aspect is different to the non-sporty aspects. I think in terms of my non-sporty friends, don't drink like will drink they're probably not any more or any less not quantity, but like we'll it will be sort of random. You know, we'll let's go for a pint or whatever. Or less go out random times. Whereas my sporty friends it's always like, oh, there's a game on let's go and watch the game and have some have some beers. Or, you know, fishies on Wednesday.

Let's go to the Sports Night Out and go out. So like it's the drinking atmosphere for sport people is always based around sport. I feel like and like I, it's a difficult topic to bring up but I think the, the, the whole masc, like toxic masculinity that definitely with my sporty friends, there's a lot more competition and stuff in like, in general, like general conversations and stuff that you're like. There is no competition involved whatsoever. There will be a competition is made out of those conversations. Like it's about like I get sick and tired of talking to my sporty mates sometimes because it's like, you know, who's the best who's the, you know, it's all about sort of like competition all the time. And it's you know, it's very draining. When you're, when you're competing every week anyway against other people to be competing on a normal day with your mates isn't ideal. So that's definitely something that's different.

Participant: Yeah, I'd say at (X University). Yeah, We've this year we tried, we had a massive campaign with BAFA who are the so like, board main board like which Governing Board of the whole sport in the UK, British, British American Football Association. We had a big push with them to get a girl's team this year, and it was going to start as a flag team and then progress on to contact team if, if the girls on the flag team wanted to progress and they they were fully on board and sort of like we're gonna give us a lot of funding and then we got about 25 signups which was really good. We were so excited and we got to the first session, and I think three people turned up and we were like, oh, you know, might be our fault. Social media. We didn't post enough or whatever. So we put on another we put on an extra session and then had the regular slot which we kept posting about but we put in an extra session the day after, and posted everywhere and nobody turned up. And then we had we gave it two more weeks, I think and by the third week we had there was nobody left. The three girls that were coming said, look, we want to stay involved, but you know three people, obviously not enough to do anything. And we were like yeah, no, we completely understand. We've kept them in the loop. They're still in the loop. I think two of them are playing rugby for University rugby. So they're sort of still around and if we relaunch it next year, which we are planning to do, or even, we were going to relaunch linked to varsity. So when we play our varsity match, we get a lot of obviously a lot of attention from the university. And everybody goes to watch varsity. So we kind of try and sort of relaunch the flag that women's flag team there and then see if we can go go from there. But yeah, that that was the big push this year. We've tried in previous years, but we haven't had any like any sort of signups or anything like that this year was the first time where we got a lot of interest, even if it didn't.

E Evie Kite
15:29 29 Jul

Even in social situations there is a different doxa when it comes to competitiveness between his sporty friends and non sporty friends

E Evie Kite
14:41 31 Jul

The university and the sport are trying to be more inclusive towards women in sport, which aligns with inclusive masculinity theory

