



The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport

Edited by

Rory Magrath · Jamie Cleland · Eric Anderson

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Contents

1	Introducing the <i>Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport</i>	1
	Rory Magrath, Jamie Cleland, and Eric Anderson	
	Part I The Foundations of Masculinity and Sport	17
2	Theories of Men and Masculinity, and Their Ability to Account for Positive Change	19
	Brittany Ralph and Steven Roberts	
3	Arousing Cheer: Exhibitionism in Men’s Sports from Weimar to the Present	39
	Erik N. Jensen	
4	‘Land of My Fathers’: Reflections on the Evolution of a Modern Sports Club	57
	Campbell Williams	
5	Sexual Abuse and Masculine Cultures: Reflections on the British Football Scandal of 2016.	73
	Kevin Dixon	
	Part II Sport’s Use in Making and Stratifying Men	95
6	‘It used to be brutal, now it’s an art’: Changing Negotiations of Violence and Masculinity in British Karate	97
	Chloe MacLean	
7	Figurational Sociology and Masculine Embodiment in Male Physical Education	117
	Mark Mierzwinski and Philippa Velija	
8	From Powerhouses to Pixies and Back: Boys, Men, and Troubled Masculinity in Artistic Gymnastics	135
	Aaron W. Gurlly	

9	“I probably shouldn’t say this, should I...but...”: Mischievous Masculinities As a Way for Men to Convey Reflexivity and Make Choices in Sporting Sites	151
	Kitty Nichols	
10	The Positive Impact of Trans Inclusion in Team Sports: Men’s Roller Derby	171
	Dawn Fletcher	
11	I Have No Idea What My Body Is Now Capable of, or Should I Say ‘Not Capable of’: The Ageing Male Body in Sport: To Midlife and Beyond	189
	Murray Drummond	
Part III Sport, Masculinity, and the Media		205
12	“Man’s Game”: Media, Masculinity, and Early Canadian Hockey . .	207
	Taylor McKee and Brittany Reid	
13	Commodification and Heroic Masculinity: Interrogating Race and the NFL Quarterback in Super Bowl Commercials	225
	Lawrence A. Wenner	
14	“I Hate Christian Laettner” and the Persistence of Hegemonic Masculinity and Heteronormativity in Sporting Cultures	241
	Nathan Kalman-Lamb	
15	Dance Diversity on YouTube: How Participatory Culture Encourages Inclusive Masculinities	261
	Craig Owen and Sarah Riley	
16	Making American White Men Great Again: Tom Brady, Donald Trump, and the Allure of White Male Omnipotence in Post-Obama America	283
	Kyle W. Kusz	
Part IV The Relationship Between Masculinity and Sexuality		305
17	The Man on the Horse: Masculinity and Sexuality in British Horseracing	307
	David Letts	
18	Masculinity and Inclusive Rugby in the United Kingdom	323
	Ken Muir, Keith D. Parry, and Eric Anderson	
19	Association Football, Masculinity, and Sexuality: An Evolving Relationship	341
	Jamie Cleland and Rory Magrath	

20	‘They were constantly harassing us and a lot of it was to do with our sexuality’: Masculinities, Heteronormativity and Homophobia in University-Based Sport	359
	Catherine Phipps	
21	From Stoicism to Bromance: Millennial Men’s Friendships	379
	Ryan Scoats and Stefan Robinson	
22	Inclusive Masculinities in American High School Athletics: An Ethnography	393
	Luis Emilio Morales	
Part V	International Sporting Masculinities	413
23	Developing Sport in a Developing Nation: Gendered Challenges and Considerations	417
	Kerry Wardell	
24	Boys in Rhythmic Gymnastics: Gymnasts’, Parents’ and Coaches’ Perspectives from Southern Spain	433
	Joaquín Piedra, Daniel Gallardo, and George Jennings	
25	Exploring the Attitudes Toward Homosexuality of a Semi-Professional Swedish Football Team with an Openly Gay Teammate	449
	Connor Humphries, Lindsey Gaston, Rory Magrath, and Adam J. White	
26	Sport and Masculinities in Sweden: Performance and the Notion of Gender Equality	465
	Håkan Larsson and Jesper Andreasson	
27	Sports, Masculinities and Disabilities in Zimbabwe	483
	Tafadzwa Rugoho	
28	Turkish Oil Wrestling and the Western Gaze: Hegemonic Heteronormativity, Islamic Body Culture, and Folk Wrestling Masculinities	497
	Tom Fabian	
29	The Reproduction of Hegemonic Masculinity in Football Fandom: An Analysis of the Performance of Polish Ultras	517
	Radosław Kossakowski, Dominik Antonowicz, and Honorata Jakubowska	
30	Is Soccer Just for <i>Machos</i>?: The Construction of Masculinity in Contemporary Peruvian “Kick-Lit” Stories and “Kick-Flicks”	537
	Jesús Hidalgo Campos	
	Index	557

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Campbell Williams In an entirely voluntary capacity Campbell Williams is chair of the Board of Directors of the Trojans Club, a large amateur multi-sports club in Hampshire England. This is his second stint as Chair, having realised during his first four-year stint that there were significant issues caused by hyper masculinity in a world which is rapidly demasculinising. 'He is now leading a multi-million-pound investment and improvement programme in new facilities and organisational structure and, for his PhD at the University of Winchester, is researching and measuring the impact of this change on the behaviour of people using the facility'.

List of Figures

Chart 17.1	Sexuality openness survey comparison—Jockey vs Racing	313
Chart 17.2	Barriers to being open about sexuality in the workplace—jockey survey	314
Chart 17.3	Factors which have helped to be open about sexuality in the workplace—jockey survey	314
Fig. 25.1	Attitudes toward gay men	456
Fig. 25.2	Players' experience with a gay teammate	457
Fig. 25.3	Homophobia players have experienced	458

List of Tables

Table 17.1	Sexual orientation distribution of survey respondents	312
Table 17.2	Opinion impact response—racing and jockey surveys	315
Table 17.3	Comfort response—racing and jockey surveys	316
Table 17.4	Cross tabulation on hearing homophobic language—racing and jockey surveys	316
Table 17.5	Cross tabulation for using homophobic language—racing and jockey surveys	317

Chapter 1

Introducing the *Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*



Rory Magrath, Jamie Cleland, and Eric Anderson

Introducing the *Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*

Back in 2017, Palgrave’s Gender Studies Commissioning Editor, Amelia Derkatsch, approached us with a view to editing this *Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*. When presented with this, we grasped at the opportunity to produce a unique resource. As we discuss in greater detail later in this chapter, a substantial body of academic work investigating the relationship between sport, gender, and sexuality already exists. Seminal work, such as the *Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality* (Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014), the *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* (Kimmel, Hearn, & Connell, 2005), and the *Men and Masculinities* journal (established in 1998), illustrates just how prominent the study of contemporary masculinities has become. In the midst of domineering socio-political movements—#MeToo and #EverydaySexism, for example—the emergence of a so-called ‘toxic’ masculinity also demonstrates the cultural significance of studies of masculinity (Anderson & Magrath, 2019).

Despite the effect of this highly influential work, there have been major theoretical, conceptual, and paradigmatic shifts in masculinity studies in recent years (Borkowska, 2018), meaning that much of this work must now be described as outdated. Indeed, the field of masculinity studies tends to change fast. Accordingly, the result of this Handbook is, we hope, an accurate reflection of many of these

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changes, providing a unique, informative resource which can be used by academics across various disciplines, students, and a wide range of sports practitioners.

The Handbook is, deliberately, wide-ranging across different sports (from soccer to roller derby) and different local and global contexts (from Sweden to Zimbabwe) and, perhaps most importantly, tackles how masculinity intersects with a range of other key issues, including race, ethnicity, religion, disability, gender, sexuality, and social class—as well as cutting across numerous disciplines, including sociology, psychology, media, literature, policy, and deviance. Finally, the Handbook also incorporates personal, ideological, and political narratives and is also inclusive of varied conceptual, methodological, and theoretical approaches.

To accomplish this task, we include chapters from a range of established scholars, whose work has already informed masculinity studies, as well as numerous emerging scholars seeking to contribute further to this field. Moreover, while the Handbook is primarily made up of Western-centric scholars and foci, we also dedicate an entire part to countries from across the world. Each of the 30 chapters is original, written specifically for inclusion in this Handbook. Thus, we believe that the outcome is a Handbook which offers an eclectic and exciting range of contributions related to further understanding the evolving relationship between masculinity and sport.

Studying Masculinity and Sport in the Twentieth Century

The systematic study of masculinity can be traced back to the early twentieth century; a time characterized by heightened cultural concerns around the apparent feminization of the US school system (O’Shea, 1909; see also Tyack & Hansot, 1988). Despite this, however, it took another 50 years for the rapid growth of social scientific inquiry into masculinity. When this research emerged, it focused almost entirely on what was missing from men’s lives (compared to women’s lives) or the social problems associated with masculinity (Pleck, 1975). For example, in *The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role*, David and Brannon (1976) outlined four central tenets of masculinity: “no sissy stuff; (men must be) a big wheel; (men must be) as sturdy as an oak; and give ‘em hell’.” Thus, in order to convey an aura of masculinity, boys and men were required to show no fear or weakness—and hide any trace of femininity. It was later established that the biggest driving force in policing masculinity in the West was that of homophobia (Morin & Garfinkle, 1978).

The broadening of the field of sports sociology in the 1980s and, in particular, the 1990s saw an evolution of critical studies of men and masculinities; most notably from feminist concerns related to the role men played in the reproduction of gender inequality (e.g. Messner & Sabo, 1990; Pronger, 1990). Raewyn Connell¹ was the most influential scholar of this time; in her book, *Gender and Power* (1987), she

¹Having undergone gender transition, Connell now goes by the name Raewyn Connell.

suggested that there were multiple types of masculinities, each existing in a social web—or hierarchy—where one maintained a hegemonic dominant effect over all the others. This was further systemized in her 1995 book, *Masculinities*. As Roberts shows in his chapter on theorizing masculinities (see Chap. 3), it was this social process of hegemonic masculinity that necessitated men's emotional stoicism (Williams, 1985) and willingness to accept and inflict injury on other men (Nixon, 1993).

Exploring the process of hegemonic masculinity, Connell famously defined it as, “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy” (p. 77). While the empirical data to support the process of patriarchy has been heavily critiqued (e.g. Moller, 2007), the concept of hegemonic masculinity was used by numerous scholars to argue that boys and men construct their ideologies and sculpt their bodies to align with hegemonic perspectives. Indeed, research in the 1990s documented the hierarchical construction of masculinities in various institutional settings. This was evident, for example, in numerous studies in British school settings, which highlighted high levels of homophobia (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Mac an Ghail, 1994; Nayak & Kehily, 1996; Plummer, 1999; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). Here, masculinity was policed largely by the utility of homophobic language (see Rivers, 2011), but also by heterosexist curricula (Atkinson & DePalma, 2008) and symbolically through the enactment of Section 28 of the Local Government Act (Nixon & Givens, 2007), which prohibited saying anything positive about homosexuality in British schools.

But while education was proven a major institution where the strict policing of masculinity was evident, we believe that it is sport—perhaps the most dominant of Western culture's major institutions—where this policing was most prominent (Anderson & White, 2018). Of course, sport has traditionally and historically served as a ‘male preserve’ (Dunning, 1986, p. 79). The motivation behind the establishment and emergence of many dominant sports toward the end of the nineteenth century lay primarily in the reaffirmation of an idealized form of masculinity; one distanced from femininity and homosexuality. Much like other dominant cultural institutions, this was accomplished through multiple mechanisms, including socializing boys into physical violence, sexism, aggression, excessive competitiveness, a willingness to sacrifice, obedience to authority, compulsory heterosexuality, and—essential to the study of masculinity—men's homophobia (Kimmel, 1994).

Evidencing this perhaps most succinctly, the resurgence of the Olympic Games in 1896 was “conceived as a tool to promote and spread European aristocratic and masculine values” (Carpentier & Lefèvre, 2006, p. 1113)—a far more sinister reality than the oft-purported ‘international friendship’ myth. Almost a century later, the value of competitive team sports was again bolstered, largely because, during this time, male homosexuality was associated with softness and femininity—as we discuss later in this chapter. Thus, sport once again became the primary mechanism through which boys and men were able to “align their gendered behaviors with idealized and narrow definitions of masculinity” (McCormack & Anderson, 2014a, p. 114)—thus attempting to avoid any suspicion of ‘deviant’ sexualities (McCreary, 1994). This avoidance was conceptualized by Anderson (2009) as *homophobia*, the

fear of being socially perceived as gay. Anderson argued that, in order for a culture of homophobia to exist, three social factors must coincide with one another: (1) mass cultural awareness of homosexuality; (2) a cultural zeitgeist of disapproval toward homosexuality; and (3) disapproval of men's femininity, as it becomes intimately associated with homosexuality.

Throughout the 1980s, social attitudes toward homosexuality declined. In the 1970s, when social attitude surveys in the UK and US first began asking questions pertaining to homosexuality, hostility was high, but slowly improving. But once the AIDS crisis took its hold in the 1980s, killing scores of gay men, cultural attitudes began to wane. By examining all available measures of social attitudes, including data from the British Social Attitude Survey (BSAS), General Social Survey (GSS), Gallup, and Pew, we determine that 1987–1988 is, statistically, the apex of homophobic attitudes in Anglo-American cultures (see Clements & Field, 2014; Keleher & Smith, 2012; Loftus, 2001; Twenge, Sherman, & Wells, 2016); approximately three-quarters of the general population believed homosexuality to be 'always wrong' or 'mostly wrong.'

Anderson (2009) theorized that men whom feared being socially perceived as gay aligned their behaviors with anything deemed the 'opposite,' thus promoting a binary of gender *and* sexuality. Indeed, boys and men were shown to have restrictive emotional relationships with each other, largely because disclosure of personal information was perceived to be a feminine trait (Curry, 1991; Parker, 1996). Similarly, same-sex physical touch was almost completely off-limits (Floyd, 2000). And perhaps most significantly, these damaging expressions of masculinity meant that a significant body of research around this time documents high levels of homophobia toward gay male and lesbian athletes (Clarke, 1998; Curry, 1991; Griffin, 1998; Hekma, 1998; Pronger, 1990; Woog, 1998). In elite sport, openly gay male professional athletes—such as Dave Kopay and Justin Fashanu—were taunted, shunned, and, ultimately, rejected (Gaston, Magrath, & Anderson, 2018; Stott, 2019).

Studying Masculinity and Sport in the Twenty-First Century

As we demonstrate above, the relationship between masculinity and sport in the previous century was one characterized by orthodox masculinity. Given the marked changes of masculinity over the past 30 years, Hearn et al. (2012) frame this as the "third phase" of significant masculinities research; one characterized by "diversity and critique, which includes work by a new generation of scholars not embedded in the frameworks of the 1980s" (p. 37). Indeed, research in the twenty-first century has shown that homophobia has transitioned from a necessary part of youth masculinities (especially in sport), to a stigmatized social attitude (McCormack, 2012; Magrath, 2017a). This is, in part, due to a plethora of social and legal changes which have occurred for sexual minorities over the past two decades (see Weeks, 2007), but it is also related to the fact that young people are far less concerned about whether others perceive them as heterosexual (Anderson, Adams, & Rivers, 2012).

Although not a gender utopia, a significant body of research shows that young men are now able to express themselves through a diverse spectrum of behaviors and emotions that are, traditionally, socially coded as feminine. While the expression of masculinity in the previous century was inflexible and rigid, this century has seen an expansion of gendered behaviors once branded as gay. Specifically, this includes the ability for young heterosexual men to kiss and cuddle with one another (Anderson, 2014; Anderson et al. 2012; Anderson & McCormack, 2015); enjoy emotional intimacy, or bromances, with one another (Morales, 2018; Robinson, Anderson, & White, 2018; Robinson, White, & Anderson, 2017); an expansion of gender-acceptable fashions, such as tight trousers and pink clothes (Hall, 2014); a removal of homophobic intent from homosexually themed language (Magrath, 2018; McCormack, 2011; McCormack, Wignall, & Morris, 2016); a reduction of the ‘one-time rule of homosexuality,’ permitting same-sex sexual experiences without evoking homophobia (Scoats & Anderson, 2018; Scoats, Joseph, & Anderson, 2018); and an expansion of men’s notions of heterosexuality (McCormack, 2012; Scoats, 2017).

This work has typically been situated within Eric Anderson’s (2009) theoretical lens—inclusive masculinities. This has been the most prolific theory in framing improved cultural attitudes toward homosexuality, but also in the consequential expression of gender, too. Having initially observed the emergence of a more inclusive form of masculinity in his cheerleading research (Anderson, 2005), Anderson systemized Inclusive Masculinity Theory in his seminal text, *Inclusive Masculinity: The Changing Nature of Masculinities* (2009). It was then further developed in conjunction with Mark McCormack (see McCormack & Anderson, 2014a, 2014b), and, in response to critiques, again two years later (see Anderson & McCormack, 2018).

As Steve Roberts outlines in Chap. 3, Inclusive Masculinity Theory is grounded in empiricism. Moving away from Connell’s (1995) hierarchical explanation of multiple masculinities, Inclusive Masculinity Theory argues that male youth are becoming increasingly inclusive of what used to be so taboo—homosexuality. It also argues that this decline has provided the cultural conditions in which heterosexual men can relinquish the burden of policing their gendered behaviors. Put simply, homophobia has declined, and younger generations of men (and indeed, younger people in general) are less concerned of being thought of as gay.

Perhaps most interestingly, this has been especially evident in research on men’s competitive team sport. Anderson’s (2002) pioneering research on openly gay athletes in the US revealed a generally positive environment, and what he described as the “increased acceptance of subjugated masculinities, such as gay identities” (p. 873). Since this initial research, multiple research projects adopting primarily qualitative, but also quantitative methodologies (see Bush, Anderson, & Carr, 2012; Southall, Nagel, Anderson, Polite, & Southall, 2009; Zipp, 2011), have documented this inclusivity in a variety of other sports, both team and individual, across the UK and the US.

It is, perhaps, in soccer where this change is most profound, with almost a dozen empirical projects indicating near-unanimous acceptance of openly gay teammates—irrespective of whether there were openly gay players on the team (e.g.

Adams, 2011; Adams & Kavanagh, 2018; Adams & Anderson, 2012; Magrath, 2017a, 2017b; Magrath, Anderson, & Roberts, 2015; Roberts, Anderson, & Magrath, 2017). Comparable findings have also been in other dominant sports, such as rugby (e.g. Anderson & McGuire, 2010; McCormack & Anderson, 2010), as well as less-mainstream sports, such as equine (e.g. Dashper, 2012). This has also extended to heterosexual men's inclusion in gay sports leagues (e.g. Jarvis, 2015), and increase in acceptance of gay sports teams in general (e.g. Willis, 2015). Irrespective of the sport, though, the data reveals a consistent pattern; a complete renegotiation of the old masculine script so evident in research on masculinity and sport in the twentieth century.

Inevitably, there have been critiques leveled at this body of work. Those who have been especially vocal in their critique have pointed out that these findings are primarily restricted to young, white, middle-class men. Given that the vast majority of athletes are young, this does not, to us, seem to be a particularly harsh critique. The overall whiteness of the field of inclusive masculinity research is a problem. It is exacerbated by the fact that most scholars adopting the inclusive masculinity framework live in England, which, according to the most recent Office for National Statistics (ONS) data, is 86% White-British. While critiques centered on race and class may initially appear to be accurate, more recent findings beyond these demographics have shown comparable levels of inclusivity. Blanchard, McCormack, and Peterson (2017), for example, show that young, working-class boys in a sixth-form college in North East England espouse positive attitudes toward homosexuality, as well as engaging in physical tactility and emotional intimacy with one another. Magrath's (2017b) research with elite black footballers also shows high levels of inclusivity. Other research has also examined the class dynamics in this process (see Magrath, 2017a; Roberts, 2013, 2018a, 2018b).

In addition to the impact of class, this social trend of declining homophobia, as well as broader patterns of inclusivity, is also evident among older patterns of men (Dashper, 2012; Keleher & Smith, 2012; Magrath & Scoats, 2019; Twenge et al., 2016). Other research has indicated that there is both a generational and a cohort effect, simultaneously. For example, Cashmore and Cleland's (2011, 2012) research on sports fandom illustrates a significant decline in homophobia, with 93% of 3500 fans accepting of the presence of gay footballers in professional football (see also Magrath, 2019). Football fans have also shown this on football fan forums in England (Cleland, 2015; Cleland, Magrath, & Kian, 2018), though Kian, Clavio, Vincent, and Shaw (2011) indicate that this is not the case in US sport.

But, despite evidence of attitudinal change across age cohorts, there remains an absence of contemporary research that examines the performance and construction of masculinity among men whose adolescence occurred in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s—or those who are in their 40s and older. Only Anderson and Fidler's (2018) research, with men over the age of 65, provides any insight as they show that these men are resistant to broader social trends, with conservative attitudes toward homosexuality and physical and emotional intimacy. However, more substantial research into these age cohorts remains lacking, and is thus required to develop the field of study further.

Finally, as the above sections have evidenced, research on changing patterns of masculinity is predominantly restricted to studies in the UK, the US, and, to a lesser degree, Australia (c.f. Drummond, Filiault, Anderson, & Jeffries, 2015). While social attitude survey data continues to show that attitudes across the West continue to soften (Pew, 2014), and numerous legal changes—such as the introduction of same-sex marriage into almost 30 countries across the world over the past two decades—we still know little of the construction of masculinities (and the relationship with sport) in these countries. Some recent research, however, has sought to address this gap in knowledge.

Evidencing this, Hasan, Aggleton, and Persson (2018) show that work, religion, and sexuality are hugely influential in complicating the construction of masculinities among Bangladeshi men. Elsewhere, Philip (2018) shows that young Indian men express new practices of romantic and sexual expression, fashion, and consumerism, but largely try to hide these practices in light of how they are negatively viewed by older gendered expectations and responsibilities on young men. And in China, Hu's (2018) analysis of Chinese movie posters shows that Chinese men are becoming increasingly represented in more diverse ways, moving away from more traditional images such as manual workers or soldiers. Other research has also examined the relationship between masculinity and sport in Islamic countries (Hamdi, Lachheb, & Anderson, 2016, 2018).

Thus, this 'third phase' of masculinities research—dubbed by Borkowska (2018) as "Andersonian" given Eric Anderson's dominance in facilitating a significant paradigm shift (e.g. Anderson & McCormack, 2018)—has seen significant evolution. It has, for instance, added breadth and depth to the sometimes subtle, but oftentimes explicit, changes in masculinity across the Western world, and, in some cases, further afield. The Andersonian phase has, for example, moved away from the "hierarchical order of social relations where men attempt to distance themselves from femininity or position themselves within the orthodox ideologies of manhood" (Borkowska, 2018, p. 3). To ignore or overlook the shifts which have occurred during this time is both short-sighted and dangerous.

But while we must acknowledge and accept the positive change which has occurred during this time, we must also remain cautious; there remain areas of which we know little, such as how masculinity might intersect with disability; there are also areas which require further exploration in order to achieve data saturation, such as the construction of masculinity among older generations of men, or how other cultural, economic, and political factors influence matters. The *Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport* is a small step toward achieving this goal.

Using the *Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*

As we acknowledged in the opening section to this chapter, the *Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport* contains a range of chapters adopting a range of theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches. We draw upon work from

established scholars, whose work has already shaped the field of masculinity and sport, as well as numerous emerging scholars, whose work seeks to make its mark on the field. In order to establish some form of logical order to these chapters, the Handbook is divided into five themed parts—each with a short introduction. Because the field of research covered in this Handbook is so big, there are, inevitably, overlaps between different parts and chapters. Thus, while it is near-impossible for us to cover the topic comprehensively, this Handbook provides at least some overview of both dominant and peripheral thinking shaping this area at the time of writing. It also provides the basis for the complexities and possibilities for future research in this area.

We must concede here that the Handbook is Western-centric. While we dedicate a part to the international sporting masculinity—covering countries including Poland, Peru, Turkey, Zimbabwe, and Sweden (and broader Scandinavia)—we also recognize that this is relatively limited in explaining the complex relationship between masculinity and sport across the world. But it does, at least, provide some context of the ways in which the Western model or organized sport is practiced in various countries throughout the world, as well as how this may intersect with broader issues such as religion and/or gender.

In constructing this Handbook, we have also tried to be as inclusive of as many sports as possible. Naturally, it is difficult to move away from the world's most dominant team sports—football (soccer), American football, and rugby—but we also have evidence of how masculinity influences sports such as roller derby, wrestling, ice hockey, gymnastics, dance, rowing, horse racing, and karate. It must, therefore, be recognized that while popular team sports largely shape our understandings of sport and masculinity, these are complex and varied in such peripheral sports.

The relationship between sport, gender, and sexuality has been well-documented since its emergence as a field around four decades ago. Of course, this Handbook focuses one specific field—masculinity and sport. We are thus confident that this Handbook offers a strong, inclusive, contemporary, and interdisciplinary contribution. We are hopeful that it will be of particular use to scholars already vested in the field—whatever their status—as well as undergraduate or graduate students engaging with this field for the first time. We thus anticipate that, irrespective of one's route into the field or where they are at with their journey, this Handbook will stand as a valuable learning, teaching, and research resource.

About the Editors

The editors of the Handbook are three disparate and devoted researchers whose combined expertise is both extensive and complementary. Each of us traveled a different route into the study of masculinity and sport. Rory Magrath is a British academic working at a British institution, Jamie Cleland is a British academic working at an Australian institution, and Eric Anderson is an American academic based at a

British institution. We broadly represent three different age cohorts (at the time of writing 29, 43, and 51, respectively).

Rory Magrath

Rory came to study sport, gender, and sexuality not because he was directly affected by homophobia—he is heterosexual—but because he is an avid British football fan who was deeply affected by witnessing a now-infamous incident in the world of British sport and homophobia. The incident centered on the heterosexual Premier League footballer, Graeme Le Saux, an athlete who, because of his perceived intellectualism, was ridiculed for failing to align with that of traditional football culture. This culminated in an impassioned exchange with Liverpool striker Robbie Fowler in February 1999, who, during a match in front of 35,000 people at Stamford Bridge, bent over in front of him—provocatively insinuating anal sex. As a nine-year-old, Rory was in the stadium that day and, although too young to fully comprehend what had happened, he still remembers the exchange between the two players; the discomfort of the nearby assistant referee, the tasteless response from the referee, and the angry response of the Chelsea supporters sat nearby.

Just over a decade later, this moment would continue to weigh heavily on his conscience, eventually leading him to the academic study of sport, gender, and sexuality. Rory remained an avid football fan, but a football fan who wanted to make a difference in the social acceptability of sexual variance in sport. Thus, in 2010, when he was studying for a master's degree at Loughborough University, he became aware that, although football had long been viewed as a masculine domain (Cleland, 2015), very little empirical research at that time had been conducted on the extent of homophobia in the British game. Instead, football was simply assumed as representing an exclusively homophobic environment, but with little evidence to support this way of thinking.

The following year, he embarked on a PhD (supervised by Eric Anderson) to test this homophobia hypothesis (see Magrath & Anderson, 2017) among young professional footballers. Here, he found that almost all the athletes he interviewed as part of his research espoused positive attitudes toward homosexuality, gay rights, and the hypothetical notion of playing with an openly gay teammate (see Magrath, 2017a, 2017b; Magrath et al., 2015). Moreover, he also found that these men expressed their masculinity in a vastly different way than older research from this level of play (e.g. Parker, 1996); these men engaged in emotional intimacy, physical tactility, and even inclusive forms of football 'banter' (Roberts et al., 2017).

Since then, he has gone on to investigate the construction and expression of masculinities among university graduates (Magrath & Scoats, 2019), football fans (Magrath, 2018), college students, and staff (White, Magrath, & Thomas, 2018), as well as how this has been influenced by the media (Gaston et al., 2018; Magrath, 2019). Further, he has also conducted research on bisexuality (Magrath, Cleland, & Anderson, 2017), and the influence of sports policy (Magrath & Stott, 2018). He continues to conduct empirical research into the relationship between sport, gender,

and sexuality—with a specific focus on masculinity—and is dedicated to making sport a more inclusive space.

Jamie Cleland

Jamie initially came to the area of sport, gender, and sexuality in February 2010 when the English Football Association dropped a national campaign to tackle homophobia in football as it was claimed that the game was not yet ready for one to be implemented. The main assumption was that fans remained highly homophobic, yet no evidence was provided to support such a claim. Hence, in collaboration with Ellis Cashmore, they devised an online survey and captured the views of 3500 fans and players from 35 countries across the world on the presence of a gay player. The main finding being that 93% of fans and players who participated in the research outlined their support for any player who came out as gay (Cashmore & Cleland, 2011, 2012, 2014).

Since then, he has analyzed the online response by fans engaging in internet message boards toward the presence of gay footballers (Cleland, 2015; Cleland et al., 2018) as well as analyzing the media's coverage of gay Swedish footballer, Anton Hysén (Cleland, 2014), gay British football referee, Ryan Atkin (Cleland, 2018), and the bisexual British diver, Tom Daley (Magrath et al., 2017). His profile in this field of research also led to him being called as an expert witness to present evidence to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee as part of their inquiry into homophobia in sport in May 2016.

Eric Anderson

Eric came out of the closet as America's first openly gay high school coach in 1993 (Anderson, 2000). After he and his runners experienced a great deal of social hostility and physical violence, he embarked upon a PhD studying the intersection of sport, masculinities, and sexualities. He worked with renowned gender scholar, Francesca Cancian, and sport and masculinity scholar, Michael Messner. In 2002, he published the first-ever examination of the experiences of openly gay men in high school and collegiate sports (Anderson, 2002) which he built upon with the first empirical examination of closeted gay men in sport for his 2005 book, *In the Game: Gay Athletes and the Cult of Masculinity* (Anderson, 2005).

Anderson's research showed that neither team sport nor individual sport athletes suffered the same type of overt hostility that they had the decade earlier. He found a great deal of intellectual acceptance of homosexuality, even if a *don't ask, don't tell* culture persisted. He recognized that if gay men were having better experiences in sport it must also mean that heterosexual men were changing their gendered dispositions. If, as Kimmel (1994) suggested, masculinity was all about homophobia, the decline in homophobia that large-scale studies showed and his own research on athletes found, meant that straight men's masculinity must also be changing.

This influenced Anderson to study the experiences of straight men in sport. Here, Anderson showed that the overt acceptance of gay men leads to highly positive changes in the gendered behaviors of straight men. It is in this very large body of research (Anderson, 2011a, 2012, 2013; Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014; Drummond et al., 2015; Peterson & Anderson, 2012; Southall et al., 2009) that Anderson highlighted the ways in which young straight men related to each other romantically (Robinson et al., 2018), semi-sexually (Anderson, Ripley, & McCormack, 2019), and how it reduced prejudiced against sexual identities (Anderson & Adams, 2011) activities, including being anally penetrated (Scoats et al., 2018).

The vastly different data that these—and many more—studies found, inclusive of most of the research in this handbook, cannot be theorized by Connell's notions of hegemonic masculinity. Thus, in 2009, Anderson conceptualized Inclusive Masculinity Theory to make sense of why men were so homophobic in the 1980s, how this influenced their gendered behaviors, and what happens when it is homophobia that becomes stigmatized, not homosexuality. His theory, Inclusive Masculinity Theory (2009, 2011b, 2013), was refined in 2014, basically maintains that because it is impossible for heterosexual men to socially prove to their peers that they are not gay, in a cultural zeitgeist which looks upon homosexuality with disgust and disdain, straight men are influenced to attempt to prove that they are not gay by acting in gendered ways associated opposite of femininity and by overly homophobia. This masculine performance, the type which existed when Connell carved out the field, no longer exists in the west today. No study since 2005 has actively shown that a culture of orthodox masculinity dominates, anywhere in the Global West. It is for this reason that Anderson (2014) declared that to assume that jocks have higher rates of antipathy toward gay men, without evidence, was prejudice.

Anderson's Inclusive Masculinity Theory has been widely adopted by scholars who value evidence in their theorizing. It has led to the examination of how changing masculinities impact men in sport, education, prisons, medicine, entertainment, religion, and other institutions. There is still work to be done in the field, and Anderson highlights that this handbook substantially promotes our understanding of the relationship between masculinity and sport.

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