Durham E-Theses

Moving together: An ethnography of movement volunteering

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Abstract

This thesis explores "movement volunteering" which is an emerging form of volunteering in the UK bringing together volunteering with physical activity. In movement volunteering, the moving body is instrumental for generating the outcomes of the volunteer programmes, from environmental projects working on the landscape to social projects which use the mobility of the volunteer to bring people together in a way that is designed to be mutually beneficial.

This thesis draws on 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork in three different movement volunteering programmes, located in two northern English cities in the UK. The programmes had a shared aim of doing good through mobilising bodies, which was achieved variously through walking, cycling, and running. I explore how movement and volunteering come together in the programmes to create a range of wellbeing, social, and therapeutic effects.

Firstly, I show how the movement volunteering programmes create new forms and styles of movement which disrupt existing practices whilst enabling new ones, and how movement was experienced by both volunteers and beneficiaries in the programmes. I also explore the relational aspects of moving together, and how these new forms and styles of movement provoked an awareness, sensitivity, and trust which were necessary when people with different mobilities come together.

Secondly, I show how in movement volunteering, bodies move not just *with* others but *for* others. In the programmes, meanings around "movement" – such as health and pleasure – complicate existing assumptions about volunteering. The movement volunteers in the programmes have different ways of understanding the impact of what they were doing, and I explore this through their own voices and experiences. I set these findings in the context of the constantly evolving voluntary sector in the UK, and consider how movement volunteering enabled people to connect with others in an embodied way that felt "productive" and meaningful.

Thirdly, I discuss how movement volunteering constitutes an intervention in the physical and social landscape, and I explore the intentional and spillover effects of this intervention. I show how the movement of bodies through public spaces "stirs up" and constitutes landscapes, disrupting everyday landscapes and making connections across time and space. I argue that this epistemological approach to landscape and place is necessary to fully capture the interactions between the moving body and the environment that we see in movement volunteering.

Throughout the thesis I build a theoretical understanding of moving together for the purposes of doing good, building on literature that explores the processes and meanings of moving together in a range of sport, exercise, and everyday contexts, for example group walking, pilgrimage, and endurance running. A key finding of this thesis is that movement volunteering constitutes a new way of being and moving together, which reframes the public health "problem" of physical inactivity by moving the focus from individual bodies to the spaces between bodies, and the spaces, environments, and organisational contexts that enable bodies to move together.

Moving Together: An ethnography of movement volunteering

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good times Tim, George, Tracy, Jenny, Freya, Steph T, Sarah and Joey, and the many others who came and went over the years. Although I am not around college as much these days, I know I will always feel welcome whenever I pop in. Chad's helped me make the most of my student years with their fantastic postgraduate community - I feel very lucky to have enjoyed college bar prices and subsidised food whilst many friends from home entered the big expensive grown up world a long time ago. Secondly, to another home in Durham, the Durham Archery Lawn Tennis Club – tennis has always been a big part of my life so I was lucky to have found such a friendly club – this helped me feel rooted over the past five years and reminded me there is normal life outside of the university. The routine (and of course physical activity) that tennis provided has helped so much physically and mentally over the course of the PhD.

My family have been a source of endless support whilst at Durham, I know they have never been more than a phone call or a train ride away. I would like to thank all of them for their encouragement and support, and for their interest and curiosity in my work. In particular I would like to thank my big sister, Dr Sarah Tupper, who encouraged me to do a PhD and who has always been so generous in offering advice and perspective. And to my Granny Pauline who sadly passed away in 2021 before the thesis was finished, I did finish it Granny even though it did not look that way at times! Thankyou for the stern pep talks and practical advice, and I'm sorry that I never got to take you out for a ride on a bicycle. I'm sure you would have enjoyed it.

In 2020 the world was turned upside down with the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic. It was a strange time to be writing up a PhD. I could not have done it without my boyfriend (and now husband!) James, who moved in with just a couple of plastic bags of clothes and was trapped here for months on end. It made a difficult time much easier and looking back I have fond memories of our walks, all the DIY and my attempts at sourdough. Our cat Gary also moved in in 2020 and has been an endless source of comfort and fun whilst stuck at home.

2020 stretched into 2021 and at times the PhD felt never ending. James has supported me through all the highs and lows, he has given me numerous pep talks and hugs when I felt it was not moving forward. He was always offering to read my work and although I never let him (he is a real scientist), I always appreciated it nonetheless. James' support was never more valuable than in October 2021 when I found out I was pregnant and the sickness kicked in. It was not the best state to be in when finishing the thesis, but it did give me the push I needed so I would also like to thank our daughter – who is not quite here yet – for her timely entrance. This ones for you.

Contents

List of tables and figures

1. Introduction

This thesis explores an emerging form of volunteering in the UK which brings together volunteering with physical activity. Although volunteering activities may often be physical, the emphasis on movement in what I term "movement volunteering" is more than coincidental. In movement volunteering, the movement of the body is intentional and central to the philanthropic aims of the organisation or group – it is instrumental in generating the effects of the volunteering.

So what is movement volunteering, and through what contexts does it emerge? How does the movement of the body mesh with volunteering? Over the past decade we have seen – in the UK and beyond - the emergence of a number of initiatives aimed at encouraging people to be active whilst also helping others. The earliest and most familiar formulation of this is the array of sponsored fitness events where people collect sponsorship to cover specified distances – often but not always running events. Although there may have been earlier formulations of these events, the first London marathon in 1984 is recognisable as a key moment for charity fitness events in the UK. The 80s and 90s saw these events grow, and their popularity is now such that they have become an important funding stream for an increasingly competitive third sector in the UK and internationally. Cancer Research UK's Race for Life for example has raised nearly £900 million since it began as an annual event in 1994[1].

Whilst these sponsored events raise money for charity, movement volunteering directly connects the movement of the body with the philanthropic aim of the organisation or group. That is, the movement of the volunteer is key for delivering the various aims of the programmes. In these programmes, the moving volunteering body/bodies can be instrumental for a variety of purposes, spanning from environmental projects where volunteers work physically with the landscape, to social projects whereby the mobility of the volunteer is used to connect volunteers and beneficiaries together in mutually beneficial ways. The movement of the body therefore opens up possibilities to volunteer in a way which feels physical and tangible, and to move in a way that feels useful and purposeful.

Whilst there is an existing body of literature exploring large scale sponsored fitness events (Nettleton, S. and Hardey, 2006; Bunds, 2017; Palmer, 2020a) little is known about these emerging, everyday forms of volunteering which bring people and places together through movement. So how do these programmes bring together physical activity and volunteering? And what are the effects of movement volunteering programmes?

This thesis takes an ethnographic approach to understand the movement volunteering phenomenon. Over a period of 15 months, I took part in three different movement volunteering programmes which

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[1] https://raceforlife.cancerresearchuk.org/about-us/about-the-race-for-life

"harnessed" the moving body of the volunteer in different ways. One of them – GoodGym – is explicitly about fitness, in this case running[2]. In GoodGym, runners run both individually and together to do all sorts of volunteering activities, from environmental management tasks, painting fences, picking up litter, changing lightbulbs and distributing leaflets. They also pair runners with isolated older people who struggle to get out the house, and the runner commits to visiting them on a weekly basis. In GoodGym, the focus is on the fitness of the volunteer, with the expectation that their movement volunteering will have wellbeing effects for relevant beneficiaries; the charities, groups, and organisations with whom they work, the older people who they visit regularly, and the places in which they operate. As such, their movement is very much intentional and pre-planned.

The fitness of the volunteer is less central to the other two programmes explored in the thesis – Cycling Without Age and Move Mates. However, both used and celebrated physical movement, in particular moving *together*. In these programmes, volunteers moved with and for people who struggle to get out and about independently. The focus in Move Mates – a walking buddy programme – was more about improving the fitness of the beneficiary, as their referral to the programme could be due to a lack of confidence getting out, fear of falling, or mobility problems. However, the volunteer was also expected to benefit from the experience, through simply "getting out", regularly walking with someone, and perhaps building a friendship with someone they might otherwise not have met. In comparison to GoodGym activity, Move Mates walks were small scale, covering short distances often close to the home of the beneficiary.

Cycling Without Age, a scheme whereby volunteers helped older people get out and about on a bike, was less about fitness altogether and more broadly about wellbeing. In Cycling Without Age, riding a bike is a shared experience; volunteer pedallers sit behind the older people on the bike – a seat which could comfortably accommodate two passengers – and take them on a choice of various pre-planned and risk assessed routes. Though undoubtedly a physical experience for the volunteer, the electric assist feature on the bike meant that the rides were less about speed or fitness and more about enabling people to experience movement, place, and fresh air together.

I will go into the programmes in more depth in Chapter 3, but you can see already how movement and volunteering come together in different ways, in order to create a range of therapeutic and wellbeing effects. Through ethnography I unpack the physical, purposeful, and place-based elements of each of the programmes. I also explore what the programmes share, and in doing so, I build a theoretical understanding of moving together for the purposes of doing good, building on literature

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[2] https://www.goodgym.org/

that explores the processes and meanings of moving together in a range of sport, exercise, and everyday contexts, for example group walking, pilgrimage, and endurance running.

In the context of declining levels of physical activity in the population and the (often political) desire to foster new forms of civic engagement, movement volunteering is a compelling answer to a range of health and social problems, from physical inactivity, loneliness, immobility, and intergenerational segregation. However, I do not aim to answer if and how the programmes "solve" such problems. Instead my focus is on the ethnographic present, and on how movement volunteering takes place through encounters in specific contexts, and how those taking part in it understand what they are doing. Ethnography is often used to look at familiar problems from a embedded perspective, exploring phenomena from the inside out and questioning taken for granted approaches. Through ethnography, I show that the programmes in fact re-frame problems such as physical inactivity, and reconfigure relationships between movement, responsibility, and care.

In order to do this my analytical focus throughout the thesis is on the idea and the aim of "moving together" which was so central to the movement volunteering programmes. I explore the forms of "togetherness" that are created when people move both with and for others. To do this, I focus ethnographically on the spaces that are collapsed and created between bodies, the conditions which enable moving together, and the relational effects created by this kind of movement.

In Chapter 2 I consider existing ways in which physical (in)activity has been understood, for example current approaches to tackling the problem in public health. I am interested here in how the phenomenon of moving together has been approached, and the ways in which movement becomes embedded in lives, bodies, and environments. In this chapter I also consider the existing ways in which it is possible to move "for" others – emerging forms of philanthropy which also harness the movement of the body. Because movement volunteering is an emerging phenomenon, it is helpful to draw on these existing trajectories which view the body as a useful tool and resource for philanthropy.

In Chapter 3 I outline my methodological approach and introduce the movement volunteering programmes in more detail. I show how my approach, methods, and questions evolved throughout fieldwork and beyond. I also consider the ethical considerations which are so pertinent to ethnographic and indeed any kind of research, and which always go beyond the required processes required by research institutions.

Throughout the empirical chapters I aim to build a picture of the programmes, focusing on the dynamic, purposeful, and environmental effects of movement volunteering. In Chapter 4 I share my ethnographic material with a focus on the movement element, that is, how did "moving together"

actually happen in the programmes – what *enabled* it to happen? I show how the movement volunteering programmes create new forms and styles of movement which disrupted existing practices whilst enabling new ones, and how movement was experienced by both volunteers and beneficiaries in the programmes. I also discuss the relational aspects of moving together, and how these new forms and styles of movement also provoked an awareness, sensitivity, and trust which was necessary when people with different mobilities came together.

In Chapter 5 I delve further into the relational element by grappling with the philanthropic element of the programmes; how bodies moved not just *with* others but *for* others. As I will show, the meanings around the "movement" aspect – such as health and pleasure – complicated existing assumptions about volunteering. The movement volunteers in the programmes had different ways of understanding the impact of what they were doing, and I explore this through their own voices and experiences. I set these findings in the context of the constantly evolving voluntary sector in the UK, and consider how movement volunteering enabled people to connect with others in an embodied way that felt "productive" and meaningful.

In Chapter 6 I explore the way in which movement volunteering literally "takes place". I explore movement volunteering activities as interventions in the physical and social landscape, and the intentional and spill over effects of these activities. I show how the movement of bodies through public spaces "stirs up" and constitutes landscapes, disrupting everyday landscapes and making connections across time and space. I argue that this epistemological approach to landscape and place is necessary to fully capture the interactions between the moving body and the environment that we see in movement volunteering.

In the final chapter I bring my findings together to consider how movement volunteering affords new ways of moving and indeed being together, in the context of high levels of physical inactivity as well as a renewed political interest in civic engagement. I argue an analytical focus on the spaces between bodies brings much needed attention to the collectives and environments that actually enable movement vis a vis approaches that focus on individual behaviour change. I also explore how movement volunteering operates in the context of the voluntary sector in the UK, and I show how it reconfigures movement, bodies, and space to constitute landscapes of care.

I finish with an afterword where I reflect upon how the programmes adapted in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic in the UK. Although this happened after my fieldwork had been completed, it offers an insight into how people moved together in new ways despite needing to stay physically apart. Through this afterword I aim to locate my findings within a specific space and time, whilst at the same time exploring how the connections made through movement volunteering transcended this context.

2. Moving and being moved: Becoming "active" in the UK

In this chapter I explore how people become "active" in the UK. As well as exploring how people become physically active, the chapter will also explore how people become active in society through volunteering. The chapter focuses on engagement in physical activity and voluntary practices and the debates surrounding how people become engaged in these activities.

Concerns with how people are (or are not) moving their bodies are heavily concentrated in the public health realm and so the chapter begins with an introduction to physical inactivity as it has been conceived as a public health issue, the evidence underpinning the problem, and an overview of efforts to promote physical activity in the UK, including among groups who are most inactive. I focus in particular on leisure-time physical activity practiced outside as it is said to afford the most accessible, low cost, and potentially most impactful strand of physical activity promotion, with additional social and spacial effects. This form of physical activity is also the focus of this thesis and so I intend to explore existing policy in this area.

Key to solving the problem of physical inactivity in a population are effective social theories concerning how people become and stay physically active. In public health in the UK, the dominant theoretical approaches centre around the rational, decision-making individual. I consider the shortcomings of this approach, for example whether knowledge about a healthy lifestyle is a strong enough reason for people to engage with physical activity. I then consider other "pulls" to become and stay physically active, such as the seeking of physical activity experiences for enjoyment and pleasure, and social pulls to engage with others in a meaningful way.

The public health imperative to be physically active sits against the backdrop of what commentators have described as an increasingly disconnected and fragmented society in the UK. Loneliness, social isolation, and mental health have emerged as major public health issues in their own right and so moving with others through a physical landscape may hold social benefits that transcend the individual body and the individual person. This is particularly relevant for physical activity practiced outside in public spaces.

In the final section of this review I explore an emerging phenomenon in which physical (in)activity, social, and health issues have become intertwined. In addition to moving *with* others, there are now possibilities to move *for* others, and for health, social, and environmental issues or causes, often through fundraising efforts. This phenomenon brings new possibilities for people to become active whilst simultaneously connect with others and world. A key element of this phenomenon is the mobilisation of the body for philanthropic and/or charitable purposes. How and why are bodies

compelled to move in this way? And how does the philanthropic element create certain conditions for movement? Through exploring the phenomenon I introduce a term which will be explored in the thesis called "movement volunteering" and the health and social possibilities this new way of being active and helping others might create. I will show how the concept expands and builds on the public health imperative to be physically active whilst also offering new opportunities for connecting together people and places.

2.1 Physical inactivity as a public health issue

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), "much of the world is becoming less active"[3]. Globally, in 2008, 23% of adults and 81% of adolescents (aged 11-17 years) did not meet the WHO global recommendations for physical activity for health[4]. The 2012 Lancet series on physical activity described physical inactivity as a "pandemic" (Kohl *et al.*, 2012) and a more recent editorial in the British Journal of Sports Medicine suggested there had been a "failure" in tackling the issue (Pratt *et al.*, 2019).

Prevalence of insufficient physical activity was highest in the WHO region of the Americas and Eastern Mediterranean Region[5]. However, physical inactivity has become a prominent public health issue in many countries, including in the UK. In 2015, 34% of men and 42% of women reported levels of activity that did not meet the UK guidelines (Health Survey for England, NHS Digital, 2016). The WHO cite changing transport patterns, increased use of technology, cultural values and urbanization as possible influences on the way in which we move[6]. In the UK, physical work has declined rapidly since the end of the industrial revolution and new technologies have also enabled the reduction of physical labour for a variety of tasks in everyday life, including domestic tasks (Hallal *et al.*, 2012)*.* As a result, physical activity is now most likely to take place during travel or leisure time (ibid.).

The evidence on the health benefits of physical activity grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s (Hallal *et al.*, 2012), meaning that alongside the disassociation with work, physical activity became inseparable from understandings of health and wellbeing. It has been noted that there is "incontrovertible evidence" that regular physical activity contributes to the primary and secondary prevention of several chronic diseases and is associated with a reduced risk of premature death (Warburton *et al.* 2006). As well as physical health benefits, there is increasing research and policy attention on the mental health benefits of physical activity, with studies reporting positive effects of physical activity on mood enhancement, self-esteem, and cognitive functioning (Biddle, 2016). However, whilst acute anxiety

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[3] https://www.who.int/ncds/prevention/physical-activity/gappa/about.
[4] https://www.who.int/dietphysicalactivity/factsheet_inactivity/en/
[5] https://www.who.int/dietphysicalactivity/factsheet_inactivity/en/.
[6] https://www.who.int/ncds/prevention/physical-activity/gappa/about

responds well to physical activity, there is little evidence to suggest that physical activity can prevent or treat chronic mental health conditions (Paluska and Schwenk, 2000).

It is said that more physical activity results in better health status (Warburton *et al.* 2006). The "more is better" approach is often adopted in public health, as in the UK guidelines, however in their most recent form they acknowledge that "any activity is better than none" (Davies *et al.*, 2019:10). This is a development on previous guidelines, which tended to focus only on moderate to vigorous physical activity (MVPA). The recent UK guidelines advise that adults should accumulate at least 150 minutes of moderate intensity physical activity, or 75 minutes of vigorous intensity activity, or even shorter durations of vigorous intensity physical activity each week (ibid.). MVPA has long been a focus in health research and public health policy due to its extensive health benefits. However it only accounts for a small proportion of the 24 hour day (<5%) and it has been argued that a focus on the MVPA end of the movement continuum is limiting our understanding of health (Chaput *et al.*, 2014).

As a result of the evidence around MVPA, "exercise" has come to constitute a "gold standard" of movement. Exercise is often the focus of public health promotion and prevention campaigns for example the "Active 10" campaign in the UK which encourages people to "speed up" their walking in order to "turn walking into exercise" (Brannan *et al.*, 2019). As well as the favouring of exercise over physical activity more generally, there are also slippages in public health discourse between the two. This is despite the regularly cited definitions in the literature set out by Caspersen et al.; exercise is defined as "a subset of physical activity that is planned, structured, and repetitive and has as a final or an intermediate objective the improvement or maintenance of physical fitness" (Caspersen, Powell and Christenson, 1985). Physical activity encompasses a broader range of movement, simply defined as "any bodily movement produced by skeletal muscles that results in energy expenditure" (ibid.). Physical activity therefore takes place in a variety of settings and as part of a range of other activities.

In addition to physical activity and exercise, the concept of "movement" has also been utilised, particularly in public health promotion and prevention strategies targeting the most inactive people. This is seen in the NHS "One You" campaign, where the message is simply to "Move More", including "getting up and about" and "start small"[7]. Other public health promotion and prevention strategies have drawn on the concept of "wellbeing" to emphasise the benefits of movement beyond physical health. This is seen, for example, in the NHS endorsement[8] of the "Five Ways to Wellbeing" developed by the New Economics Foundation (NEF); "connect, be active, take notice, keep learning, give" (Aked

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[7] https://www.nhs.uk/oneyou/for-your-body/move-more/
[8] https://www.nhs.uk/mental-health/self-help/guides-tools-and-activities/five-steps-to-mental-wellbeing/

et al., 2008). Here, being active sits alongside a range of other instructions for individuals to improve their individual, subjective wellbeing.

Physical activity and movement are therefore consistently understood as important for good health, but conceptualisations of the terms can change, as can the evidence underpinning physical activity policy. Recent interest in "movement" and "wellbeing" could therefore signify a shift away from medicalised and quantitatively measured physical activity towards understanding how and why people move in the context of their everyday lives. Nonetheless, the dominant justification of exercise in the UK remains its health benefits (Loland, 2009) and it is through this aspect that the movement of the body is most commonly interpreted and valued.

2.1.1 Key challenges in physical activity policy

One of the major challenges for public health in promoting physical activity to the population is the way in which it engages with the most inactive groups. Low-tech, affordable, outdoor, and everyday forms of leisure-based physical activity have understandably received considerable attention because of this. One of the key challenges of physical activity promotion in public health is inclusivity, accessibility, and equity (Wiltshire, Lee and Williams, 2017; Coen, 2018; Foster *et al.*, 2018; Williams, Coen and Gibson, 2019) and so it follows that public health practitioners are keen to promote forms of physical activity that are more likely to have take-up among those with additional mobility challenges and those living in deprived socioeconomic circumstances.

Different groups can face a range of challenges which affect their ability to be active. As I will show, framings of the problem of physical inactivity in some groups reflect a neoliberal desire to lessen the burden on the state, rather than encourage physical activity for wellbeing and pleasure. I explore this issue with particular reference to older age groups, and the way in which their activity has been constructed.

The latest UK Chief Medical Officer guidelines on physical activity are split into various groups; under-5s, children and young people (5-18 years), adults (19-64 years), older adults (65 years and over) (Davies *et al.*, 2019). As such, they aim to be applicable to a range of bodies and physical capabilities. A new addition to these guidelines was the inclusion of studies on physical activity and disability in creating an evidence base. A "rapid review" was conducted in order to inform the guidelines (Smith *et al.*, 2018). It found that there was sufficient evidence that supports the positive relationship and the effectiveness of physical activity to improve disabled adults health (ibid.). It also showed that, based on the literature reviewed, physical activity was safe and did not pose a risk for disabled adults (ibid.). However, safety and health benefits are not the only things to consider in ensuring people want to and are able to participate in and enjoy physical activity. Enjoyment and meaningfulness of the

activity is also important, and was the reason, in Harrison et al.'s study, for exploring dance as an intervention for people with chronic breathlessness, as an alternative the gym-based pulmonary rehabilitation programme (Harrison *et al.*, 2020).

Older adults often face additional challenges in becoming and staying active, and their participation in physical activity has become a key focus of public health in the UK. Inactivity has been shown to increase with age, with the results of a Sport England survey finding that those aged 16-24 were least likely to be inactive (15%) and those aged 75 and over most likely to be inactive (54%) (Sport England, 2017). An understanding and acknowledgment of the links between ageing and physical inactivity has revolved around the term "active ageing". The concept of "active ageing" emerged in the 1940s and 1950s along with the idea that being active in old age brought about personal life satisfaction (Boudiny, 2013). This has meant that physical activity in older age is also seen as tied up with issues of social connection/disconnection, and immobility. In the original literature, "activity" was rarely defined or conceptualised (Katz, 2000) and may have referred to activity more generally, not just physical activity. Katz notes that in classifying and understanding the concept of "activity", the term tends to coincide with "middle-class moral and family oriented conventions" and thus may neglect people's diverse lived experiences as they age, and the things that matter to them (Katz, 2000:143).

In tracing the history of the concept, Katz describes how the "activity" concept emerged in tandem with the "active society" concept, and with this, it problematised older bodies and lives as dependency prone and "at risk" (Katz, 2000:147). Here, we can see how the active ageing concept may feed into individualising discourses that place responsibility on older people to look after themselves as they age, rather than focus on the environments and contexts that might enable physical activity in later life. Placing responsibility in this way positions the "activity" concept as part of a positive economy that shapes aged subjects within gerontological knowledge and research as knowable and empowerable, and inside care and custodial institutions as predictable and manageable" (ibid. 148).

In the UK context, it has been argued that the incorporation of active ageing into the policy agendas of the welfare systems in the UK should be understood in the context of perceived effects of demographic trends on demand for services (Lloyd *et al.*, 2014). The active ageing agenda is therefore – in the UK - inextricably linked with the broader policy agenda to reduce older people's call on public resources in order to manage the increasing proportions of older people in the population (ibid.).

Research has shown that older people understand the contexts of which they are a part (neoliberalist, antiwelfare, pro-independence) and the way in which activity is then presented to them (Katz, 2000). In Katz's study, particular kinds of activity were resisted for being overly organised, measured, or

health focused (ibid.). So issues around how physical activity is promoted to older age groups, may reflect a lack of understanding about meanings of physical activity in older age.

In addressing this gap in understanding of the experiences of physical activity in older age, Phoenix and Bell draw on the concept of "rhythm", showing how subtle patterns and tempos frame physical activity in mid and later life (Phoenix, C. and Bell, 2019). Older adults described the importance of slowness and stillness, as well as the experience of movement and activity. There were multiple rhythms that governed adults' involvement in physical activity which the authors term "polyrhythmic ensembles" (ibid.). These involved physical, biosocial, and environmental rhythmicities which interacted with qualities of particular places (ibid. 52). As bodies age then, new experiences of movement can emerge, as mobility and stillness are continually negotiated and re-negotiated in movement contexts.

Efforts to encourage less mobile groups such as older adults, people with chronic health conditions and disabilities have benefited from a focus on the broader concept of "movement", as shown here, but also an understanding of movement and physical activity as embedded in people's everyday lives and histories and therefore tied up with other social activities and meanings.

So how might public health understand and approach these key challenges in physical activity policy? In the next section, I look at some of the theories and political contexts which underlie the dominant model of behaviour change in public health policy on physical activity. I explore other ways in which we might understand the qualitative aspects of movement and the ways in which people become active or inactive over time.

2.2 Approaching the problem of physical inactivity

The problem of physical inactivity is approached in different ways across academia and policy. In this section, I explore some themes in public health approaches and theoretical approaches to understanding and solving the issue. I take as my point of departure the neoliberal contexts that inform the dominant public health approach of behaviour change before considering emerging relational approaches which emphasise the experiential and social aspects of physical movement. I show how there continues to be strong debate about how best to enable movement across the population.

2.2.1 Shifting responsibilities for health

There has been a critical engagement in the social sciences of the way in which behavioural theories of the individual have entered into the realm of government policy. Commentators cite the "neoliberal climate" and its associated "rationalities" as instrumental in making individuals into particular types

of subjects for example the "health conscious citizen" (Markula, P. and Pringle, 2006). These rationalities also move away from health as a shared and public endeavour, making individuals responsible for their own "personal" health and the decisions they make under an illusion of "free choice" (Ayo, 2012). Regardless of where the focus on individuals comes from, it has resulted in the primacy of the individual over for example, relations, processes and places in understanding health and wellbeing.

Neoliberalism has also been much cited as the overarching ideology driving changes to the way in which the state provides (or indeed does not provide) social welfare services. Neoliberalism broadly refers to the capitalist restructuring that we have seen since the 1970s, which was epitomised by Thatcherism in the UK and Reaganism in the US (Bell and Green, 2016). At its core, it refers to the expansion and intensification of markets (vis a vis the state) and it has been noted that it is inherently social and moral in its philosophy (Ayo, 2012:11). However, despite the ideals expressed in neoliberal theory, the process and outcome of neoliberalism is not some sort of "grand design", producing a singular, "advanced" or globalising state form (Peck and Theodore, 2012:178). Instead, neoliberalism displays a "lurching dynamic, marked by serial policy failure and improvised adaptation" (ibid.). Neoliberalism is therefore shaped and is shaped by opportunistic moments brought about through shifts in governance and funding agendas.

In the UK, a major shift in responsibility for health was the 2012 Health and Social Care Act, which was brought in by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government. The 2012 Act radically transformed the structure and provision of healthcare services, giving GPs the power to commission services, and it explicitly set out a more prominent role for the third sector in providing such services (Department of Health United Kingdom, 2012). The 2012 Act increased marketisation in the NHS and social care services, which critics warned would lead to eventual privatisation. Although total privatisation has not materialised, private care providers now feature heavily in the provision of services, particularly community and mental health services (Ham *et al.*, 2015).

It is in this context which we see the emergence of the third sector as a major provider of health and social care services, as well as a renewed political focus on encouraging volunteering and civic engagement. The third sector's dominance in health and social care is largely based on assumptions that the community and voluntary sector (CVS) providers are better able to engage "hard-to-reach" population groups in services than statutory providers (Powell, Thurston and Bloyce, 2017). Although legislation such as the 2012 Social Care Act sparked multiple shifts in responsibility, these ideas about the third sector can be traced back to the 1990s when it was "repositioned" within policy discourse, and seen as having the potential to "reinvigorate civic life" (Fyfe, 2005).

These new forms of governance which bring together public, private, and third sectors influence the provision of leisure services, which are important for enabling physical activity in the most inactive groups. Tracing the way in which leisure services are provided, Williams and Fullagar draw attention to a "lifestyle drift" in health policy and intervention (Popay, Whitehead and Hunter, 2010; Williams and Fullagar, 2018a). The "lifestyle drift" happens when "upstream" social contributors to health inequalities are reconfigured "downstream" as a matter of individual behaviour change (Williams and Fullagar, 2018b). This finding emerged from an ethnographic study of a leisure facility in a deprived neighbourhood, which began as a well-funded and targeted intervention in the local area but which drifted into private provision. This then initiated the pulling back of affordable access options and free integrated childcare facilities. When people in the local area no longer used the facility, the logics used to explain this were focused on individual choice rather than structural and financial barriers. The effects of public/private partnerships in providing health and leisure services can be difficult to capture; as programmes morph and adapt in order to remain viable and often to simply exist, a picture of what could have been possible with steady and reliable funding becomes increasingly blurry and elusive.

Accompanying the "lifestyle drift" in health intervention and policy is a shift in responsibility to the individual who is the target of the intervention. This goes in hand with the rationalities of governance now established in the UK. This form of governance was established in the 1997-2000 UK New Labour government and continued by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, and rests upon a notion of agency, autonomy and self-responsibility as being somehow inherent requirements of "good" citizenship (Brown, B.J. and Baker, 2013:15). Describing this form of governance, Brown and Baker write;

> Responsible citizens are proactive paragons of civic engagement, enhancing the social fabric and selflessly crafting themselves, their families and their neighbourhoods to achieve greater economic independence, social capital and wellbeing" (Brown, B.J. and Baker, 2013:3).

These political contexts which have resulted in responsibilisation and individualisation continue to position the individual as the target of behaviour change. Policy tends to revolve around the idea that physical activity is brought about through purposeful intention or motivation, the origins of which can be found in the mind of an individual person. This stems from a dominance of behavioural and psychological science within public health policy, including physical activity specifically (Cohn, 2014). The dominance of these psychological approaches in public health in the UK are epitomised in the various policy papers which emphasise physical activity – and healthy behaviour more generally - as a "decision" which people can be "nudged" into, through the provision of knowledge about health and

the availability of healthy choices (Secretary of State for Health, 2012; Public Health England, 2019). But how might this behavioural science knowledge base be effective in understanding the problem of physical inactivity in the most inactive groups? As I have showed previously in the case of older adults, physical inactivity is often tied up with issues of social isolation or disconnection, and mobility challenges. Clearly, there are issues with the behavioural science knowledge base and its implementation in health policy in the UK, which shifts responsibility for health on to individuals and fails to capture other influences on how and why people move.

2.2.2 Beyond the individual: Other epistemologies

The social sciences can provide a critical view of the behavioural science knowledge base used to inform physical activity and its promotion in public health, as well as offer approaches that move away from the epistemology of individual behaviour change. A critical approach to physical activity promotion problematises the idea that motivation and decision-making reside "in" individuals. The acknowledgement in public health of the advantages of moving together and moving outside begin to hint at other epistemologies that go beyond the individual. Such epistemologies move away from health and movement being the responsibility of the individual and instead consider it as an emergent effect that is enabled through relations between individuals, collectives, and environments; a process that has been termed "healthy publics" (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018).

This epistemology acknowledges that moving outside and in public spaces can generate benefits for the individual who is moving, however it can also capture the potential benefits beyond the individual, for example place-based, environmental, and relational effects. This relational and place-based epistemology rarely features in public health approaches, because they do not easily translate into the public health realm where there is such a heavy focus on the individual as the site for change. This means that the wide-ranging and perhaps at times unpredictable or spontaneous benefits of physical activity are not always captured in public health discourse.

Alternatives to the behaviour change model include systems approaches. In a systems approach, motives and motivation are seen as distributed, as a property of systems, incorporating technologies, organisational structures, and social interaction (Gough *et al.*, 2020). This approach moves away from seeing the person as the primary site of change. Systems approaches also have resonances with practice theory, which has emerged as a response and alternative to behaviour change theories. Anthropologists and others have utilised practice theory as a way to move past the dominant public health approach of behaviour change models which predominantly focus on individuals and the "barriers and enablers" that help or prevent an individuals' engagement in physical activity.

Approaches that look only at "barriers and enablers" unfortunately fall short in capturing the day-to-day experiences of people's lives, environmental contexts, personal histories and life circumstances.

Practice theory is not a "new" theory, but draws on existing theoretical roots found in the works of e.g. Giddens, Bourdieu, Foucault, Marx, Heidegger and Wittgenstein in order to provide a useful analytical tool that can be used in a public health context. Blue et al. (Blue *et al.*, 2014) argue that taking a practice based approach shifts the focus from individual health behaviours to looking at the "life" of practices themselves, in order to understand how (un)healthy practices do or do not become embedded in people's lives, and their reproduction and transformation over time. Practices rely on the ongoing integration of at least three elements; meanings, materials, and competencies (ibid. 42). The meanings might be the social significance of a given practice, the materials are all those tangible things that make the practice possible and the competencies are the learned, practical "know-how" of a practice. Practices are of course not exclusive, they exist in competition and collaboration with other practices and they can combine and interact, forming "bundles" of practices (ibid. 41-43).

In anthropology, ethnography and participatory research methods have become powerful methodological tools that allow findings to be generated from an embeddedness in the lives and practices of research participants. Ethnographies of physical activity have shown the importance of attending to "critical moments" in the life course, sensory experiences of movement, including moving with others, and constraining as well as enabling effects of habituated practices (Atencio, 2006; Morris, 2017; Morris, Guell and Pollard, 2019a; Wagnild and Pollard, 2020). Writing on his experiences and observations training in Mixed Martial Arts (MMA), Blue argues that maintaining this physical exercise practice depends on "the synchronisation of practices; those of MMA, those that support MMA, and those that more broadly make up everyday life (Blue, 2016). Only through embodied, everyday participation in these practices was it possible to capture these rhythms and synchronicities that make MMA possible.

In her research on how women with gestational diabetes stay physically active, Wagnild used a practice theory approach to show how the women navigated physical activity practices in their day to day life, spanning their activities at home, work, and leisure (Wagnild and Pollard, 2020). Pregnancy has been described elsewhere as a "teachable moment" – naturally occurring life transitions or health events that are thought to motivate individuals to spontaneously adopt risk-reducing health behaviours (Phelan, 2010). For the women at risk of gestational diabetes however, physical activity was not often about decreasing health risk in the "moment" of pregnancy. Instead it was about (in the case of leisure time physical activity) a way to feel better and have fun, as well as an inevitable part of everyday life as the women worked and cared for others (Wagnild and Pollard, 2020). The contexts of

everyday life then, were important for how women continually negotiated new and ongoing physical activity practices.

Going beyond the individual can also help identify the dynamic circumstances that might make change possible. In attending to shifts and changes in mobility practices, Nettleton and Green, drawing on Bourdieu, identify "social fields" in which physical activity practices are likely to be malleable (Nettleton and Green, 2014). In their understanding of why change is thinkable or unthinkable, the authors argue that tacit, practical knowledge is more useful (ibid. 241). This form of knowledge is pre-reflective and therefore does not always appear in participants reasoned accounts of what they do. As such, methodologies and analysis require an epistemological approach that goes beyond individual voice, taking into account context, through participant observation and immersion in practice. Correspondingly, efforts to change practice would not focus on behaviour or environments but on identifying the social fields which make alternatives more or less possible (ibid. 244).

The concept of "mobility" also draws the focus away from the individual as the focus of behaviour change, by emphasising movement as a connective process. "Mobility" has, as both an empirical locus of study and an analytical tool to think with, surged to prominence across the social sciences over the past decade (Bissell and Fuller, 2011:3). The mobilities paradigm – which is essentially a set of questions, theories, and methodologies rather than a totalising description of the contemporary world (Sheller and Urry, 2006:210) is familiar with the understanding of movement as connection. Authors have drawn on mobilities as a tool in understanding the connective potential of various movement practices and how they enable engagement and re-engagement with physical activities. The concept of movement can bring together the geographical literature of mobilities, in particular the "qualities" of movement (Cook, Shaw and Simpson, 2016) with the physical activity literature. A focus on the "qualities" of movement has been utilised by Phoenix et al. in their research into older people's experiences of physical activity, whereby the "rhythms" of movement were important to older people's continued participation and enjoyment of the activity as they aged (Phoenix and Orr, 2014; Phoenix, C. and Bell, 2019). The concept of mobility is also useful because it enables researchers to ask political questions about the who, how, and where of movement, for example, the inter-connection between individual's behaviour and urban design (Bonehill, von Benzon and Shaw, 2020).

As well as a focus on the temporal and material elements of everyday life and routine, there is also now an established body of work focusing on the "taking place" of health and wellbeing (Andrews, Chen and Myers, 2014; Andrews and Duff, 2019) known as non-representational theory. Non-representational theory and new materialisms (Fullagar, 2017) have also become popular in physical activity research to explore the "happening" of movement, as well as the fluidity of the body-in-

context, emphasising that the boundaries of bodies are not fixed, and that they can change through encounters and embeddedness with environments.

A particular strength of non-representational theory and these other epistemological approaches is their focus on embodiment – the experiential aspects of movement. The term "exercise" has connotations of physical exertion, discomfort, and even pain. Physical activity researchers have shown that the movement of the body can be generative of a range of experiences and states of beings, a process that can be pleasurable, enjoyable, interesting, and fun. Indeed, these are often the reasons why people are active in the long-term. In an effort to understand who – and what – makes us move, studies have set out to explore physical activity as a connective, social, and embodied experience of health.

Drawing on research with mountain bikers and walkers in Scotland, Brown focuses on the connection between the body and the ground – "groundfeel" – and how the pleasures brought about by moving upon the ground motivate regular exercise (Brown, 2016). Similarly, Throsby discusses the "unexpected pleasures" brought about through long distance open water swimming (Throsby, 2013). She describes "becoming" a long distance open water swimmer, a process which was sensorially transformative; "the swimming body *feels* differently" (ibid. 13). Also drawing on experiences in the open water, Foley describes swimming as an "accretive" practice of health, involving an embodied adaption to the conditions; "the cold and the state of one's own body all shaped how an accretion of physical health developed" (Foley, 2017:39). Health therefore emerges through movement as an effect, brought about by embodied engagement in the tactility and place of the physical activity. In this sense, the body and the water co-produce the swimmer as Foley describes; "the relationship between the swimmer and the body emerged as a sort of internal embodiment, developed almost incrementally through familial and place proximity" (ibid. 223).

Brown, Throsby, and Foley consider the material and tactile elements of mountain biking, running, and swimming, whereby the connection of the moving body to the terrain or water brings about pleasure, drawing continued engagement in the activity (Throsby, 2013; Brown, 2016; Foley, 2017). Though these activities may easily be labelled "exercise", the definition of exercise concerns planning, structure, repetition and accompanying objectives concerned with improving or maintaining physical fitness (Caspersen, Powell and Christenson, 1985). These examples challenge this by emphasising other attributes such as rhythm and "feel".

What non-representational theory contributes is the way in which contexts can make healthy bodies, as Foley notes, swimming can at times transform the unhealthy land body into a healthy sea-body, and is therefore a "leveller" (Throsby, 2013; Foley, 2015). This perspective separates health from

conventional ideas about what a healthy body might look like, again going beyond the individual body and considering health as an emergent property of being and moving through a particular place.

There are clearly different ways to understand how people become active, different ontologies and methodologies which offer a range of perspectives on human agency, the body, technology, space and time. These approaches all open up possibilities to understand physical (in)activity as it is embedded in people's spacial and temporal worlds.

2.2.3 Physical activity and sociality

The problem of physical inactivity takes place against a backdrop of increasing levels of social isolation, loneliness, and mental health issues in the UK. An ONS report in 2018 found that between 5% and 18% of UK adults often or always feel lonely (Pyle and Evans, 2018). Health risks associated with loneliness include chronic heart disease and stroke (Valtorta *et al.*, 2016) and loneliness has even been found to lead to early mortality (Holt-Lunstad *et al.*, 2015). Issues of loneliness and social isolation are not exclusive to particular age groups - both young people and older people are said to be most likely to suffer from loneliness – however younger adults aged 16 to 24 years reported feeling lonely more often than those in older age groups (Pyle and Evans, 2018).

Loneliness has been linked to a "changing society" for example, digital communication and employment practices (UK Department for Digital, Culture, 2018). However, loneliness has also been strongly linked to place, with the ONS study finding that people who don't feel connected to others in their neighbourhood and people who have little trust of others in their local area reported feeling lonely more often (Pyle and Evans, 2018). The What Works Centre for wellbeing developed a social fragmentation index in order to understand how social cohesion was linked to wellbeing (Curtis *et al.*, 2019). They found that those living in areas with worse Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) scores, and in areas with higher social fragmentation scores reported lower levels of social cohesion in their area and weaker sense of attachment to their neighbourhood (ibid.).

In this context, the sociality that is often involved in physical activity is a powerful one; not only might moving the body generate individual health benefits, moving with others and moving through shared spaces may also create further collective and public effects. This is recognised through relational approaches that acknowledge the more-than-individual conditions for health as well as the more-than-individual health outcomes that are enabled by movement – particularly moving together and moving outside.

Sport has long been understood as an important way to bring people together; the relationship between sport and the community has become central to policies of social inclusion and community

regeneration (Jarvie, 2003). These policies are supported through analyses which argue sport is a form of social capital and civic engagement (ibid.). However, collective forms of physical activity such as parkrun - a free, weekly, timed 5k event in local parks across the world – have similarly been analysed as a way in which to generate social capital and civic engagement (Wiltshire and Stevinson, 2018).

The sociality offered by moving together in group contexts may be particularly valuable in light of social fragmentation and loneliness. Group walking has been explored as a therapeutic intervention that also has the benefit of bringing people together (Priest, 2007; Doughty, 2013; Grant, G., Pollard, N., Allmark, P., Machaczek, K., Ramcharan, 2017; Morris, Guell and Pollard, 2019a; Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020). Mechanisms through which this happens involve mobile sociability which offers both lasting and fleeting engagements in the landscape (Gatrell, 2013; Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020).

2.3 Moving for others

So far I have explored physical inactivity as a public health issue, approaches to solving and understanding the problem, and the social contexts which both create and re-define efforts to increase physical activity in the population. Situating physical activity and movement in the context of social fragmentation in the UK, I have also begun to explore physical activity as a form of mobility, and the connective and communal aspects of moving together.

Social concerns and public health concerns also come together in the emergence of a new form of moving together which not only involves moving *with* others, but moving *for* others. The "fragmentation" of society has sparked new forms of civic engagement, which have indeed re-defined the nature of civic engagement itself (Palmer, 2020a:147). In these emerging forms of civic engagement, publics and collectives are creating new forms of social and welfare provision that "harness" the moving body. These new ways of moving together emerge amidst the contemporary interest in the aesthetics of movement, and the seeking of purpose and meaning in physical activities (Tainio, 2018). Additionally, we can also argue that neoliberal processes have contributed to new forms of health and social responsibilisation which make individuals not just responsible for their own health, but the health of others.

2.3.1 Volunteering

These new forms of civic engagement build on existing trajectories in the voluntary sector which position volunteering not only as a "good" thing to do, but also as an accessible and everyday activity. Volunteering can be defined as "the free giving of an individual's labour, time, and energy to a larger cause, collective goal, or public good" (Brown and Prince, 2015:29). Although originally the domain of religious organisations in the UK, volunteering is now a mainstream activity that takes place across multiple sectors and spaces. It is also now formalised, regulated and measured in terms of its "impact".

The literature on volunteering identifies the flourishing of volunteering in the UK as connected to changing ideas about citizenship and the rolling back of the welfare state. It has been observed that voluntary associations appear to be increasingly identified in policy and academic discourses as a "panacea" to many of the problems faced by neoliberal states (Fyfe and Milligan 2003). The political interest in the potential of volunteering has therefore boomed over the last 20-30 years, with huge growth in the third sector as charities take on public sector contracts to provide services. So where does this position volunteers and volunteering?

There are three main strands in the literature regarding the "why" of volunteering. Firstly, debate has circled around "altruistic" element of volunteering, with many commentators now calling into question altruism – or the desire to be altruistic - as the most important driver for volunteering. This is because it is widely believed that helping others is as beneficial for the donor as it is for the recipient (Musick and Wilson, 1999). Indeed, third sector organisations looking to recruit volunteers often emphasise this, often citing the evidence around wellbeing – that the process of "giving" enhances individual wellbeing (Michaelson, 2013). Ethnographic work has further enriched this debate, showing that altruism and self interest can work together in more nuanced ways. Through ethnographic research on volunteering groups in higher education, Puckering for example argues that altruism and self-interest were not incompatible in the spheres of giving and volunteering (2015).

The second strand on why people volunteer follows on from the shifts in citizenship and the state previously discussed. These shifts, it has been argued, have shifted responsibility on to individuals to take care of their communities amidst cuts in local funding. Writing in the context of post-Fordist Italy, where high levels of unemployment has renewed state interest in volunteering, Muehlebach argues that the "relational labour" offered "allows ostensibly dependent populations to purchase some sort of social belonging at a time when their citizenship rights and duties are being reconfigured in the profoundest of ways" (Muehlebach, 2012:11). Volunteering has therefore become tied up with feelings of responsibility, but it becomes so under different "prosocial" guises, which are themselves inseparable from ideas about what constitutes citizenship. Citizenship may be about being able to provide local social services for free on top of paid labour, but it could also be about performing some kind of work-related activity at a time when paid work is hard to come by; "rendering the purportedly unproductive productive" (ibid.). Linked to these shifts in the governance of volunteering, Fyfe and Milligan have noted the "uneven urban geographies of voluntarism" which mean that resources are not always linked to need (Milligan and Fyfe 2003). A place-based approach also reveals other influences in the provision of services such as urban structure and ecology, community income,

political factors and the institutional culture and resources of local voluntary organisations (ibid. 2071). Volunteering and volunteers are therefore contingent on particular conditions, and this influences who engages in the activity, and how.

Thirdly, it is important to note that the voluntarism is emerging as a key site of encounters "between privilege and poverty" (Muehlebach 2013:3000), with the possibility that voluntarism reinforces inequalities (Prince and Brown, 2016:3). Furthermore, definitions of voluntarism place emphasis on the freedom and choice embedded in the act of giving, assumptions which do not hold in clear-cut ways when we consider voluntary labour ethnographically (ibid. 6). Volunteering therefore does not happen in a vacuum; socioeconomic circumstances can determine the possible ways in which the activity is engaged with.

Volunteering is therefore not unproblematically "philanthropic", there is much that influences its provision and the way in which people engage in it as an activity. It is in this context that new forms of giving and connecting with others are emerging, such as embodied and fitness philanthropy.

2.3.2 Embodied and fitness philanthropy

In this section I introduce a particular mobilisation of the body which sees the body engaged in simultaneously physical and philanthropic activity. This phenomenon, coined "fitness philanthropy" by Palmer (Palmer, 2016, 2020b; Palmer and Dwyer, 2019) refers to "consumer-oriented philanthropic solutions to health or social problems that draw on physical activity-based events such as fun runs, bike rides, long swims, epic hikes, and multisport challenges in which participants seek to raise money for and awareness of a variety of health conditions or social causes" (Palmer, 2016). Palmer's definition brings together and builds on literatures concerning participation and motivation in philanthropy and the embodied experience of doing good through, for example, the physical nature of volunteering. However, elements of fitness philanthropy remain under-theorised and its implications for other similar activities, and for how we think about and theorise bodies and publics are hitherto unexplored.

The body has long been as a site for philanthropic and charitable giving. The emerging literature on fitness philanthropy builds on established work around "bodily gifting", for example of blood, human milk, organs, and reproductive gifts (Titmuss, 1971; Shaw, 2008; Oreg and Appe, 2021). There is debate in the literature on how to understand and theorise bodily processes, with some rejecting gift theory altogether and instead thinking about bodily gifts in terms of "body projects" or projects of the self, or taking a posthuman approach to understand the materialities of the process (Shaw, 2008; Lynch and Cohn, 2017).

The body can be used in philanthropy in other ways too. Robert explores the "embodied participation" in health-related fundraising campaigns such as "Movember" whereby men are encouraged to grow moustaches and collect pledges for the maintenance of their facial hair (Robert, 2013, 2018). This is termed "embodied philanthropy", and whilst philanthropy happens through the body, it is different from the practices of bodily gifting or body projects previously mentioned. Although the body features in these forms of philanthropy in different ways, there are shared themes here around bodily capacities, surplus, energy, and waste. In Shaw's study on reproductive gifts, for example, women described not wanting to "waste" their gametes (Shaw, 2008).

Fitness philanthropy sees the body engaged in movement, and it is this movement which enables philanthropy to happen, through fundraising efforts. Whilst this centres around the body in movement, it is the qualities and effects of movement which are generative too – the speeds, times, distances, and experiences. Delving into the process of running to raise funds for water charities, Bunds' ethnographic research shows how sport was more than just a "hook" to encourage people to raise money and be involved in charity (Bunds, 2017). Bunds identifies the themes of embodied philanthropy and embodied internalisation of the cause (Bunds, 2017:45) to show how philanthropy comes to take place in and through the body. The theme of embodied philanthropy describes how, to participants, charity running was different to simply "writing a cheque" – running for the charity meant being actively connected to that charity (Bunds, 2017:52). Related to this theme was the way in which runners internalised (in an embodied sense) the cause – water scarcity. This emerged throughout training and the event itself, whereby participants realised how much they needed water and how much water they were consuming (ibid. 53-54). It became visible and necessary in a way that had not been felt before.

This embodiment of the cause was possible in the context of the water charity, because water was present throughout the event. But many fitness philanthropy events also raise money for particular health issues, and this has implications for how health is conceptualised. Nettleton says runners in the urban charity marathon utilise the ""physical capital" of their own bodies in order to "give" to those with "sick" bodies. There is a synergy between the images of individual struggle with bodily limitations promulgated by charities and runners' experiences of the "wall"" (Nettleton, S. and Hardey, 2006:451). So, although the fitness philanthropy event aims to improve health through fundraising efforts, the event itself also constitutes health and charity in new ways. Nettleton argues the events allow charities and commercial companies to maintain a "caring, compassionate and responsible image as well as enabling enterprises concerned with marketing food and related products designed to enhance healthy lifestyles" (ibid. 455). As such, they can reflect values such as self-discipline and healthy lifestyles, as well as values around caring for others.

Celebrity philanthropists in climbing remind us that whilst fitness philanthropy predominantly involves running and other long-distance events, there are other forms of fitness philanthropy which have their own histories (Gilchrist, 2020). Gilchrist observes that there is a historical relationship between climbing and philanthropy because of the work of Sir Edmund Hilary, who is not only remembered as the first to summit Everest but also as a prominent philanthropist whose humanitarian efforts spanned four decades (ibid. 711). Indeed, there is a long history of sport and volunteering which is suggestive of its potential to generate fellow feeling and bring people together. However, charity sport events are embedded in particular sociocultural contexts, and may not generate the same philanthropic outlooks (Oreg, Greenspan and Berger, 2020). In Israel, at a cycling fundraising event, there was a strong identification of participants in the event as bike riders, but they struggled with the roles of fundraiser and philanthropist (ibid.). Oreg describes participants' embarrassment, agitation, and emotional difficulties with raising funds or donating to the cause. One of the reasons for this was a lack of trust in the Israeli government and in non-profit organisations. Participants were critical of social and welfare policies, "the conditions in which poor people live, and the trends of privatisation and entrenchment of many social services, and the growing expectation to give philanthropically while citizens still pay high income taxes" (ibid. 12). Oreg therefore proposes "ambivalent philanthropy" as a phenomenon, and says we should be more attentive to the sociocultural contexts of philanthropy and participation, particularly how they are reflective of existing relationships between the citizen and state (ibid.).

Experimental and psychological studies on the phenomenon of embodied/fitness philanthropy have sought to understand participation in terms of behaviour. For example, researchers have puzzled over why it is people wish to put themselves through often gruelling and physically demanding experiences for charity. Through experimental conditions, Oliviola and Shafir showed that willingness to contribute to a charitable or collective cause increases when the contribution process is expected to be painful and effortful rather than easy and enjoyable (Oliviola, C. and Shafir, 2011). They called this the "martyrdom effect" which they argue defies standard economic and psychological accounts whereby pain and effort are seen as deterrents rather than motivators.

The "martyrdom effect" reminds us of religious precedents in volunteering activities, and how they might intersect with the body. In Muehlebach's ethnography of volunteering in the Lombardy region of Northern Italy, she talks about how Catholicism influences ideas about pain and suffering – volunteers talked about "sharing in suffering", understanding it to be an inevitable state of feeling if you are helping others less fortunate than yourself (Muehlebach, 2013:459). Bunds shows how this sense of suffering and discipline happens through the body in the water charity running event, where Christian ideals were prevalent in the water charities he worked with (Bunds, 2017). Because of these

ideals, he observed an asceticism whereby people talked about using the body for a higher purpose – to do good and serve God (ibid. 79-81).

I began this section by discussing "bodily gifting" and how emerging forms of doing good through the movement of the body might build on this existing literature. There are efforts to understand how doing good happens through the body, and within this are debates, for example whilst gift theory is often used as a way to understand "person-to-person" donation, the "person-to-person" rhetoric does not capture the materialities of the process and what bodily substances become when they leave the body (Lynch and Cohn, 2017). For Bunds, in embodied and fitness philanthropy, the body acts as a "reproducer" in that it (re)forms and (re)produces socially abstract ideologies as well as tangible material objects (Bunds, 2017:86-87). This happens, he argues, in a closed loop of capitalism, which does not eventually result in real change; "if the way countries escape poverty in this political economic landscape is to adhere to the rules of capitalist production and the people in need are dependent on those in the Global North to constantly produce the never monetarily valorizable water systems as commodities, how then can countries be expected to grow out of poverty?" (ibid.)

The issue of physical inactivity therefore does not exist in a vacuum; evolving social contexts in the UK and beyond frame both problems and solutions to physical inactivity and ill-health, including the emerging forms of moving for others that we see in embodied and fitness philanthropy. On the one hand, moving with and for others offers a way of being together in the context of what is often termed an increasingly fragmented society and the growing issue of loneliness and social isolation. On the other hand, physical activity is also framed as a responsible activity in a neoliberal context which creates the expectation that health is a matter of individual responsibility. An increasing reliance on the third sector due to changing forms of governance in the UK repositions these fundraising activities as essential funding streams to support those most in need, whilst third sector organisations become increasingly corporatized in order to participate in these events.

2.3.3 Wellbeing

Both physical activity and volunteering are often talked about in terms of how they might benefit not only health, but "wellbeing". When studying a phenomenon that brings physical activity and volunteering together then, it is important to consider the concept of wellbeing. Wellbeing has come to the fore of research agendas in a wide range of academic disciplines, whilst also providing a focus for political agendas and policy making, as a result, it takes on different meanings in different contexts. There is therefore, no clear definition of wellbeing, and indeed it has been argued that it would not be desirable to have one (Atkinson, 2013:139). However, it is important to reflect and acknowledge how ideas about wellbeing may be mobilised, and the ideas and meanings that underlie the term.

Wellbeing is most often used in a health context, though this attracts considerable critique. It is described as "positive health" – more than the absence of ill-health – whereby individuals can reach their own potential, can cope with normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and are able to make a contribution to their community[9]. Though health is undoubtedly central to many peoples' experiences of wellbeing, many authors have commented on its over-use in this area, going so far as to say that wellbeing is often used as a "synonym" for health, and that this is restrictive (Thin, 2008:34). Indeed, an experience of good health is not necessarily constitutive of wellbeing, and some studies have looked at how ill people experience "spiritual wellbeing", such as cancer patients and people with chronic health conditions (Peterman et al. 2002).

Physical activity and volunteering are most commonly linked to individual subjective wellbeing, or how an individual "feels" - as seen in the New Economics Foundation's work on the "five ways to wellbeing.[10]", which encourages people to "give" and "be active" in order to improve their own wellbeing. However, this form of wellbeing sets parameters on the term which have been debated. Firstly, ideas about what actually constitutes a good and flourishing life in the first place are up for debate (Atkinson, 2013:137). Wellbeing may also involve the non-human environment and so a definition of wellbeing that is anthropocentric may not adequately account for the way in which place, culture, and non-human subjects constitute overall wellbeing. Furthermore, wellbeing is not necessarily confined to the experience of being alive – some studies have considered wellbeing at the end of life, through the process of dying, and in the afterlife (Bradley, 2009).

For the purposes of this thesis, I follow a flexible definition of wellbeing that does not confine it to the experiences of individuals, or indeed humans. Instead, I understand wellbeing as a situated and relational effect that emerges not only through encounters in space but also across time (Atkinson 2013). This definition departs from dominant approaches to "community wellbeing" which – although they bring in the term "community" - are still premised on a theory of the self as an autonomous, rational, and independently acting or feeling individual (Atkinson et al., 2019). This approach can miss the way in which doing things together – such as in physical activity or volunteering – can reap benefits that go beyond individual gains or resources.

2.3.4 Moving for others: Summary

Clearly the way we understand the body matters for the conclusions that we draw about how the body can do good and effect change in processes of philanthropy and charity. However, the theory behind embodied and fitness philanthropy is still developing, particularly in terms of how we

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[9] http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/mental_health/en/
[10] http://neweconomics.org/2008/10/five-ways-to-wellbeing-the-evidence/

understand bodies, and how moving together may constitute wellbeing. We also know little about the relational aspects of bodies moving together in these contexts, and the potential effects that might emerge beyond individual self-discipline and improvements in health. The mobilisation of the body for fitness and philanthropic outcomes can in fact open up much broader questions about how bodies are constituted, the purposes of physical activity, and the various publics that might be formed through moving together in this way. Drawing on Hinchliffe et al., for example, how might these ways of moving together form "healthy publics" which create favourable conditions for health (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018)? The "harnessing" of movement and energy and the new ways in which the body is mobilised for health also point to contemporary concerns with time use, productivity, responsibility, and care. In addition, they point to a continuing diversification of physical activity whereby the outcome is not just about the individual person who is moving.

In this thesis I introduce an emerging form of moving and doing good – movement volunteering – in order to delve into these issues. Event-based fitness philanthropy is undoubtedly performative, and this raises questions about who or where the "audience" is in these events and what are they performing? On the one hand, pushing one's body for a good cause constitutes a display of good health, resilience, and resolve but it may also be a performance of morality, a display or demonstration of values. The affective nature of these events have been described as important for generating attachment to the cause (Filo, Funk and O'Brien, 2009). However more research is needed to understand how related embodied activities – like movement volunteering - may be embedded in rhythms and routines of everyday life, and how they may play out or indeed produce places and landscapes. In movement volunteering we have an opportunity to understand how philanthropic purpose meshes with the movement of the body in the routines, relationships, and places of everyday life.

2.4 Research questions

The thesis will therefore set out to explore the phenomenon of everyday movement volunteering as a way in which people might not only become and stay active, but also connect meaningfully with others and the world. It will answer the following questions:

1. How did the programmes enable movement?
2. How did the programmes enable people to do good?
3. How did the moving-volunteering bodies intervene in the physical and social landscape?

In the final chapter, I bring these elements together to explore the communal and therapeutic effects of moving together in this way, the meshing of movement with doing good and the intentional and unintentional effects of this.

3. Researching the movement volunteering phenomenon

3.1 Introduction

My interest in this combination of movement with volunteering began with a charity called GoodGym[11], who combine running with voluntary activities. I was intrigued at the concept, the idea of "harnessing" the energy of the body in order to do good whilst getting fit at the same time. The GoodGym model formed the basis of my initial research questions and methods; considering how GoodGym is "good" from a health and societal perspective, and what this might then mean for the rationalities of theoretical frameworks such as neoliberalism, which don't always do justice to the ethical and moral encounters and activities of everyday life. As the fieldwork progressed I discovered two other programmes which brought together movement with volunteering, which caused me to review my research focus and analysis. I began to approach the programmes as examples of one another in some way, and in doing so, I began to use the term "movement volunteering" in order to capture the array of volunteering activities which were now using movement in order to achieve their aims.

3.2 An evolving field

My journey into the movement volunteering programmes started with GoodGym and specifically GoodGym York, as it was at the time (2017) the closest area to my home location in Durham. However during the course of the PhD, GoodGym Newcastle launched, and further movement volunteering opportunities arose through my participation in GoodGym; Cycling Without Age and Move Mates.

The evolution of "the field" in this case was specific to place and social networks. The trainer of GoodGym in York, Meg, had taken on the role of volunteer co-ordinator with the York Bike Belles Cycling Without Age programme and a few other GoodGym runner volunteers also signed up to be volunteer "pedallers". Meg also launched the Move the Masses charity in 2018, driven by her passion of creating inclusive opportunities for people to exercise and improve their health and wellbeing. The Move Mates programme grew out of her own experiences of being a GoodGym coach runner, running to see an isolated older person each week. Whilst the social side of the visits were important, she also wanted to be able to support isolated people with mobility challenges to get out the house and move as well. In many ways, this thesis shadows Meg's own personal and professional development through her experiences of being a personal trainer, running coach, GoodGym trainer, GoodGym coach runner, and CEO of a charity.

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[11] https://www.goodgym.org/about

Being part of all three programmes brought into focus the phenomenon of "movement volunteering" as a new, everyday form of fitness philanthropy (Palmer, 2016, 2020b; Palmer and Dwyer, 2019; Tupper, Atkinson and Pollard, 2020). Although the programmes have different forms and styles, they are all ways to simply get people moving in everyday contexts, and to encourage social connection through voluntary action. As I will explore however, when movement and volunteering combine, it invites new questions about the experiences, purposes, and spacial contexts of movement, and how these new ways of moving and doing good create relationships between places and people.

3.3 The movement volunteering programmes

I begin this chapter with an introduction to the movement volunteering programmes I was involved in as part of the ethnographic study. These programmes are constantly evolving, indeed, they evolved throughout the fieldwork period. Therefore, this is not a comprehensive account, but an overview, setting the context for the ethnographic content that will come in the later chapters. I have included tables with terms and meanings which might be helpful to refer back to when reading the thesis, as some of the terms are specific to these programmes, and will be unfamiliar to the reader.

3.3.1 GoodGym

GoodGym describe themselves as a "community of runners" who "get fit by doing good". The charity launched in Tower Hamlets, London, in 2009 and has since grown to 59 "areas" across the UK. The GoodGym concept emerged from founder Ivo Gormley's personal experiences of running to visit an isolated older man named Terry, bringing him a newspaper and having a chat. Gormley found this gave him the "motivation" and "purpose" to run and get fitter. In a TedX talk in 2013 he voiced his frustration with the concept of gyms, particularly with treadmills, which he described as the exemplar of "exercise that goes nowhere"[12]. From his personal experiences of running to visit Terry and his dislike of gyms grew the GoodGym concept – a group of runners that combine getting fit through running with volunteering activities aimed at connecting people and places together.

Activities

GoodGym activity largely divides into three categories; group runs, mission runs, and coach runs. These are classed as "good deeds" and on completion, a good deed is counted on to a runner volunteer's online profile. However, GoodGym also arrange social activities and members represent GoodGym in races (though these are not counted as good deeds).

Group runs are held in each area on a weekly basis. They begin at the same "start location" each week – somewhere where runners can leave bags, go to the toilet, and get changed. Venues range from

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[12] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jS7tPx2vZRU&t=17s&ab_channel=TEDxTalks

hotels, cafes, cinemas, bars, and other art and community spaces. Group runs are led by a qualified "trainer" with a background in personal training and/or running coaching. The structure involves a run or walk to the task location, a volunteering task, a fitness element, and a run or walk back to the start location. Often runners will gather for a social drink or food after the activity. The volunteering task could be anything from picking up litter, painting, gardening, moving and sorting items, or cleaning. The "task owners" are those recipients of GoodGym's volunteering – usually another charity or community group. Most of the time there will be a representative from the charity there on the night, and sometimes they will tell you a bit about their organisation and the work they do.

The criteria for requesting assistance from GoodGym is broad and a variety of groups and organisations work with the GoodGym trainer in each area to co-ordinate volunteering tasks. Private and for-profit businesses would not be eligible but some public sector groups would, such as environmental teams within local government. The GoodGym fitness element has evolved since its conception in an effort to be more inclusive. Whilst I was doing fieldwork an official "walking group" was introduced for distances less than 3km (to the task and back).

Mission running involves missions to help isolated older people and "community missions." The older person missions are co-ordinated by the older persons team at GoodGym central in London, who work with a variety of partners in order to locate older people in the community who may need help. These include Age UK, British Red Cross, a local council team, an NHS team, and other health, housing or social care teams. In order to take part in mission running for older people, runners must complete a DBS check and an online training module. Once they have done this, they can set their "area" and sign up to hear about missions available in their area. Older people missions vary but most commonly they involve garden clearances, moving and assembling furniture, and changing lightbulbs. GoodGym also work with the NHS to co-ordinate people arriving home from hospital, making space for a hospital bed for example. It is up to the runner how they get to and from the older person mission but they are encouraged to get there on "two legs or two wheels" wherever possible.

Community missions are volunteering tasks that help local organisations, outside of the weekly group run. The trainer or "taskforce" members can find them and set them up, and runner-volunteers can make their own way there. They are essentially the group run though without the group running element. There is often a more relaxed feel to them as people are allowed to join and leave at different times if they like.

Other activities involve socials and races. Though these are not classed as "good deeds" as they do not involve volunteering activity, they are important opportunities for GoodGym runner volunteers to

connect with each other both within their own area and with other areas. GoodGym-wide events were important for creating a sense of a broader GoodGym identity.

Organisational structure

As a charity, GoodGym is governed by its trustees, who have control of the charity and its property and funds. Many of their operations are centralised in London and in the financial year ending August 2020, they had 14 full time staff. The trainer runs GoodGym in their area with support from GoodGym central and they are employed on a part-time, freelance basis. Their job is not only to lead the runs and support the fitness element, but to liase with community organisations and charities to co-ordinate tasks and to upload digital content relating to the GoodGym activities in their area. Following a nation-wide lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, the trainer role was renamed "area activator" due to changes in the activities they were able to provide.

GoodGym runner volunteers also take up leadership roles within the organisation. After completing 10 "good deeds", runner volunteers are eligible to become part of the "taskforce" in their area. Taskforce members take on extra responsibilities within the group and have access to data about the group, such as the numbers of people attending each week and other stats relating to GoodGym activity in their area. They can set up community missions themselves and they can work with the trainer to find and set up voluntary tasks. They can also plan social events, races, and help out with social media.

GoodGym runner volunteers can also become run leaders, meaning that they can lead the group run in the absence of the trainer. To do this, they must complete a training course called the Leadership in Running Fitness Award, which is accredited by England Athletics. If the group take different routes to the task, a run leader can step up to lead a group by themselves.

GoodGym say they follow a "lean start up methodology" which means they are constantly working on their processes, trying to improve what they do. They describe their model of voluntary action as a "fine grain" approach, whereby participation is based on frequent low impact activities that are integrated usefully into peoples lives. They also say their focus is on the experience of volunteers and runners; "making it easy to do good".

Every year, GoodGym central organise the "Shindig". The Shindig is a weekend away where GoodGym members all over the country come together (in a youth hostel hired out exclusively) to give feedback and discuss the future of GoodGym. It is also an opportunity to socialise. The ethos of the Shindig is that everybody "owns" GoodGym, and has a voice and valued contribution to the project. Throughout

the weekend there are sessions run by both GoodGym HQ (e.g. presenting GoodGym's finances) and by GoodGym runner volunteers.

Online element

A key element to the GoodGym experience is its online platform. GoodGym activity is gamified in that runner volunteers can "unlock" badges through their activities and "cheer" (similar to the Facebook "like" or the Strava "kudos") one another on the GoodGym site. Each runner has their own profile and can sign up to activities via the GoodGym online platform. Each activity is written up in the form of a "run report" which gives a humorous account of the activity, often titled with a pun.

GoodGym York and GoodGym Newcastle

GoodGym began in London in 2009 and their activity is most concentrated there however areas are now spread across England e.g. Portsmouth, Birmingham, Bristol, and Sheffield. They are also in Cardiff, Wales, but there are no areas active in Scotland. GoodGym York launched in 2017 and GoodGym Newcastle launched in 2018. Newcastle is the furthest north, followed by York. GoodGym aims to create a consistent experience across their areas.

Term	Meaning
Group Runs	Held once a week in each area and is led by the trainer (and sometimes run leaders). Runner volunteers meet at start location, run to "task location", do a physical volunteering activity, do a fitness session, and run back to the start location. Takes 90 minutes.
Mission running	Ad-hoc activities, providing assistance to either an older person (older person missions) or a charity/community group (community missions). Runner volunteers make their own way there.
Coach Runs	Weekly visits between an older person (coach) and a runner volunteer. The runner volunteer visits the same coach each week and they form a long term "pair". Aim is to motivate the runner volunteer and provide social contact for the older person.
Coach	The older person visited by a GoodGym runner volunteer. They can be referred by various partners (e.g. Age UK, Red Cross).
Trainer	A fitness or running specialist who leads the GoodGym group in their area. They co-ordinate and lead the runs and activities, provide administrative assistance and do publicity.

Run Leader	Runner-volunteers who have completed a Run England qualification. They can lead sub-groups within the group run or lead the group run in the absence of the trainer.
Taskforce	Runner volunteers who have completed more than 10 "good deeds" and who take on extra responsibilities to assist the trainer, such as organising socials, publicity, and finding tasks
Good deeds	A good deed is awarded to a runner-volunteers online profile once they have completed any GoodGym activity that involved volunteering (i.e. not socials, races, or fitness sessions).
Cheers	A cheer is the equivalent of a "like" on Facebook or "kudos" on Strava. It is an online interaction whereby runner-volunteers and trainers can support each other by offering a "cheer" on an activity update. So if someone had completed their first community mission, this will show up on the news feed for other runners, and they can then be "cheered".
Start location	The starting point for the group run. It is always the same, and must have toilets, and a secure area to leave clothes and bags. Might be a café, hotel, or community centre.
Task owner	The representative of a charity or organisation in receipt of GoodGym help.
Shindig	The annual get together of all the GoodGym areas.
GoodGym "area"	The geographical location where a GoodGym is operative. Usually a local council area.
Run report	A report written up after any GoodGym activity (except coach runs). Often uses a pun as a title and includes photos taken during the activity

Table 1: GoodGym terms and meanings

3.3.2 Cycling Without Age

Cycling Without Age is not a charity but a grassroots organisation and global "movement". It began in 2012 in Copenhagen with Ole Kassow, who wanted to help older people back onto bikes. He bought an electric "trishaw" (a three wheeled bike), and started offering free bike rides to local nursing home residents. The concept grew and Cycling Without Age is now operative in 50 countries around the world. They work on an affiliate model whereby individuals and organisations can set up their own Cycling Without Age "chapter" where they live. Their tagline is to give older people the "right to wind in their hair". Their principles (described on their website) are as follows;

Generosity: *Cycling Without Age is based on generosity and kindness. It starts with the obvious generous act of taking one or two elderly or less-abled people out on a bike ride. It's a simple act that everyone can do.*

Slowness: *Slowness allows you to sense the environment, be present in the moment and it allows people you meet along the way to be curious and gain knowledge about Cycling Without Age because you make time to stop and talk.*

Storytelling: *Older adults have so many stories that will be forgotten if we don't reach out and listen to them. We tell stories, we listen to stories on the bike and we also document the stories when we share them via word of mouth or on social media.*

Relationships: *Cycling Without Age is about creating a multitude of new relationships: between generations, among older adults, between pilots and passengers, care home employees and family members. Relationships build trust, happiness and quality of life.*

Without Age: *Life unfolds at all ages, young and old, and can be thrilling, fun, sad, beautiful and meaningful. Cycling Without Age is about letting people age in a positive context – fully aware of the opportunities that lie ahead when interacting in their local community.* [13]

3.3.2.1 The York Bike Belles Cycling Without Age programme

In York, the Cycling Without Age programme was co-ordinated by the York Bike Belles, a community organisation aimed at encouraging and enabling walking and cycling around York. They were initially formed in 2014 to support women into cycling. Amongst various activities they offer buddy rides, bike loans, "cake confidence" sessions, bike maintenance workshops, and a walking book group.

York Bike Belles were keen to begin a Cycling Without Age "chapter" in York. They sought funding for this, and were approached by a local businessman who committed to sponsor the project for the first year. This paid for the electric trishaw and its maintenance and storage costs, and a part-time volunteer co-ordinator. As the pilot project developed, care homes also began contributing towards the costs of the project. Volunteer recruitment and training for "pedallers" began in the summer of 2018 and there was another volunteer recruitment wave in the winter. Numbers of volunteers fluctuate but there was between 8-15 active volunteers at any one time during the fieldwork period.

A Cycling Without Age ride, we were told in our training, was not simply a bike ride, or getting from "A to B", but a sociable, community experience for both pedaller and passenger. It is about experiencing movement, being outdoors, and interacting with people, places, and things. On a typical

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[13] *(https://cyclingwithoutage.org/about/)*

ride, the pedaller will pick up the bike, nicknamed "Trixie" by the volunteer pedallers, complete basic checks, and cycle over to the care home. There, they are met by a care home co-ordinator who assists in creating a list of people to go on the rides and helps them on to the bike. Bike rides typically last between 20 and 40 minutes. The bike rides take place 2 or 3 days per week in the York Bike Belles Cycling Without Age programme, and continued throughout the winter months.

The York Bike Belles Cycling Without Age group met on a regular basis to socialise and share experiences and ideas for the bike rides. These monthly meet ups were arranged by the volunteer co-ordinator and took place in a pub. There was no set agenda for these meetings, but it was an opportunity to come together to discuss how the rides were going and for the volunteer co-ordinator to collect this information and make any necessary changes. Mostly the meet ups involved sharing stories about the rides and I found them invaluable for my fieldwork.

Term	Meaning
Pedaller	Also called "Pilots" in some cycling without age chapters, the pedaller is the volunteer riding the trishaw bike
Passenger	The older person who sits in the seated area at the front of the bike
Trixie	The electric trishaw used by the York Bike Belles Cycling Without Age programme
Trishaw	A trishaw is a three wheeled bike. The Cycling Without Age bike has two wheels at the front, underneath the seat, and one wheel at the back, behind the pedaller.
Chapter	A local Cycling Without Age programme is called a "chapter" because it is part of the bigger, international, Cycling Without Age "story"

Table 2: Cycling Without Age terms and meanings

3.3.3 Move Mates

Move Mates is a walking buddy scheme launched in January 2019 by the York based charity "Move the Masses". Move the Masses was set up to provide free, accessible and sociable fitness and wellbeing opportunities in local parks and spaces. The idea behind the Move Mates scheme was that some people need a bit of extra help to simply "get out the front door" and get moving. "Beneficiaries" are paired up with a local volunteer or "Move Mate" walking buddy who meets them at the front door

and accompanies them "wherever they want to go". Move Mates walks might be short walks just outside the home, a walk to the local shops, or a walk to an appointment or class. The walking buddy volunteers complete a DBS check and receive ongoing training to help their walking buddy beneficiary. This included training with signposting services, dementia friends training, and mobility aid training.

Move the Masses registered as a charity in August 2018 and they are a small but growing organisation, locally commissioned in York by the council but with a view to expand to other areas in Yorkshire and beyond through commissioning and sponsorship. The Move Mates programme has a part-time co-ordinator and administrator who work on a freelance basis. In 2020, the co-ordinator and administrator roles went from freelance to employment contracts within the Move the Masses organisation.

Movement volunteering programmes overview			
	GoodGym	**Cycling Without Age**	**Move Mates**
Year founded	2009	2012	2019
Organisation type	UK registered charity	International social enterprise	Programme within UK registered charity "Move the Masses"
Size	59 "areas" across England and Wales, 5174 volunteers	Active in 50 countries, 2200 "chapter" locations, 33,000 trained pedallers	Active in York, 24 walking buddy volunteers, 25 beneficiaries (as of January 2020)
Target benefits	Decreasing isolation in older people, providing opportunities for intergenerational relationships, improving health through physical activity, helping community projects and spaces	Encouraging active citizenship, providing opportunities for intergenerational relationships, providing experience of movement on a bike for older people experiencing mobility challenges, creating	Intergenerational relationships, encouraging and enabling movement for people experiencing mobility challenges, connecting people with local services and opportunities

		positive experiences of ageing	

Table 3: Movement volunteering programmes overview

3.4 Epistemology and ontology

The project took an ethnographic approach to understanding the phenomenon of movement volunteering. Although ethnography is often associated with the discipline of anthropology, there is much debate on the relationship between the two. Ingold is particularly critical of how ethnography has come to represent the discipline of anthropology, not because he is critical of ethnography but because anthropological inquiry goes further than ethnography (Ingold, 2017). Anthropology is, he says, generous, open-ended, comparative, and critical, it creates conversations that go beyond individual ethnographies (ibid. 22). I therefore use ethnography here in order to contribute to wider conversations and debates in anthropology and social science more generally. Ethnography allows the researcher to become embedded in a group of people, a place, or a community of practice and create knowledge from the inside out. This involves studying *with* people, not making studies *of* them (ibid.). This epistemological framework is productive in that it allows both existing and new concepts and analytical categories to be reconsidered and transformed, an iterative process that continues into analysis and writing up.

Ontologically, anthropological enquiry is interested in the intersubjective encounter between people. However, anthropologists also consider humans "in context" and therefore attend to the various material and non-human elements that constitute social life and social worlds. This project considers the moving body as its main ontological focus. In the thesis, I aim to locate my analysis in the movement of bodies as my participants and I experienced it in the movement volunteering programmes. As such, my theoretical interest pertains to the "becoming" as oppose to the fixed, and the incomplete as oppose to the complete (Biehl and Locke, 2010). This means the body features throughout the thesis as both an observable ethnographic object as well as an analytical tool to understand the emerging effects of the programmes, and their implications for health. I discuss my own positionality later in this chapter but just to say here that part of participant observation always involves an "ontological commitment" (Ingold, 2017) – a "being there" which of course involves the body of the researcher, their presence is not somehow separate from the ethnography.

Ethnography conducted "on-the-move" has been termed "mobile ethnography". The rise of mobile ethnography has been linked to the so-called "new mobilities paradigm" (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Novoa, 2015). Due to the mobile nature of the movement volunteering activities, I took a mobile ethnographic approach which acknowledges that movement itself can influence the production of

ethnographic knowledge. This epistemological underpinning opens up possibilities in ethnographic research for harnessing and capturing experiences, understandings, and relations that might emerge through movement. I tried to capture a sense of movement and place in my fieldnotes, written up after the activity, and I also conducted go-along interviews and informal conversations while engaged in physical/voluntary activity. Interviewing whilst running brought its own methodological challenges but overall worked well simply using a voice recorder. I found that go-along methods generally offered prompts, a sense of place, and indeed disruptions which produced and enriched the data (Thompson and Reynolds, 2019). I used a mix of go-along and post-activity interviewing methods in order to capture both in-situ experiences and reflections of the activities.

3.5 Ethnographic fieldwork

My fieldwork "sites" were, broadly, the cities of York and Newcastle, and this is largely were I spent my time during fieldwork. However, I did attend races and events outside of these areas which were included in my fieldnotes. The fieldwork was therefore multi-sited in different ways; there were two different cities, but there were also multiple sites within these urban environments that I moved between. Beyond these re-visited sites were the one-off events I attended (e.g. the races I attended with GoodGym). Their "special" ritual-like quality and the sometimes carnivalesque atmosphere caused me to reflect on them as a qualitatively different sort of space to the ones I encountered in the everyday movement volunteering activities and I do not focus on them to a great extent in the thesis.

The ethnographic fieldwork covered a 15-month period. I was not engaged in fieldwork consistently throughout this time due to the multi-sited nature of the project and my home base remaining in Durham. Furthermore, my involvement with the programmes occurred at different stages of the fieldwork, as the project evolved and as I became more embedded within various activities and networks:

Timetable of programme participation														
	2018							**2019**						
	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July	Aug
GoodGym															
Cycling Without Age															
Move Mates															

Table 4: Timeline of programme participation

My main method was participation observation; I participated and contributed to the programmes as a volunteer, and observed and reflected on the experiences, interactions, and processes within and across the programmes. Although I conducted my ethnography close to home and in fairly familiar settings, I endeavoured to not take anything for granted in my observations and, to repeat the well-

cited anthropological mantra; "make the familiar strange". This was easy in some ways as I had not taken part in the programmes before, and as such they genuinely were strange, however in other ways it was difficult as I was still bringing to my participant observation the experiences and embodied practices I had picked up from my own physical activity and volunteering practices.

The table below gives a rough idea of the number and range of activities I was involved in throughout – this is by no means a comprehensive account, as it is not possible to "count" all my fieldwork in terms of discrete activities, but it gives an idea of the scale of my participation within the groups over the course of the 15-month period. The regularity of my participation as a GoodGym runner was on par with the average fairly committed GoodGym runner though I split my time over two groups (York and Newcastle) so it may not have come across like this to the people within each of the GoodGym groups. GoodGym runner volunteers tend to exclusively run with one area, except in London, where there are so many different areas and where people are easily able to move across the city. In the Cycling Without Age and Move Mates programmes, I tended to volunteer more regularly than the other volunteers, as there were fewer available activities to sign up to.

Participant observation activities (15 month fieldwork period)		Number of hours (approx.)
GoodGym	80 "good deeds" - GoodGym voluntary activities	120 hours
	15-20 social activities and races	40 hours
Cycling Without Age	23 bike rides (inc. 10 "buddy rides" accompanying another pedaller)	34.5 hours
	7 pedaller meet ups/socials	15 hours
Move Mates	24 Move Mate Walks	24 hours
	4 meet ups/socials	4 hours

Table 5: Participant observation activities

Throughout the thesis I also draw upon preliminary fieldwork data collected as part of my 2017 MA dissertation, which focused exclusively on the GoodGym group run element in York.

Beyond discrete activities, I did also try to spend time "hanging out" in both Newcastle and York, and make myself available for informal activities that may arise. The volunteer participants did have busy lives however and there was no obvious place to "hang out" as it were. I did find that attending the odd Parkrun was a good way in which to encounter the runner-volunteer participants outside of the discrete fieldwork activities. For the care home residents, the "hanging out" method was again difficult

however the wellbeing co-ordinator at one of the care homes invited me to attend some of their other social activities such as their debate club.

3.5.1 Online research

Throughout the fieldwork period I spent a lot of time keeping up to date and interacting with the programmes through online mediums. The gamification aspect of the GoodGym website meant that you could interact with other users outside of GoodGym activity. I also followed blogs, stories, and social media posts posted by and related to the programmes.

Another aspect of the online element of the fieldwork was GPS tracking technologies. Included in the consent form was permission to follow people's activities through online mediums, including Strava, a social fitness network where you can record your own GPS activity and share it with others. This applied mainly to the GoodGym participants. Through this I got a general sense of what people got up to outside of the organised activities, who they were with, where they went, etc. Though I decided not to engage with this data directly, I found it to be a useful prompt in talking to people about their experiences of running and physical activity more broadly.

3.6 Participants and roles

Across the programmes, 64 participants consented to be part of the project. The first table below shows the different roles within the programmes that were directly involved in the project and the second table shows how the participants were dispersed across the groups in terms of the different programmes and roles. The number of participants (n=64) is not the same as the number of roles (n-70) because some participants were involved in multiple programmes. One participant was both a pedaller volunteer and a GoodGym task owner, another GoodGym volunteer was also a walking volunteer for Move Mates, and four GoodGym participants - including the trainer – were involved in the organisational side of the Move Mates programme. One of these was also a pedaller volunteer, so was involved in all three programmes.

It is important to note that roles are by no means set – they are flexible and fluid and the nuances and dynamics of this will be touched on in the thesis. The labels here are purposefully oversimplified in order to provide a sense of scale. Throughout the thesis I will describe people in terms of their role when using quotes and excerpts e.g. *(interview with David, pedaller volunteer, (month/year)).*

Roles within the programmes:

GoodGym	Cycling Without Age	Move Mates

Trainer (volunteer co-ordinator and fitness instructor)	Co-ordinator	Co-ordinator
Runner volunteer	Pedaller volunteer	Walking Volunteer (also called the "Move Mate")
Beneficiary (task owner or coach)	Beneficiary (passenger, care home)	Beneficiary

Number of participants and roles in programmes:

Programme	Total no. of participants	Participant role	
		Volunteer or co-cordinator	*Beneficiary*
GoodGym	46 (York = 27, NCL = 16)	43	3
Cycling Without Age	17	7	10
Move Mates	7	5	2
Total (roles)	70		
Total (participants)	64		

Table 6: Participants and roles in the programmes

The numbers here are not an exhaustive list of those who were involved in the programmes, only those who consented to be part of the project, and I will discuss ethical issues and positionality later in this chapter.

The thesis is does not cover all the data collected as part of the project, and so for a demographic overview of the participants whose experiences and words I draw on throughout thesis, I provide a table below of key volunteers and beneficiaries:

Volunteers

Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Age bracket	Ethnicity	Employment Status

Phil	Male	51-60	White British	Employed full time
Thomas	Male	61-70	White British	Retired
Phoebe	Female	18-30	White British	Employed full time
Gavin	Male	31-40	White British	Employed full time
Caroline	Female	51-60	White British	Employed part time
Bruce	Male	51-60	White British	Employed full time
David	Male	61-70	White British	Retired
Hilary	Female	51-60	White British	Employed part time
Amber	Female	51-60	White British	Employed full time
Mark	Male	71-80	White British	Retired

The volunteers were a range of ages however it is worth noting that the GoodGym group were slightly younger compared to those who were volunteers for the Cycling Without Age programme. This was partly due to the nature of the activity, with GoodGym being more intensive physically than volunteering for Cycling Without Age. However it could also potentially be due to when the activities took place, Cycling Without Age always took place during the day and mostly during the week, which restricted those working full-time with a regular hours Monday-Friday working pattern. GoodGym activities often took place in the evening during the week and at weekends.

Most volunteers in the programmes were white British with few exceptions and most were in some kind of paid employment, or retired.

Beneficiaries

Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Age Bracket	Ethnicity	Employment status
Freya	Female	80+	White British	Retired
Jenny	Female	80+	White British	Retired

Pauline	Female	80+	White British	Retired
Nancy	Female	80+	White British	Retired
Peggy	Female	80+	White British	Retired
Dot	Female	80+	White British	Retired

The passengers for the Cycling Without Age rides were almost always women, and this reflects the demographics of the care homes we visited.

3.7 Data

The fieldwork data comprised extensive field-notes from participant observation, interview recordings including mobile 'go-along' interview recordings with participants in the programmes, photographic visual data, and online material, including run reports, blog posts, stories, and other social media posts.

3.7.1 Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes were written up after the event (usually in rough notes on the train home) and then written up more fully once I was back in the office either the next day or later that week. I used the software Scrivener to store my fieldnotes, which allowed me to create "layers" – beginning with basic notes about what happened and then further notes where I began a basic analysis, offering reflections and interpretations. At the start of the fieldwork period I found I had a lot of fieldnotes and was able to write at length about the activity and my interpretations. As time went on and I became a regular volunteer in the groups, I found the same observations cropping up, and things just felt more familiar and unremarkable. This is a well-documented process in ethnography but the practice of layering fieldnotes meant I always had a way to create both emic and etic observations, moving between perspectives within the group and then stepping outside of this perspective.

3.7.2 Interviews and conversations

The participant observation included informal chats and conversations, some of which I would note down after the activity. In terms of recorded interviews, I conducted 28 recorded interviews in total, across the programmes. The interviews were semi-structured. I prepared a small number of questions (less than 10) and allowed myself and my participants time to explore related topics that emerged through the course of the interview. The recorded interviews varied in length, from short go-along interviews of 10 minutes or so recorded during an activity, to 1.5 hour sit down interviews in a coffee shop, and an even longer go-along cycling interview which took most of a hot summers afternoon. The average interview time was around 30 minutes.

Interview recordings were either transcribed verbatim or, once a number of interviews were already transcribed fully, they were simply listened to, and key themes or specific quotes written down or transcribed. This allowed me to analyse the data as I went, drawing out themes as they came up, and using them as a guide in analysing further interviews.

Ethnographic methods can draw out the consistencies and disparities between what people say, what people do, and what people say they do, creating a rich picture of a group of people or a phenomena. I did not treat the interviews as separate, more reliable data, but as continuations of conversations I had had during participant observation – ones which would typically start off with me asking simple questions like "why is it done like that?" or "what does X mean?" or "how did you get involved with X?". I started conducting interviews a few months into fieldwork, which gave me time to identify themes and questions that emerged from participant observation. It also gave me an opportunity to invite specific people for interviews – perhaps people that were keen to tell me their stories, or who I had spoken to more frequently during the activities. I will go into more detail about this in discussing ethics and positionality later, but there were practical considerations to take into account as part of the process of inviting people for interviews. Rather than try to interview everyone, I instead tried to chat and build up rapport with people whom I saw frequently as this made it easier to arrange and follow up on themes, events, and topics.

3.7.3 Photographs

I used photographs as a tool to prompt reflection and conversation. An abundance of photographs are taken in the course of GoodGym and Cycling Without Age activity. This is for publicity and marketing purposes, and also to allow runner-volunteers to share their experiences with each other through the user-based online interface. This practice of taking photographs contributed to the performative and aesthetic element of the programmes, which I will discuss later in the thesis. Their use as prompts was invaluable methodologically; at the end of the fieldwork period I hosted a knowledge exchange photo exhibition whereby participants selected photos that had been taken as part of the GoodGym activities, wrote a reflective commentary on their experiences and discussed this with other participants in this knowledge exchange setting.

I also purposefully use photographs throughout the thesis as a presentation device to enrich the written ethnographic content. When I have presented on the programmes in conferences and talks, one of the challenges is communicating the physical, embodied, and practical elements of the activities and so their visual representation is helpful for this.

3.8 Analysis and the writing up process

Analysis was ongoing throughout the fieldwork period, and took different forms at each stage in the project. While conducting fieldwork, I used the software "Scrivener" (https://www.literatureandlatte.com/) to store, annotate, add comments, and create layers to original data. This was useful for creating analytical and reflective notes on primary ethnographic and interview data. As described before, this allowed me to "layer" my notes, and move between (and try to distinguish) the emic and etic, identifying the understandings and observations that arose from being in the programmes, as well as the understandings and observations that came from my position outside of them, as a researcher. As I stayed "at home" while doing fieldwork, I was still engaged with some departmental activities and the general "world" of academia. Hopping between different contexts may have influenced my analysis, but it is difficult to trace direct effects of this inside/outside perspective. From a personal perspective I found that presenting ongoing fieldwork activities, developments, and findings was valuable for thinking through what was going on in the field. Feeling supported in this way throughout fieldwork not only enriched the analytical process but challenged, in a positive way, the narrative of anthropological fieldwork as a solitary and sometimes lonely process.

Towards the end of the fieldwork period I began to generate initial themes from revisiting the data. I hosted a knowledge exchange event in York in order to share and expand on these initial findings and reflections. This was done through a presentation and group activities and I emphasised to my participants that the themes were not fixed, but fluid, and that I was interested what they thought of them. The knowledge exchange event therefore allowed me to develop the themes I had identified in collaboration with my participants. At this stage, everything was still very "fresh" and I felt very close to the material. "Grouping" data through thematic analysis was a good starting point to identify core themes and generally organise the material I had.

As I moved into the process of writing up, my perspective changed slightly as I was able to step back from my material some more and think about the project as a whole. I began to wonder, for example, how the programmes might be related to one another. This necessitated a more conceptual analysis. Although my expansion into Cycling Without Age and Move Mates felt intuitive at the time, I began to wonder *why* it felt intuitive, and how the programmes might be examples or developments of one another. This enabled me to move into key bodies of literature in developing my analysis of what was going on on a broader scale.

As well as stepping back, I began to zoom into my material to identify specific moments and narratives in my ethnographic fieldwork which had spoke to broader themes that I had identified. There was a

constant back-and-forth here, as I did find during the actual ethnographic fieldwork that there particular moments which struck me and therefore which stayed with me and were easier to recall.

I also became aware of the distribution of my material across the programmes. My engagement with each programme was different and this provided some challenges for analysis. Although I had much more material from my fieldwork in GoodGym, I wanted to find an analytical approach that was worked for all three programmes. Identifying the body here as an analytical tool as well as an ethnographic phenomenon was productive in doing this, and I began to consider the movement of the body as a way to ground the material. From here, I drew out *movement*, *purpose*, and *context* as an analytical structure that could provide the basis for my chapter writing.

The movement theme brings together all the ethnographic data I collected about movement, particularly commentaries and observations on how the programmes initiated new ways of moving that were appreciated by participants. The "purpose" theme allowed me to consider the meanings that coalesced around movement volunteering, including commentaries and critiques on "volunteering" itself as a practice, and the nature of this everyday philanthropic engagement with the world. The final empirical chapter considers the interplay between movement and the landscape, and I show here how the landscape was not a stable context for the movement of bodies, but constituted through movement itself.

3.9 Ethics and volunteer positionality

The project was subject to the procedures for ethical scrutiny and approval of Durham University which are fully compliant with the guidance of UKRI. All participants received full information on the purposes of the research and the use of the research data, and agreed to participation in the study through a signed consent form. All names were anonymised and data was stored in line with General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) on a secure password protected device. The participants were aware that they could withdraw their consent at any time with no repercussion. Although all names were changed, key participants such as the GoodGym trainers are identifiable due to their role. I made these people aware of this and names were changed anyway.

Formal ethics procedures however, do not always take into account the real life complexities of doing ethnographic fieldwork. Ethics is also something that must be continually reviewed and negotiated on-the-ground, and I wish to offer a reflection on how this played out in my own fieldwork.

Firstly, the consent form. I did a few different "waves" of consent forms in the first month or so of fieldwork to ensure that those who were attending the sessions (at this point my fieldwork only involved GoodGym) were given the opportunity to sign up. Whilst there was a core group of people

attending the groups each week, in general there was a lot of dropping in and dropping out, and particularly in York, and at the launch of the Newcastle group, where the numbers were so big I found it difficult to keep track. As time went on, I came to interact mostly with those who had signed consent forms and who I had built up a rapport with, which inevitably meant I did not manage to get to know everyone in the group. This threw up the ethical consideration for me of observing a "group" in which not everyone had signed a consent form or indeed knew that an ethnographic researcher was in their midst. I did feel a slight unease with this but at the same time I had to consider the practical issues that came with being one researcher within a constantly shifting group of people with busy lives and concerns beyond GoodGym. It was not possible to go round everybody in the group before each activity to ensure they were informed about the research. Thus in the end I came to "follow" a smaller number of people, and anyone whom I did come into conversation with during GoodGym, I would introduce myself as a researcher and give them the opportunity to sign up to the project as a participant. I also did not make fieldnotes that directly related to individuals who had not formally consented.

For the Cycling Without Age programme, this process was much simpler and more linear as I was part of the first generation of volunteers and being a small group, I met everyone fairly quickly. Not being a group activity, there was more of an opportunity for one-to-one time, which I found more amenable for creating connections with participants. Across the groups, all of the people in the movement volunteering programmes I spoke to were quite happy to sign up to the project, and on reflection I wonder whether there is something about being a volunteer that makes people more ready to sign up for things and help out. It probably helped that I was "one of them" - I regularly attended sessions and was already a familiar face for some people at GoodGym York, as I had done a pilot project with them in 2017. The process of consent was different again for the passengers of the rides, where I first involved the care home wellbeing co-ordinators in the process, to check that passengers were able to consent. They advised creating an additional, simplified, information sheet with pictures and large type, which I could then share with the passengers, along with the consent form.

Volunteering is a common way for researchers to gain access to the field, and for me, made complete sense as the phenomenon involved volunteering anyway. Volunteering as a researcher does however amplify the "participant" element of "participant observation". I could hardly stand back and ask questions whilst others did the volunteering, and so participating in the physicality of whatever movement volunteering programme was an important way in which to understand the embodied element of the groups.

Because the fieldwork was so physical, I was both enabled and limited by my own body and fitness. I was generally fit and interested in running before I started the fieldwork, and GoodGym was something that I could see myself signing up for as a participant. Being from a typically middle-class background and growing up in an affluent area in Edinburgh with lots of opportunities and spaces for engaging in physical and voluntary activities, joining a group such as GoodGym did not feel out of sorts to me, and this was definitely an advantage in that it made me feel comfortable in the group. However, feeling out of sorts is not necessarily a bad thing when doing ethnographic research as experiences of discomfort can be productively reflected upon, bringing to the surface the unspoken rules of a particular context. I therefore did try to also "make the familiar strange" even when I became used to the groups and the places.

Although I started fieldwork very fit and healthy, I did develop a running injury during fieldwork in my IT band which flared up in the middle of a GoodGym group run and prevented me from running along with the rest of the group. The injury – whilst painful and disruptive – nonetheless opened up some interesting conversations within the group, as participants related to me their own experiences of injuries and running with and through pain. I had to dial back my activities slightly and was a more frequent participant in the GoodGym walking group for those months. In starting the fieldwork I had definitely taken my youth and fitness for granted and did not anticipate any problems with keeping up, but the physicality of the body can always change, throwing up challenges and opportunities along the way.

Though I did not feel there was anything ethically dubious in the volunteering itself, volunteering nonetheless puts you in the hands of the organisations purpose. Having said that, at times I was able to influence the evolution of the programmes, by attending the monthly pedaller meet ups and Move Mates meet ups. To give an example, I had noticed my Move Mate beneficiary struggled with her mobility aid and I was not sure how best to help her, and so I suggested to the Move Mates team that we have a session on mobility aids. I felt that although I was an observer, I also did want to help the programmes improve, and I wondered at how this blurred the lines between researcher and volunteer. "Impact" is so important when doing social research, but from my time with the movement volunteering programmes, I came to see it not just as something that could happen after fieldwork is done and findings were consolidated, but also as something that was possible through the very process of doing ethnographic fieldwork.

As time went on of course the process of taking an "outside" perspective of my material became more difficult, as I became an established volunteer and felt myself as more of an "ambassador" of the programmes. I even made a couple of media appearances as a volunteer, talking about the merits of

the Cycling Without Age programme in York to "That's TV York" and appearing with my Move Mate beneficiary on BBC Look North. My availability as an almost full-time volunteer meant that I found myself taking up these, and other, opportunities.

Creating emotional bonds with participants and field sites is an inevitability of doing long term social research. Having said that, I could not have anticipated the extent of these emotional ties, or how they would continue beyond the fieldwork period. It would be unnatural to cut these ties completely, and indeed I do not think it is ethical to do so, given the extent of my involvement. Even now, I receive notifications from the GoodGym York fell runners chat on WhatsApp, and although my fell running days were short-lived, through this digital medium I retain an insight into what people are up to. It is very easy to stay in the loop through social media channels and I continue to keep up to date in what is happening in all of the groups.

I made some strong friendships through fieldwork, but one relationship particularly affected me – my friendship with my Move Mate, Freya. I met her in January 2019 a few months after her long-term partner passed away. It was a crucial point in her life as she was grieving and had been given a cancer diagnosis. She had lost confidence in her mobility and her physio referred her to the Move Mates programme. When I asked her about the walks and how they have helped her, one of the things she said was that they made her feel like she had not been forgotten about. Freya did not have children and had worked most of her life as a secretary in the hospital and had been involved in various groups and societies in York. Her and her partner loved going out exploring, along with her lifelong friend Len, who features in this ethnography. Anywhere that I went, she had been there before, and on my visits and walks she enjoyed reminiscing about the places she had been and the things she had seen.

I continued to see Freya even after I had finished fieldwork as we had become friendly and I knew how important my visits had become to her. This was an ethical consideration that emerged through the fieldwork, and one I had not considered. Freya always wanted a date in the diary for my next visit and simply stopping seeing her because I had finished my fieldwork did not feel right, and I enjoyed our visits. I continued to see her through the winter of 2019 whilst I was on a secondment in Sheffield, including a visit to the hospital after she had become unwell. Christmas and New Year came and went, and a month or so had gone by before I next got in touch. I rang to arrange a visit in early January – Len answered the phone and said that she was not doing too well but that she would love to see me. Freya had been in ill-health for a while so although it did not sound good, I suppose I had got used to her health not being great. We arranged a Monday visit – our usual walking day.

Freya passed away at her home that Monday in January 2020, a year after we met, and (remarkably) during my visit. I did not know when we met that day that it would be the final time I saw her, and I

could not have known that when I met her a year earlier that our year of walking would be her final year. My experiences illustrate the unpredictability of fieldwork, and the way in which we navigate the field not just as researchers but as human beings. It sounds strange, but I felt as though she had waited to see me before passing away. The timing of it was extraordinary. Whilst it was an undeniably stressful experience, the actual moment of her passing was actually quite peaceful and changed the way I thought about death and dying.

Reflecting on it after the funeral, I realised how important the walks were in the context of her health. Ageing is often associated with declining health and eventual death but creating that intention and purpose to keep moving, throughout life, reminds us that life and health is always unfolding.

4. Bodies Moving

4.1 Overview

This chapter focuses on the "movement" element of the programmes. I discuss how the programmes created forms and styles of movement which maintained and transformed existing practices. Physical activities were experienced in new ways in the movement volunteering programmes. I focus here on the experiential and performative aspects of moving together in the programmes, and the material and supportive conditions that enabled them. Experiencing physical activities "differently" within the programmes was an important pull for continuing participation, as movement created new ways of experiencing and being in different environments.

4.2 Moving "differently"

4.2.1 Energy and fun

21st good deed at GG York. Arrived early – hot day. Hannah got me to sign a card for Phil – it was his birthday as well as his "100th good deed". Phil says when he arrives later that he kind of planned the synchronised timing of birthday and good deed milestone by doing loads of community missions last week (there were plenty of opportunities with that never-ending footpath the runner-volunteers were working on!)

I chat with Alice and Tom about our weekends – Alice did the York 10k along with quite a few of the other GoodGym-ers. It was a really hot one – she didn't enjoy how the route went back on itself too. The support was good along the way though, she said. I asked if she went to Meg's speed training session and she said no – she isn't bothered about getting faster, just wants to make running more "comfortable". Tom described his weekend as "cultured" – art/exhibitions etc.

We move into the conference room and spread out for the warm-up. It feels busy today – 28 runners. There is lots of chat about the 10k over the weekend and Gary's 10 pints after it. Everyone was wondering if he would show up today and he did – he said he did not feel that bad because he went to bed early. He started drinking straight after the race and had not eaten anything.

I say to Meg that it seems busy today and she says it is probably because the task is "pure destruction".

Meg welcomes us to GoodGym. There is one new runner today – everyone gives them a cheer. We also cheer those that did the 10k yesterday in the heat.

Meg gets us doing fast feet and jumps, moving our arms. She tells us a bit about the task ahead and risks involved. Last time we did a task like this someone got a minor injury – I remember this, as it was actually my first ever GoodGym run – it was dark and I remember tools being swung around as we hacked away at a bush. The task tonight sounded similar. The same person who got the injury last year is here tonight for the first time in a while so Meg tells him to be careful.

Meg also announces that it is Phil's birthday and 100th good deed. She rewards him the "centurion cape".

Meg asks if anyone wants to backmark – Phil volunteers (I think he is still injured) but Fiona offers to be "assistant backmarker" and Meg jokes that everyone is going to be backmarking tonight. Maybe because it is the heat, or the fact that loads of people did the York 10k yesterday, but today definitely feels like a chilled out recovery run.

Meg announces to the group that we are going to go for the diagonal at the lights. I run with Elsie and Natalie for a bit. I ask Elsie about the 10k because we did it in about the same time last year. She says she beat her time this year.

She tells me that the "centurion cape" started off as part of a centurion fancy dress outfit that Phil and his dad had bought for their 100th parkrun (they both did theirs on the same day). Elsie stitched "GG" on to it and thus it became the GoodGym centurion cape to celebrate someone achieving 100 good deeds.

At one of the many traffic lights I chat a bit with Neil. I have not seen him in a while. I ask if he did the York 10k yesterday and he said no – he is not interested in racing. He just has his weekly group run and weekly coach run and that is enough for him – he wants to maintain his level of fitness, and is not that interested in improving it. He comes to the group run for what he calls the "social element".

My knee starts to twinge as we move towards the task location. It has been feeling funny recently. I am in quite a lot of pain when we reach the task location but I don't feel it during the task.

I recognise the sheltered housing from last year. Bungalows in rows and neat gardens. Meg and one of the task owners shows us to a large bush in the middle of a neatly mowed lawn and surrounded by bungalows on both sides. Meg explains the task to us, as the task owner stands next to her. She says our task is to cut down the bush within 30 minutes, they want the roots out and everything. Everything is to go. There are plenty of blackberries on the bush so we are to eat as many of them as we want. We are to put the branches in a pile at the other side of the garden, to be picked up by the gardeners.

People grab a tool and get to work, hacking away at the bush and pulling out branches. There are not enough tools for everyone so some people are picking up the branches and leaves with their hands and putting them in the pile. It is a potentially very dangerous task – we are going at the bush from all angles with various tools and equipment.

Most people enjoy the destruction element but I see one person looking a bit sad when we find a birds nests in the bush. Also there are loads of berries growing on the bushes so people are trying to salvage those too. I eat a few – some of them are lovely and sweet but some are a bit sour. Andy is enjoying them – he said they remind of him of the crumbles and pies his grandparents used to make.

There is a family sitting outside one of the bungalows enjoying the sunshine. They don't seem particularly surprised by our presence so I wonder if they have been told in advance. Apart from them, we don't see any other residents.

The task owner takes photos while we work. At one point she is on the phone – I wonder if she was asking someone about how much of the bush is to be taken down because when she sees the Holly tree in the middle of the bush she shouts out to stop – the tree is to stay.

The pile of chopped off bush is getting higher and people joke that all we've done is re-locate it somewhere else. The tools are proving challenging – we could do with more loppers and a bigger brush to

sweep up the bits of bush off the path but people are doing their best and there is so many of us that everything gets done.

A couple of people notice that the re-located bush pile is getting dangerously close to some overhead wires. We start to expand the pile wider instead. We take a group photo of us all next to what used to be the bush – now just some stumps of tough roots and the single holly tree in the middle. Someone is going round offering people blackberries from his spade. He did not manage to get rid of them all so begins running with them in his hand, offering them round. He says he has eaten loads already so does not want any more but does not want to throw them away.

Meg says she has a "treat" for us for the fitness sessions. Meg's ideas of "treats" are big hills and lunges so everyone groans.

(Fieldnotes excerpt, August 2018)

This fieldnotes excerpt comes from a typical GoodGym group run on a Monday evening in the summer. It was a warm night on the Monday after the York 10k, which I thought had had an effect on the feel and energy of the group that day. Many themes are at play here, in particular of celebration and humour, recognising achievements both in terms of running and "good deeds", but also simply recognising and celebrating a birthday. An unexpected theme of nostalgia also emerged from GoodGym activity, seen here when Andy reminisces about his grandparent's blackberry pies. Sensory encounters with places and things during GoodGym activity sometimes transported people back to a different time and place, they were often nostalgic memories of childhood and other play-based activities.

This task was described as a "destructive" one, which the group tended to consider themselves particularly good at. It required less thought, there was less chance of getting it wrong, and runner-volunteers seemed to relish the physicality of it. What we also see here is how running and volunteering mesh and blend in GoodGym, for example some materials are the same; the tracking devices/ Garmins people wear on their wrists, the clothing people wear, running shoes, pavements and trails. But there are more – other objects and materials are also associated with GoodGym – gardening gloves, headtorches, matching t-shirts, gardening tools. Specific tools I came to associate with GoodGym activity, such as scythes. I had never used one before but many tasks involved scything and so it became associated with GoodGym activity.

Figure 1: "Scything technique". Photo taken from run report

Also coming through in this excerpt is the energy and "flow" of the GoodGym group run in York. The activity shifted bodies between different rhythms and intensities of movement, from running along the pavement in a group, to assembling at the task location, before moving collaboratively in different physical roles to complete the task. Bodies worked individually and together in order to get to the task location, complete the task, the fitness session, and return to the start location. Running as part of this group, it felt not as if we were individual units of physical capacity, but instead that there was some kind of "momentum", outwith the individual body, whereby energy bounced between our bodies, tools, and the surrounding environment.

These experiences of collective movement have been described in running studies. Authors have drawn out the qualities of collective movement in specific running contexts. Wiltshire and colleagues describe the "collective bodywork" experienced in Parkrun for example, a weekly 5k timed running event taking place in local parks across the world. In their analysis, they describe how participants simultaneously enact personal body projects whilst also experience a sense of being "in it together" (Wiltshire, Fullagar and Stevinson, 2018). Their point is that is possible for both to happen at once – that working to improve individual health can become a collective experience when multiple bodies

are moving in the same way. Writing in a professional running context, Crawley describes the concern with energy among Ethiopian long distance runners (Crawley, 2018). Here, the runners are working the body to their limits, a practice which occurs within an "economy of limited energy". He describes a tension between collaboration and competition, whereby runners train in groups but compete alone, and where energy is finite, fluid, and fleeting, not bounded by the individual body, but rather, as "transbodily, flowing between people, shared and sometimes stolen" (ibid. 14-15). An investigation of energy and the moving body therefore holds the possibility of opening up cosmological understandings, of the body in-the-world and its connection, through movement, to other elements and forces. Clearly, there is something about the moving, running body that throws up possibilities to both use and share energy, literally and metaphorically. What is interesting in this GoodGym example is the constant shifts between individual and collective bodywork, as people move to – and with – places and environments. Bodies moved individually and together, generating a range of physical, embodied, material, and atmospheric effects.

Connected to the momentum in GoodGym is a sense of playfulness and fun, the joking and humour, as opportunities arise throughout the task to improvise and have a laugh. This involved some creativity, as we see when one of the runner-volunteers uses the spade to offer around berries. There was often a repurposing of tools, structures and plants to inject a sense of fun in the task. As Tainio writes on GoodGym and other innovative running programmes; creative and playful experimentation can serve to broaden the field of physical activity as well as create original meanings for it (Tainio, 2018:11-12).

I will now move from fieldwork excerpts to material gathered via mobile and sedentary interviews with GoodGym runner-volunteers in order to further understand this new way of moving the body. I am interested in how runner-volunteers perceive themselves and their movement practices. For many of the runners, GoodGym involved moving differently and as such constituted a "new" way to run. As we heard in the fieldnotes excerpt, runner-volunteers were fairly moderate about their enthusiasm for running; they told me they just wanted to make running more "comfortable" (Alice) or they did it just to keep up their general fitness and for the "social element" (Neil). Although some of the runners in the group were keen and committed runners who sometimes ran very long distances, generally there was a relaxed rather competitive approach which drew people in to the activity.

4.2.2 A new way to run

GoodGym describes itself as a "community of runners". It is, in many ways, a "running club" whose members meet to run and get fit together. The running element of the programme drew people into the activity, such as Caroline, a runner volunteer;

"So it just seemed like, you know, as somebody who was already a
runner, looking to do a bit more volunteering, it's just kind of the
perfect combination!"

However, when I asked Caroline more about her experience of being part of GoodGym, the running element was less important than the volunteering element;

"Its great, I really like it! I…I do do it for the volunteering, not
so much for the running, it…depending on how long the run is, the
shorter ones like this are kind of neither here nor there in a way."
(Mobile interview with Caroline, runner volunteer, December 2018)

Caroline, as someone who already runs, was drawn into GoodGym activity partly because of her enjoyment of running and because running was a regular practice for her. But what really pulled her back into GoodGym activity was the volunteering element - GoodGym did not constitute or "count" as "a run" for her. However, running as a familiar embodied and practiced movement, and perhaps also as a sense of identity, was nonetheless influential in drawing her in to the activity. Caroline was keen to try the "perfect combination" of running and volunteering – running enabled her to get into it initially, but then it wasn't about the running anymore – the running was something separate. This is likely attributed to her own fitness levels and running habits – GoodGym *not* constituting a running habit was because of the kind of running habits that she had outside of GoodGym e.g. following training plans, and setting personal records etc.

Other runners who joined GoodGym described a sort of fatigue with running, perhaps due to injury but also just because they were not enjoying it anymore, or their personal situation had changed. GoodGym therefore offered a different experience of running which they appreciated, as it kept them doing it;

Yeah so I'm mucking on a bit now, so I'm running out of getting faster
type goals but I've got other goals in terms of, you know, there are
still some things I could probably do quicker, other distances I want
to do, other races that I fancy the look of, and running more off road
– stuff like that (Interview with Phil, runner volunteer, June 2017).

Phil's understanding and experience of his own ageing body meant his goals had shifted, and running was no longer just about "getting faster". Writing on engagement in physical activity in mid and later life, Griffin points out that individuals engage in lifelong learning not just through (conscious) thought and reflection, but also in and through the body (Griffin, 2017:554). We see this in Phil's new goals,

whereby he is consciously creating new goals based on his embodied knowledge of his own body and its running capacities. Interestingly, he frames his ageing body as simultaneously restrictive (running out of "getting faster type goals") and a site of possibility. Since joining GoodGym, Phil went from being predominantly a road runner to doing interesting races involving trails, fells, and even food. Key to keeping active was his interest in maintaining running practices in some form, and the range of running activities on offer, including GoodGym, allowed him to do just that.

In parallel with how the GoodGym model configures running for a different purpose, the runners also configured GoodGym for a different purpose, in the context of their running practices. Another runner volunteer, Neil, told me he had run a marathon 6 years ago but hadn't done much running since, only once or twice a year when he "felt the itch". GoodGym, he said, had really helped him get back into running and enjoy it again. He wasn't building up to a marathon again, or anything like that, but it just helped him get back into it. So whereas running used to be about pushing himself, building up to something, running longer distances etc. now, the purpose of running is just simply doing it, and being "active", and GoodGym enabled these runners to do that.

"Enjoyment" was also an aspiration for Gavin. Gavin describes himself as a regular runner; he used to be in a running club, he does Parkrun, has run marathons and other races, and regularly uses Strava to record and track his performance. His aim now is to 'enjoy running more' through a less demanding form of training:

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Gavin: One of the reasons I joined GoodGym was just to enjoy running
a bit more, so obviously you're training for marathons and stuff, it
takes a lot of your time, whereas this is a lot more relaxed and you
still get a good few miles in.
Interviewer: So you still see it as a run…
Gavin: Yeah even though it's not obviously training very hard every
day I still see it as part of my training, it's still extra miles for
my legs…
Interviewer: Mileage?
Gavin: Yeah its mileage! If it goes on Strava, it's all worth it!
(Laughs) (Mobile interview with Gavin, December 2018)
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While Gavin indicates that, for him, getting the miles in was important, the accumulated mileage of the distance run is unifying rather than competitive. The focus on building up the distance run is done by each runner setting their own targets and their own speed. This finding is different from Copelton's (Copelton, 2010) observations and interviews of a walking group for older women whereby pedometers were viewed by the women as anathema to walking group norms that stress sociability.

In the case of the GoodGym groups, tracking technologies were used by some of the runner-volunteers both in and outside of GoodGym runs, allowing runner-volunteers to include GoodGym "mileage" into their own quantitative tracking of their running practices. At the start of a run, the trainer would often cry "Garmins at the ready," to indicate the start of the run and remind people to record it. Tracking technologies were therefore not "anathema" to sociability in GoodGym, but allowed runner-volunteers to blend their own running practices into GoodGym activity and vice versa.

As well as offering an opportunity for existing runners to keep up their running practices as circumstances and bodies change, GoodGym was also a draw for people looking to get into running as a way to keep fit and "distract" themselves from the fact that they were running. This distraction element meant that people often became fitter and faster and found themselves running longer distances, spurred on by the activities of others in the group. People were doing 5ks, 10ks, and half marathons and more/ further before they knew it. Runner-volunteers voiced a sense of pleasant surprise in finding that their fitness had improved, which perhaps indicated a sense of inevitability that getting fitter was at best uncomfortable and at worse painful. One participant admitted they also would intentionally seek distractions while running in GoodGym, for example by running next to a particularly chatty person, who did not get out of breath easily.

GoodGym was also an opportunity simply to "get out". At the knowledge exchange event we discussed all the ways in which the movement volunteering programmes were beneficial and a common theme was "getting out." Hannah, a surgeon in the NHS, commented that we often talk about trying to help less mobile people get out and about but for her, GoodGym was often the only time she actually gets out during the week, not counting her work. The valued opportunity to "get out" is shared with other forms of moving in groups outside, such as walking groups (Morris, Guell and Pollard, 2019b). In the case of GoodGym, "getting out" was not just about being outside, but going to new or unusual places in an area that held some familiarity due to connection with home or work. The spacial and public elements of GoodGym running are discussed further in Chapter 6.

To briefly sum up, GoodGym offered opportunities for runners to keep running as circumstances and bodies changed, as well as start running, by providing opportunities to run whilst doing something else. The diversification of fitness practices (and of running in particular) (Tainio, 2018) is therefore an important backdrop to this study whereby participants voiced their appreciation of an activity that was a bit "different". GoodGym running and its associated activities afforded people individual opportunities to maintain or transform fitness practices, but at the same time it also afforded a unifying experience *because* it offered something "a bit different". Despite the various backgrounds and experiences people had of running and/or volunteering, doing something different *together*

initiated a sense of togetherness and unifying practices and rituals such as the wearing of the "centurion cape" on a runner-volunteer's 100th good deed. Indeed, each GoodGym area marked milestones, but in different ways, and when I joined GoodGym Newcastle, I wore their Newcastle-themed cape on the event of my 50th good deed.

Figure 2: Newcastle-themed cape for 50 good deeds, photo taken from run report

4.2.3 Awareness

Participants in the Cycling Without Age programme in York also commented on how cycling the electric trishaw (nicknamed "Trixie") was different from their previous experiences of cycling as an activity. The pedaller volunteers related their experiences of cycling Trixie to their experiences of being on a bike on the road, usually in the context of urban cycling, or more generally cycling for travel purposes. Cycling has not been promoted as a physical activity in the same way that running has – as an activity it requires more resources. Indeed, pedaller volunteers sometimes even said they did not really think of the Cycling Without Age rides as "cycling". In addition, the fitness of the volunteer did not constitute a central element of the activity. This departs from GoodGym's mantra of "get fit and do good" as although some level of fitness is required to be a pedaller volunteer, the aim of volunteering as a pedaller is not explicitly to improve one's fitness.

A common theme from interviews and my own experiences of the Cycling Without Age rides was that cycling Trixie as opposed to a "normal" bike changed the pedaller volunteers experiences of being on a bike, which in turn made them think about cycling differently. This happened in various ways. Firstly, the experience of being on the road - volunteers commented that the interaction with motorists was much more positive when you are cycling Trixie;

"People are nicer…and whether that's because you clearly have elderly people on board, or whether that's because it's a quaint or an unusual sight, or whether that's because they just recognise the passengers and they need to be more careful…and if only the same courtesy was shown to us generally, the world would be a nicer place"…(Interview with David, pedaller volunteer, June 2019)

David speculates here as to why motorists act differently – "nicer" – when around the trishaw. He does not know for sure but concludes that it would be good if that was the norm around cyclists and bikes in general. Riding the trishaw bike in the Cycling Without Age programme then, allowed volunteers to reflect on their own experiences of being on the road as a cyclist. They often commented that you are generally "safer" on Trixie because of the way in which other motorists react; slowing down, giving space, etc. This allowed possibilities to be imagined, as David comments – the world would be a "nicer place" if the same courtesy was shown to all cyclists. So although there was a general satisfaction with the experiences on the road in the Cycling Without Age programme, it brought to light their own negative experiences of cycling normally, and also, as Amber says, shortcomings in cycling infrastructure, for example the "calming streams" (barriers, gates, narrow paths etc.);

"It's (cycling Trixie) made me much more aware of other sorts of bikes, and whether you need the calming streams that get you on to footpaths that can't be used by different bikes…and there's a lot of such bikes in York…there's a lot of interesting bikes and there are places they can't get to, even though there are supposed to be cycle paths, and that's just a shame, we need to make it accessible to everybody" (Interview with Amber, pedaller volunteer, June 2019).

Here, cycling Trixie encouraged reflection on inclusive mobility. Cycling a bigger bike specially designed to accommodate people who cannot cycle independently drew the volunteers attention to similar unusual bikes designed to make cycling more inclusive, and the physical barriers they faced when out and about.

Another way in which cycling Trixie changed people's experiences of being on a bike was the embodied and sensory nature of cycling the electric Trishaw. Amber describes;

"I mean I've done a lot of cycling in my time…the most difficult thing is knowing the boundaries of the bike, judging where the edges of it are and what the turning circle is like so yeah I found that really difficult at first…when we did our training session which was in

January or something, it was a really cold day - really cold, and there was a lot of us - so really we didn't do much cycling at all, I can imagine on a different day it would be completely different…we didn't do much cycling at all…so when I started the rides I was really worried about any little bump in the road, it felt like it was going to tip the whole bike up - but it didn't take me long to realise actually its pretty stable, and you start thinking just about where the front wheels are and let that guide you…but it took me a while to get there actually…" (Amber)

Similar to learning to ride a "normal" bike as described by Nettleton and Green (Nettleton and Green, 2014), pedaller volunteers described getting a "feel" for the bike, which meant knowing its boundaries, mechanics, balance, power, turning circle and so on. This allowed the pedaller volunteers to have control over the bike but also the experience of the passenger, negotiating bumps in the road for example. Getting the "feel" of the bike therefore also involved imagining what it must be like to travel in the bike as a passenger, something which you pick up through practice;

"That again, is confidence and experience, you start off quite nervous, and I think after a while you realise that the drivers are fascinated by it, so they tend to treat you with respect, even the taxi drivers, who are impatient…so I think …I feel more secure on the Trixie bike than I do on an ordinary bike…you are exceedingly vulnerable on an ordinary bike, but on the Trixie bike, you fill the road, you know, they can't do a lot…the trouble with the Trixie bike is navigating the humps - it doesn't do that very well…if I can I try to go between the bumps but you have to go into the centre of the road - which I do if there's no traffic…I'm always intrigued about how the passengers feel because they are right ahead of the wheels and the first thing that hits anything - if we go into anything - is their feet, and so you wonder how they feel - but again, they build confidence…" (Interview with Thomas, pedaller volunteer, June 2019)

Thomas describes here the way in which the "Trixie bike" moves and takes up space on the road. He wonders out loud about how the passengers must feel, being exposed at the front of the bike, and as he says, the first thing that hits anything. But just as he as a pedaller gains confidence and experience on the bike, so does the passenger – they build confidence through riding regularly and becoming familiar with the experience, as I will show later in this chapter. We see with these examples that riding Trixie involves an extension of the pedaller volunteer's own sensory and embodied capacity,

"feeling" the bike and its mechanics as it moves, but also imagining what being on the bike might feel like as a passenger.

Cycling Trixie allowed the pedallers to reflect on their own cycling experiences but this was two-way; their own histories as cyclists influenced how they approached the rides. Many of the pedallers had been cycling most of their lives, for both transport and leisure. David, for example, enjoys cycle touring because you can see and experience more, while moving quicker and covering more ground than you would normally. He elaborates on the "seeing" element;

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"Well seeing is almost too limiting…it's about "being in" more…seeing,
smelling, feeling…you know" (David)
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Here, David alludes to cycling as a total sensory experience whereby the cycling body is incorporated intimately into the landscape. The total sensory experience that cycling brings about then, was realised by the pedaller volunteers in their own cycling experiences, but was then realised to new effect in the Cycling Without Age rides, whereby the sensory element was extended to both a bigger bike, and multiple passengers. The pedaller volunteers also sought to encourage this kind of engagement through verbal interactions with passengers, pointing out visual cues or checking that they feel warm enough on a cold day.

4.2.4 Slowness

Another example of how people's existing cycling experiences play into Cycling Without Age emerged in Amber's interview. Amber has two different cycling practices – firstly, her cycling around York – she cycles everywhere, she says, and doesn't wear a helmet or any special clothing. She deliberately makes it easy for herself to get her bike out and get out – lights and lock ready, because as she says "`if there is a faff at one end, it stops you doing it.`" This is in contrast to road cycling where she has a road bike with cleats on it, and always wears a helmet, because she is going faster. When I asked whether the Cycling Without Age rides had changed her experiences at all, she drew on her experiences of cycling for travel to compare;

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"The focus is on enjoying it, rather than getting from A to B, and
that's a different thing as well…" (Amber)
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Because Amber was so used to dotting about York on her commuter bike, getting "from A to B", she noted that the focus on enjoying the rides brought new forms and styles of movement, such as slowing down and "taking notice";

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"Taking more of a notice of what's around you…I mean you are always
doing that a bit anyway, but when you are actively looking for
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something to point out to people it's a different approach; "ooh
there's a pink cloud!" you know…(Amber)

Slowness, as a quality of movement, enabled recognition and attentiveness across the programmes. In the Cycling Without Age context "slowness" already constituted a guiding principle of the Cycling Without Age movement, carrying with it a kind ethical stance – slowness as a kind of antidote to modern day life. Slowness facilitated connective experiences and the pedallers appreciated the opportunity to slow down and move in a more conscious way. In our training, it was emphasised heavily. The bike ride, we were told, is not about getting from A to B, neither is it meant to be "useful", it is meant to be an "enjoyable, social, and community experience" (Fieldnotes, September 2018).

From my experiences of riding the bike, "slowness" was key in facilitating both sensory and social engagement and connection during the rides. The openness of the bike means that sights, sounds, touches, and smells are accessible experiences. Changes in temperature (cold/warmth/wind/sun) were enjoyed and commented on during the rides, bringing an awareness to the body and to the experience of being outside. Feeling cold is not always necessarily a negative experience for the passengers, as some have said it makes them feel more alive/awake, or on the other hand, it makes them appreciate going back into warmth after the rides, and they look forward to having a cup of tea on their return. Comments such as "that'll last me the week!" Show that the experience of being on the bike carries through well after the ride is over – the experience is banked and cherished. Indeed, having "something to look forward to" was described as an important element of the experience for Peggy, who mentioned the phrase multiple times in her interview.

The rides also brought about a general sense of the changing seasons and time passing by. This emerges out of visual cues such as the changing colours of the trees, the freezing of the lake in park, the rise and fall of the river Ouse, the emergence of the daffodils and ice cream vans, and the number of people out and about. Slowness is key in facilitating sensory engagement, not just for the passenger, but for the pedaller too. As a pedaller, I have noticed how the slow pace focuses my attention on details and small changes in the environment, and other pedallers have commented too, on how it makes them really pay attention to where they are going, and the details and sensitivities of the route, rather than just being on "autopilot". Amber, for example, discussed in her interview how she had to consciously slow down during the rides, which is different to how she usually cycles because she mostly cycles to work as quick as she can. Cycling Without Age brought about a new experience for her. Other pedallers described the rides as "time out" in a busy week and described it as an "opportunity" to slow down.

When asked about the social dynamics of the bike rides, Bruce immediately talks about speed, specifically slowness, and how that facilitates social interaction. The social element is bound up with movement, and slow movement is conducive to meaningful social interaction;

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I mean because of the nature of it, I mean your not charging along at 30
mph, you are just poddling along and just seeing the sights…
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And then later on in the interview, when asked about responses to the rides when out and about he said;

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And I mean the bike is sort of unusual, you know, and to see this sort
of lumbering trike with at least one little old person on board and in
some cases two, you know, and then theres me on the back, and because we
are only going at, what, one and a half, two miles an hour, we're… there,
theres plenty of time…if somebody engages in conversation I'll always
just stop, you know, and I think thats fun. (Interview with Bruce,
pedaller-volunteer, 24.5.19)
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Rather than viewing slowness as antithetical to becoming active, in the GoodGym case it enabled a sustainable engagement in physical activity practices as circumstances and bodies change.

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"The walking group"
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June 2018 - GoodGym York
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Evie has not been running the GG York group runs. Sometimes she pops up
on a bicycle at a task, and gets stuck in with everyone else, before
hopping back on her bike to go back to the start location. On the shorter
runs, she is a backmarker and walks at the back. I ask her about it on
a GG mission (14.07.18) - it is just the two of us doing some gardening
for an older woman. It is a hot day and we are in the front garden,
pulling out weeds. She says GoodGym do not strictly allow bikes but
because she's been part of the group for a while and because her chronic
health condition has got worse, the trainer has made an exception for
her.
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July 2018 - GoodGym Newcastle
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Meanwhile in Newcastle GoodGym, Colin is injured, and hasn't been able
to make it to a couple of the Monday night runs. The trainer is apologetic
to his partner, Sarah, saying that she got his message about cycling but
they aren't allowed to cycle on the group runs. And the distance is too
far tonight to walk unfortunately. Sarah says not to worry, he
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understands, he just thought he'd ask. When out delivering leaflets for the group task we bump into him. For a minute we think he is going to join us for the fitness session but he laughs and says he is just popping to Sainsburys for some wine.

July 2018 - GoodGym Shindig, Stratford-Upon-Avon

Later that month, at the GoodGym "Shindig" over the summer (annual weekend away meet up with lots of different areas), there is a discussion about participation and inclusivity in the group runs. People say that one of the main things that might put people off going to a group run is not being able to "keep up". Fiona (representing GoodGym York) says that on the shorter runs, they always have a walking option. People seem to like the idea.

August 2018 – GoodGym Newcastle

The group run tonight isn't far tonight and Colin and Dana are walking. Colin is still injured and Dana has tired legs from the weekend – she did a duathalon – her first open water swim in Scotland – and her legs are tired. They set off before us and we meet them at the task location.

October 2018 – GoodGym York

The run is only about 1km tonight so Evie is leading the walking option. Three of them arrive a few minutes after us, deep in conversation, and get stuck into the task.

October 2018 – GoodGym "Story" (written by head of operations and published on GoodGym website and throughout social media channels) GOODGYM IS CHANGING THE PACE: Why we're introducing a walking option on group sessions

(Excerpts)

"In York and a few other GoodGym areas, a 'walk leader' role has been unofficially trialled. For community tasks less than 5km, runners are invited to walk and set off a little earlier to meet those who have run ahead, then get stuck into the good deed together."

"You may have seen GoodGym's tag line of 'Do Good, Get Fit'. Everything we do supports this and I see walking groups as a natural progression. That is why from Monday 22nd October the option of walking on a GoodGym

group session will be made available where the task is a suitable distance away. Task Force members will be able to sign up as the Walk Leader and accompany those not wanting to run."

"We will still be doing good, we will still be getting fit. Sometimes it will just be at a different pace."

October 2018 – GoodGym York

There are a few different options for the group run tonight, and one of the tasks is only 1.5km away so there is a walking option. Evie isn't there so Jenny leads the group. It is me, Jenny, and Zara. My knee is painful after a typically active GoodGym weekend away in the lakes (featuring a parkrun and a mountain hike). Jenny tells me the walking option is great for her because she has had major surgery and the impact of running, particularly on hard ground, is painful for her. Zara prefers the walking option because she can't keep up otherwise – she is slowly building up her fitness. She found out about GoodGym through the trainer, who is also her personal trainer. She says her goal is to be active into older age, because in her country (Oman) once people hit 50, they just stay in the house. She doesn't want that. But her other goal is to fit into her favourite coat, that she hasn't been able to wear in ages.

Evie arrives a bit later on. We chat about the walking option. She says she still has a "runners head" – she is determined and keen to push herself but her health just doesn't allow it. And it has been really bad this past month (her voice cracks slightly). So having the walking option has been great because it means she can still take part. And, she says, its not even like she is much slower than everyone else. Sometimes they catch up with the slower joggers at the back.

Months on from this entry, "the walking group" had become a regular feature at the group runs. I often joined them - it is a different, slower experience, and you often miss out the warm-up and the fitness session too. Knowing there is the option to walk makes the attending GoodGym less daunting, if you are feeling tired or sore, or just not feeling like a run, but it also means that people attend the group who can't run at all, for various reasons. The walking group tends to be chattier too, and the slower pace and smaller group size means discussion can be more in depth and considered – because you are moving slower, you have more time.

Far from constituting a failure to meet recommended "levels" of physical activity, what the theme of slowness shows is that slowing down was in fact a way in which the activities were made inclusive and connective. This happened in different ways across the different groups. In the GoodGym case, the walking group was made possible (across all GoodGyms) because people who could not run due to chronic illness or injury drove it forward, and the organisation responded. Slowing down, and changing pace was therefore a kind of push back from within the group.

On the other hand, Cycling Without Age have embedded "slowness" into their guiding principles, recognising from the offset the way in which it facilitates spontaneous sensual and social engagement. Slowness here appears to from more of an ethic – a principle - rather than a simple instruction.

What is interesting in the activities is the way in which movement was *evaluated* by those organising and doing the activities; not in terms of "how might it help people improve fitness and health", but in terms of "togetherness", as well as the overall "experience" of the activity – its fun or social element. Slowness as a valued and necessary quality of movement here also acknowledges that circumstances and bodies can change – whether that be for the long or short term - injury, age, fitness, or just how someone might feel that day.

There seems to be something intrinsically ethical in "slowness" – whether that be heightened perception, becoming connected to different people and the surrounding environment…etc. But slowness here was a relational quality rather than an objective measure – to quantify slowness in any way would be to miss the point – I argue we need to move away from "faster is better" and instead look at how movement might allow connective experience (which is valued in and of itself).

4.3 Moving and being moved

The public health concern with getting people active featured in all three movement volunteering programmes. However the way in which getting people active featured in the programmes did not map directly on to public health narratives around being and becoming active. So far I have shown how moving "differently" (via energy and fun, a new way to run, awareness, and slowness) made the activities compelling and enjoyable for the volunteers. Though this might have also involved moving more or moving faster, it could have also involved moving slower. This might have been down to individual choice or mood that day, but it was also down to the capacities and interests of those the volunteers moved for and with. Inseparable from the movement of the volunteers is the movement experienced by beneficiaries of the movement volunteering programmes. This was different in each activity, and the basic elements of these activities are set out in methodology chapter (Chapter 3).

In this section, I look at how bodies moved together, focusing on the volunteer-beneficiary dynamic. These examples will show how moving bodies moved other bodies – older, more frail bodies which are often labelled as "hard to reach" populations in public health literature. Movement for these people is both beneficial to health and an incredibly difficult and risky undertaking. The chapter will engage with the debates of Chapter 2 about what it is that makes us move, and will show how in movement volunteering it was the presence of other bodies and the commitment to move together that was important.

4.3.1 "Exercises"

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Freya tells me to look out the window to see where she keeps her
walker and her wheelchair. They are tucked away behind a bench in the
courtyard, under a shelter. Len and I go down and he shows me how he
gets them out and sets them up. He lifts up the bench one side at a
time, swivelling it round on one of the back legs so it takes most of
the weight. He does it with the movements of someone who has done it
many times before. He is only a few years younger than her, he tells
me (he turns 80 next year), but he helps her out a lot. He sets up
the walker and shows me how the brakes work. We walk it to the bottom
of Freya's steps and he puts it in position. Then it's time for Freya
to come down. We go upstairs. Freya gets up from her chair and they
show me how she manoeuvres about the flat with her trolley - into the
bedroom so that the bathroom door can be opened for example. They have
worked it out so that she always has something to hold on to. She
positions the trolley at the top of the stairs and then uses both of
the bannisters to walk down the stairs. Len reminds her not to rush.
He is standing below her on the stairs and I am behind, at the top,
following her steps down. We all comment on how going downstairs is
actually harder - I say I find the same thing with running because it
hurts my knees and Len says its the same with hillwalking – its because
you've got less control.

Freya asks me how she is doing and I tell her she's doing great and
to take her time. She reaches the bottom of the stairs and uses the
railings to go down the steps outside of the house. She puts on her
gloves. Len moves the walker into a slightly better position for her
and she grabs hold of it. We set off together round the courtyard.
(Fieldnotes: Move Mates, January 2019)
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This vignette comes from the Move Mates programme. In an early visit to the home of my Move Mate, Freya, I felt myself becoming orientated to her embodied experience of getting up and getting out to go for a walk, and the spaces, materials, and bodies required to make it happen. In my fieldnotes I describe how the positioning of everything was crucial, and the movements this required; for example the lifting of the bench outside in order to get out the outside mobility frame, the position, the angle and stasis/stability of the frame at the bottom of her steps, all of which were demonstrated to me by her friend and carer, Len.

Clearly, the event of the walk caused a stirring of activity, indeed, even in its anticipation, because Freya was already dressed in her hat, scarf, and coat, all ready to go out when I arrived. In the first meeting, I become "orientated" to Freya and her space, the practiced embodied movements which allow her to negotiate the space of the flat, the stairs down to the front door, and the outside space of the courtyard. Everything was planned and practiced, every little space between the body and the surrounding environment was calculated and tested – not just by Freya, but in collaboration with Len, who offered a second perspective, another "pair of eyes" – or more accurately – a source of embodied knowledge. He would often use his own body to test out the spaces between things, and to demonstrate to Freya how to do each movement. Having known and cared for Freya for a long time, he knew the potentialities and limits of her movements better than I did. In the lead up to her operation for example, he had thought ahead about how she might get up and down the stairs, distributing her weight and using her legs more so that she could still get up and down.

It is worth noting that Len and Freya are able to, and sometimes do, get out and about just the two of them – but what makes my visits a little different is the performative element to them - whereas Len provided much of the tactile support and knowledge, Freya's regular question; "how am I doing?" positioned me more as an audience where I could feed back on the aesthetics and quality of the movement. Indeed, Freya used these words herself during my second visit, when she asked Len if he was also coming out to watch her "perform". Her walks with Len during the rest of the week gave them time to experiment with what worked and what didn't, and when we were catching up about what each other had been up to during the week, their stories often centred around movement and mobility – not just where they had gone but how they had managed to get there. Linked to the performative aspect here is the way in which Freya called our walks round the courtyard "exercises" to passers by that she knew, indicating the purpose the walks had in a health context, and perhaps, was some reflection on how she saw me, as a researcher interested in movement.

Here we can see clearly all the elements of practice theory (meanings, materialities and competencies (Blue *et al.*, 2014)) that come together in making up the walks with Freya. Particularly important were

the material structures and tools that enabled her to move, and the physical and emotional support of Len. We can see how the meaning of walking changed for Freya when it became performative, as there was then a concern with improvement and achievement. What the Move Mates programme created then, was a shift in the meaning of walking for Freya at a time in her life when her mobility was becoming increasingly a challenge. This shift in meaning initiated a shift in habit whereby Freya and Len "practiced" walking when they went out.

Similar to the Move Mates walks, the Cycling Without Age rides causes a stirring of activity, as the "residents" transition into "passengers". "Getting out" becomes an event which is both planned but also constantly negotiated. This excerpt comes from a few months in to the programme, where I now have a few "regulars" on the bike;

February 2019 Fieldnotes: "Getting out"

When we arrive at the care home there are loads of cars parked in the driveway, blocking our usual spot for parking Trixie. It means that the ramp usually used by the passengers is blocked and I can't bring the bike as close as I'd like.

I park Trixie and get the blankets out and the footrest off, to make her as accessible as possible and to minimise disruption in the transition on to the bike. Wendy (another pedaller) leans her bike against the pillars outside and we head in. The receptionist recognises us and calls for Ben, the care home wellbeing coordinator, on the radio. She says they've got a band on at the moment and we are to head on in because people might be busy. We go inside to the main atrium area - there is indeed a big band playing and residents are sitting around listening and socialising.

We come across Mary who is dressed in her coat and scarf and bopping along to the music as she walks with her stick. She sees us and smiles and waves. This is the first time I've actually been further into the building to pick the passengers up for their rides. We then pick up Janice, who shuffles out her room with her walker. We edge slowly along the corridor. I try not to walk too far ahead of Janice, I don't want her to feel as if she is slow or holding us back.

Mary says to me, oh I do love it when Ben comes to the door and says its time to go out! I say she's not wearing two scarves this week like she sometimes does and she replies no, its getting warmer isn't it!

79

Once outside, they go down the other ramp this time as the usual one is blocked. It is a squeeze getting past all the cars, particularly with Janice's walker. Janice goes in first as usual, sitting on the left of the bike (from my perspective behind her as the pedaller). I am holding the bike steady. I notice that her movements themselves don't appear any faster but Janice goes about getting on to the bike with a kind of familiarity and confidence now - with each ride her body must have worked out the spaces between things and how she must move into them, reaching out behind her for the side of the bike, backing in to the space where the footrest goes, sitting back on the seat, and shuffling along to her left to create space for Mary. She always says in a jokingly helpful way that she doesn't mind her putting her hand on her knee if she likes, as Mary backs into the seat next to her, rolling her eyes.

She always remembers to move her feet for the footrest coming on, and reminds Mary to do the same. Ben and I tuck them in with the two blankets. He says he thinks they should get the wheelchair for coming back in, for Janice. We leave her frame where it is, but Mary takes her stick with her as usual, holding it between her legs.

The act of "getting out" is a complex one here which requires co-ordination and effort both on the part of the care home and the volunteer co-ordinator in the lead up to the event; the consent forms, the risk assessment and "recce" rides, not to mention the training up of volunteers to ride the bike. After the advance co-ordination is the choreographing of the event itself, making sure the residents are ready to go out and that all the relevant mobility aids are in place. Much of this comes from the care home – the pedallers are not trained to help move the passengers (e.g. helping them get up) and as a result I tend to be an onlooker in this event, my only role being to steady the bike (by holding it down) so that it doesn't tip over when someone gets on or off. Then there is the transition onto the bike – the moment whereby time seems to slow down and the passengers work through the learned, habitual movements, with determination and resolve – not passive recipients of help but co-constitutors of the movement experience. Obviously once the passengers are on, seatbelts fastened, footrest in, blankets on, I am much more in control of the event;

After all the shuffling and manoeuvring its always a lovely feeling "releasing" the bike, putting the throttle on a little, and moving out of the front drive. I do feel (as many of the passengers describe the rides) that it is their freedom, that they relish and treasure

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it, I imagine what it must feel like to have been inside all day and
then glide off on a bike into the sunshine (Fieldnotes, 11.02.19).
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In other analyses of a Cycling Without Age programme in Denmark, Cycling Without Age is framed in opposition to the active ageing agenda (Lassen and Moreira, 2020). This is because the older person simply sits on the bike during the ride, as oppose to other programmes where the older person is also involved in the pedalling of the bike (ibid.). Lassen and Moreira argue this makes the older person "passive" and therefore the programme should not be considered part of an effective active ageing agenda. However through my ethnography I show this was not the case in York; simply getting to the bike, and transitioning on and off it required considerable effort and skill from the older people.

4.3.2 Trust and moving others

I am discussing the Cycling Without Age Rides with a pedaller volunteer, David, in a cafe after a ride. He talks about how many of the passengers have dementia and he reflects on what we learnt at a dementia training programme - that even if they don't remember the details of the rides, the feeling of the rides stays with them. As such, David says he tries to bring out this element of the rides, and voices his concern about making sure the passengers feel safe and comfortable. Even when things don't go quite as planned (he describes a wheel getting stuck in a pothole for example), he is struck by the "enormous trust" of the passengers. I ask him more about this trust – does riding the bike involve trust between pedaller and passenger? He replies;

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"Yeah I think so, and I think its up to us to maintain that…its up to
you to try and maintain trustworthiness, and that means travelling at
an appropriate speed, warning people if there are bumps, avoiding all
the bumps you can, you know, being very careful around traffic,
indicating very carefully when you're going to turn, and that's the
responsibility on the people pedalling I think to maintain that trust
and to try and build it" (Interview with David, pedaller volunteer,
June 2019).
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Here, David recognises a connection created between pedaller and passenger when both share a bike and move together. He acknowledges here that his physical position as "pedaller" of the bike also involves taking a position of greater control, power, and therefore responsibility. This is not only to ensure the ride is safe but to maintain and "build" trust – a relational, less tangible quality. This relation exists beyond just himself and the given passenger that day – he alludes to a passenger/pedaller dynamic more generally. David identifies practical things he can do to create this trust; travelling at an appropriate speed, avoiding bumps and so on.

Although it can be useful to conceive of care as a reciprocal, interdependent, and multidirectional process (Milligan and Wiles, 2010), David's acknowledgement here of his position of control and responsibility reflects a commonly cited quality of caring relations whereby one person is powerful and the other vulnerable. Indeed, other volunteers commented on this vulnerability, further emphasising the importance of trust;

> "I do feel they're a bit vulnerable on the front, and some of the cars come by a bit fast…you are the first person that anybody would hit on the front like that, but whether they think like that I don't know…" (Hilary)

Other volunteers similarly wondered whether the passengers were fearful at all on the bike and often voiced their admiration for the strength and determination they showed in simply getting on to the bike in the first place, despite the various mobility challenges they might have, as well as the trust they showed in the pedaller whilst moving, especially being – as Hilary points out – right at the front of the bike, and therefore more "vulnerable". Interestingly here, it was not age and physicality that made the passengers vulnerable on the moving bike, but the position they occupied on the front as it moved through sometimes busy roads and uneven terrains.

Maintaining and building trust on the bike through careful movement was also important because as Bruce explains, it is instrumental in ensuring people wanted to go on the rides again, which was as he says the overall point of the rides;

> "If I go out on a bike by myself, I go at the speed I wanna go at, and actually, while on Trixie, its about the passenger's experience - yeah I mean, you could tank around the course if you wanted, but they would have no fun, and they wouldn't want to do it again, so whats the point, you know…its a sort of "tool" to make conversations happen, its more of a sort of experience thing for the passengers"…(Bruce)

Careful and slow movement therefore unlocks the potential of the Trixie bike as a conversation "tool", as described by Bruce. This means putting to one side his own habits and preferences of riding a bike and instead focusing on the bike ride "experience" – a sociable, embodied, and mobile activity. This required an attentiveness in-the-moment to how the ride was unfolding, identifying points of interests and possible encounters to engage the passenger with the world.

4.4 Becoming active: Transforming, enabling and disrupting movement

It is clear from these examples that we have to consider both the qualities and experiences of movement offered by the programmes and their benefits, and all the materials, spaces, bodies, and

technologies that must come together in transitioning in to the activity – not to mention, the considerable physical effort it takes from the older less mobile person. In Freya's case, the support of Len was invaluable, as was the well-funded co-ordinations of the care home in the case of the bike rides, and in both cases, the time and mobility of the volunteer. Important too, were the materials and technologies that enabled the movements – a whole array of mobility aids that ranged from objects and structures within the domestic space of the home, to specially designed frames and sticks, other bodies to hold on to and move with, the electric assist bike, a technology which helped mediate the feeling that one person is moving the other, and processes of embodied learning, such as getting into the Trishaw.

In many ways, the event of movement in these programmes was incredibly disruptive, it caused a stirring of activity and a change in routine, bringing about new forms and styles of movement, as well as new meanings to movement, such as performance, exercise, and freedom. This disruption was not negative because it was simultaneously enabling, drawing on existing capacities for movement in a gentle way and in doing so illuminated the possibilities and potentialities for movement that come about when different mobilities come together. Immobility and dependence here was therefore not problematised but seen as an opportunity for connecting people together.

For the volunteers, the movement volunteering programmes served to - as Tainio describes - broaden the field of physical activity as well as creating original meanings for it (Tainio, 2018). Volunteers became drawn to the activities through a variety of intentions that spanned health and social visions and yet their experiences created these visions anew as they moved and volunteered with others.

The programmes highlight a need to focus on the *transitions* into movement, understanding how people are *moved to move* – how the time and space for movement is choreographed by themselves and in synchronisation with others. Focusing on how people are "moved to move" across the different programmes challenges individualised initiatives in public health whereby individuals are encouraged to move faster or for longer periods of time (as seen in the active 10 campaign for example). Similarly, "nudge" approaches embedded in behavioural economics neglects the material and embodied experiences that are so pivotal in actually enabling any kind of movement at all. So I suggest a return to the embodied and material (as well as the social) in order to understand the way in which people are moved to move – these are so pivotal in understanding both the challenges to but also potentialities for movement. Also important is the "choreography" of movement (Manning, 2014; Barnfield, 2016) in the lead up to the activities which is essential for the actual taking place of the activity. Though this is often not the most exciting element, it is an essential precursor that facilitates experiences of "moving together" across the programmes.

Linked to this choreographing of movement experiences is the performative element which the programmes all shared. The movement volunteering activities were deeply performative; they played out in an often highly visible public space and attracted a variety of onlookers and sometimes unwitting participants. The spacial elements of this are discussed further in chapter 6, however the movement element relevant to this chapter concerns style and aesthetics; these new ways of moving together were creative and imaginative. In appreciating something that was a bit "different", volunteers recognised the value of this hybrid, innovative physical activity, which was about more than individual health outcomes. The programmes allowed them to move through and be in public spaces in performative ways which would not have been possible alone.

Creating opportunities to bring together people of different mobilities is therefore a sustainable and flexible approach because it recognises that people's circumstances can change – changes in mobility that often accompany ageing and ill-health are inevitable, but this does not necessarily need to be immobilising. This turn to sustainability can be seen as a response to Hinchcliffe et al.'s call to recognise and foster "healthy publics" – cultures and environments that create favourable conditions for health (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018). In this case, it happens through creating mutually beneficial shared movement experiences that are often intergenerational.

5. Bodies moving for others

In the previous chapter, I discussed the way in which the programmes enabled bodies to move together. In this chapter I change gear slightly to explore how bodies move *for* others in movement volunteering as well as *with* others. Existing forms of embodied and fitness philanthropy, as discussed in Chapter 2, tend to emphasise the element of moving "for" others, or philanthropic causes. As such, there is a clear direction and purpose to this form of philanthropy, as the moving body generates philanthropic outcomes. The volunteering aspect in this ethnography of movement volunteering programmes, alongside the focus on improving individual and collective health and wellbeing through movement, makes the philanthropic element - the moving "for" others - a more complex process.

Indeed, the distinction between moving with and moving for others is a subtle one which participants did not always explicitly make themselves. Nonetheless, the complexity of philanthropy in movement volunteering emerged ethnographically in other ways; notably, a discomfort with the term "volunteering" and at times, the idea of doing or being "good". Despite the programmes being about helping others, the philanthropic element did not often come through strongly in participants accounts of what they were doing. However, I bring it to the fore in my analysis in this chapter, to unpack ideas around "purpose" and "doing good" in the programmes, and to understand how movement volunteering fits into contemporary discourse around volunteering in the UK.

Pedaller volunteer David, who is now retired, spends much of his time volunteering – although when I asked him about his experiences of volunteering, he bristled at the term:

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"Ok - well I don't really think about it as "volunteering" because it
sounds like…theres all these difficult questions about "why did you
get involved in this project"…and so you always feel obliged to come
out with some altruistic motive; "oh because I love to help people"…but
no - its not really about that - its about…here is something
interesting, I'd quite like to do that interesting thing. So I suppose,
you know, I do volunteer, but I don't think of myself as a "noble
volunteer" - I'm involved in interesting projects…(interview with
David, pedaller volunteer, June 2019)
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David is clearly uncomfortable with the term "volunteering", and feels as though it does not fit with his experience of simply being involved in "interesting projects". For him, volunteering was a way in which to access such projects, which was how he wanted to spend his time, having recently retired from his career in academia. Volunteering can be defined as "the free giving of an individual's labour, time, and energy to a larger cause, collective goal, or public good" (Brown and Prince, 2015:29).

Although volunteering is a global phenomenon, it is also situated within historically specific political and economic contexts, meaning that assumptions about altruistic action, freedom, and virtue that surround the concept do not necessarily hold (ibid. 30). It is therefore important that when looking at volunteering we do not make any assumptions about its meaning. In this chapter, I develop my understanding of volunteering ethnographically, and by drawing on the context of the voluntary sector in the UK in order to understand the philanthropic element of the programmes and how it meshes with movement and health.

David, although he is not paid for his time, still did not feel that "giving time" really fitted with his activities because he was interested in them and he enjoyed them. Movement volunteers often described "getting a lot out of" this kind of volunteering, particularly because of the movement aspect, which was often pleasurable in some way or had knock on individual health benefits which they appreciated. It is now widely believed that helping others is as beneficial for the donor as it is for the recipient (Wilson and Musick, 1999:141), and there is increasing interest into what has been termed the "consequences" of volunteering (Wilson, 2000:230) and the "effects" of volunteering on the volunteer (Wilson and Musick, 1999). These discourses call into question the idea that volunteering is by nature "altruistic," and therefore "good" (Smith, 1981:23). Volunteering is now widely understood as "good" in other ways, for example, for the health and wellbeing of individuals. "Giving" is one of the New Economics Foundations' "Five ways to wellbeing" (Michaelson, 2013) and volunteering has therefore been promoted as a way for people to improve their mental health and boost their mood.

Volunteering is therefore not just about giving, and in movement volunteering, it was not just about moving "for" others. The one-way directionality of philanthropy did not fit well in the movement volunteering context. So if philanthropy didn't fit well with the programmes, how then to understand the care and kindness that was so prominent ethnographically?

5.1 Care and kindness

I had identified "kindness" as a broad theme, towards the end of my fieldwork period, and saw it as embedded in much of my material. It felt a bit vague but also unavoidable. This was because I saw how people were doing so much for one another, both within the activities and outside of them. I observed different forms of this effort. The effort to do good things for and with others was partly physical – everyone working together to rip up wetpour from a public playground, or heaving out pond liner from a primary school, or pedalling hard up a hill with a couple of older people in the front of a bike...on the other hand, there was the time that was committed to do all these things, the way in which the volunteering had become so embedded in people's lives. Kindness, in movement volunteering, involved a significant measure of energy and materials. But in trying to articulate the

"kindness" theme, I found myself arriving back at the implication that helping others involves some kind of sacrifice or at the least, discomfort.

The idea that giving something involves some kind of sacrifice on the part of the giver harks back to the theoretical basis of gift-giving developed by Mauss (Mauss, 1967), who saw all gifts as metaphorically entailing sacrifice (Benthall, 2017). That is, to give something to someone else is also to accrue a kind of moral credit and position that person as in your debt. Although movement volunteering did involve considerable effort, the element of moving together – of moving with others – meant that movement volunteering practice was not seen as "giving up" something. It was not something participants felt they were doing. At the same time, I couldn't see movement volunteering as just "something to do", to fill one's time – it did involve a kindness and commitment to others. But moving with and moving for others were connected; as I describe in the previous chapter, moving with others in assemblages of tools, materials, and technologies – as we see in the programmes – can generate a sensitivity and attentiveness to the embodied experiences of others. Indeed, drawing on fieldwork in an equine therapy centre, Malcolm shows how moving together in assemblages can generate "empathetic processes" which can open up social and sensorial worlds (Malcolm, Ecks and Pickersgill, 2018). Although Malcolm et al. draw on the intersubjective encounter between human and non-human in their analysis here, it was the combination of different mobilities along with tools, materials, and technologies which generated "empathetic processes" and social and sensorial worlds in the movement volunteering programmes.

Although some of the activities involved a level of discomfort because of the way in which they physically challenged the body, enjoying and appreciating the activities as a volunteer came up a lot too (e.g. the social element – seeing friends, or the experiential element – doing something new/getting that feel good feeling, and there was a more goal-orientated/self-improvement element too – reaching goals or improving themselves in some way), so people didn't necessarily think of themselves as "giving up" something in order to help people and places.

All of this made me question what it actually means to be kind, in the context of the movement volunteering programmes, where we also have the additional element of moving together as an outcome and/or intention. It seemed less about sacrifice and giving, and more about the desire – or perhaps need - to find a way to both care for oneself and to care for and connect with others, and to feel embedded in places.

The kindness theme became better articulated in conversations with GoodGym runner-volunteers at the knowledge exchange event at the end of the fieldwork period. I had finished a presentation to my participants on the initial findings by going through some themes that I had identified, in order to give

an overview and initiate discussion. The "kindness" theme – I admitted to them – was pretty vague, but I thought it was important to include – I wanted to open up a conversation about the philanthropic element of the programmes because I was grappling with it at the time. One of the things I had noticed was that although the programmes provided structured opportunities to do good things and enact and perhaps "perform" kindness, I had also noticed that outwith the group, people were going above and beyond to help each other, particularly in the GoodGym group in York, which was well established now and had become close-knit. I wondered out loud whether this backdrop of doing good stuff and helping people out provides a bit of a context for all the other informal sociality of GoodGym. Did it *matter* that these groups of people had met through physically helping others?

In discussing this theme further after the presentation, Meg picked up on it in the discussion and activities. We were brainstorming "How is GoodGym "good"" and "instilling a sense of kindness" was written down (see to the right of "How is GG "good"):

Figure 3: How is GoodGym good? Knowledge exchange exercise. Photo by author

Meg turned to me and said she thought the kindness thing was really important. She said that as the trainer she always asks, when people sign up to the Taskforce, what they would like to get out of it

and what they would like to do. Taskforce members have access to information on the GoodGym website such as who the new runners are, who hasn't been in a while, how many "good deeds" everybody is on, and they can also find and lead community missions and organise other social activities. The other day, a regular runner had signed up as a Taskforce member and she had asked him why he joined the Taskforce. He said that actually, its just so that I can keep track of how many good deeds everyone is on and bake a cake when someone reaches a milestone, to bring to the group run on a Monday. Meg had been really touched by this example, and thought it represented the ethos of the group really well – that there are lots of different ways in which people can "do good" – to help and support each other, and celebrate achievements, and it wasn't all about arranging formal volunteering activities.

The knowledge exchange event was an opportunity to have a discussion with participants on themes that I had picked up on from my own background as a researcher. In the above reflection, I show how one of the themes became better articulated through discussion with a participant. Kindness was something that had been on my mind throughout the research; how could it not be, when I was spending so much time around these projects and people doing good things? I saw first-hand the effects of what they were doing, and the difference they were making. However, it was difficult to articulate the relationalities and qualities of kindness in the programmes; *how* were people being kind to one another? And how did this kindness articulate with or reflect the volunteering that they were doing and the experience of moving together? I felt as though kindness was both glaringly present but also simmering under the surface – it wasn't often something that the volunteers acknowledged. Although an important part of the GoodGym experience was celebrating the good that people were doing, this was in terms of "numbers" of good deeds, and I struggled to get to the bottom of the philanthropic element, how people engaged in this side of the activity. This was probably partly due to the fact that GoodGym did not have one "cause" – they were essentially a volunteer contractor who dipped in and out of other organisations.

In this example, the new taskforce recruit did not join for the purpose of growing the philanthropic outreach element of the activities, but instead, for celebrating the achievements of those involved in the group; "milestones" of 50 and 100 good deeds. As the group had grown, it was becoming increasingly difficult to keep tabs on who was approaching a milestone. In this particular example, it was the quantification element of GoodGym activities as "good deeds" which sparked the practice of bringing a cake to celebrate milestone achievements, such as 50 good deeds. These numbers weren't just held by the individual runner-volunteers, but acknowledged and celebrated by the group. This quantification element was different to the other programmes, although the Move Mates programme were beginning to create a similar gamified model whereby volunteers could unlock badges by taking

part in various Move the Masses activities such as their "pop-up" workouts. There was therefore an acknowledgement and recognition of individual achievements in these programmes, alongside a meaningfulness around being with and doing things for others – ways of doing and being good that were unquantifiable.

What we also begin to see with this example is how the programmes generated social relations, specifically ways of being and doing good to one another within the groups. The act of baking and sharing cake was borne out of the quantitative system of counting good deeds. As such, there was a productive interplay between the formal, organised volunteering model and the social relations and emotions that it created. I therefore began to see that rather than advance a particular cause or work on a specific project, GoodGym had created a "culture" of helping people. I understand "culture" here not as a fixed thing, but a constantly evolving set of practices that coalesce in a particular place or group of people. In this case, GoodGym did not generate a more "moral" community, but a deeply practical one. The everyday volunteering activity GoodGym facilitated had served to normalise helping others, even outside of official GoodGym activity.

Returning to the knowledge exchange exercise where the GoodGym runner-volunteers brainstormed how GoodGym was "good", we can see that the examples written down were not just about direct impact and outcomes (e.g. improves the local environment) they were also less tangible effects such as the creation of "community spirit" (figure 3). The way in which GoodGym actively creates these effects was telling in the repeated use of the word "encouragement" by one participant (encourages volunteering, encourages community spirit, encourages others (non-members) to do volunteering, encourages helpful attitude from GoodGym members in its own members outside GoodGym). This showed that GoodGym did more than just organise or facilitate volunteering activities, there was almost a pedagogical element in how it created the conditions for "doing good".

In the rest of this chapter, I consider how the movement volunteering programmes emerge from and build on broader practices of volunteering and doing good in the UK, both more generally through a reimagining of the purpose of movement, but also how movement volunteering maintains and transforms volunteering practices in particular places and for particular people. Kindness came though as an important element for participants, but I take this further analytically in this chapter to argue that these processes of acknowledging and attending to one another and the world also constituted relations and processes of care. The movement volunteering programmes enabled care to operate at different scales; caring for oneself, for others, for localities and the world. As an emerging phenomenon, movement volunteering continues to build on trajectories in volunteering activity

which emphasise the benefits for the volunteer, whilst also generating a shared sense of responsibility and care towards others and the world.

5.2 Making movement productive

Volunteers across the programmes join due to a wide range of personal and philanthropic commitments, ranging from personal body projects to get fitter and/or lose weight, make friends and meet people, or directly work on causes that they care deeply about. The combined movement/volunteering aspect however, meant that there was always some sort of secondary commitment or interest. Some people simply wanted a bit more out of their physical efforts, for the movement of their body to make an impact into the world, even just a little bit.

Alongside the concern with making movement productive in some way is the current – and sometimes political – interest from stakeholders to make volunteering easy, to ensure it is easily slotted into people's lives and schedules, and to ensure the volunteer enjoys their experience, feels valued, and can see/feel that they have made a difference. The emerging form of volunteering – "movement volunteering" which I explore here, meshed well with this trend as it was valued for its proactive and efficient feel, as Phil (a runner-volunteer) explains. When asked in an interview about his volunteering activities, he says his company give everyone one day off a year to volunteer;

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"And one of the barriers of that we've found is getting the opportunity
in place for them to go and volunteer – there's lots of people who
say – yeah I want to do something – but I don't want to arrange it or
be involved in all the hassle of finding something – but tell me where
to go and I'll go and dig a hole, I'll go and you know, paint something,
or I'll go and read to schoolkids or whatever it might be. So I found
that…the advantage of GoodGym is that you know on a Monday evening in
this case, there's something already set up for you, because Meg's
(the trainer) done that already, so all you have to do is pitch up,
and there'll be something…"(Phil)
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Here we can see Phil's interest in volunteering as *doing* rather than organising. It has been noted that this is a quality of "contemporary volunteering," whereby volunteers are increasingly interested in one-off projects and short term volunteering involving less commitment over time (Puckering, 2014:42). As Puckering found in her fieldwork volunteering at a higher education institution, this was mirrored in the way in which certain forms of volunteering were valorised over others by the institution – whereas "outreach" volunteering was better recognised as volunteering, being a committee member of a student society or group was not seen in the same way (Puckering, 2015).

In conversations with another runner-volunteer at GoodGym York, I asked her about what attracted her to GoodGym. She said she was looking to volunteer ever since her Grandpa passed away with dementia. She had wanted to work with older people but found that all the volunteering opportunities were like "job applications". This association of volunteering with "work" was off-putting for her, and she found GoodGym instead, where it was so easy to just turn up and make a difference. This was a common way in which GoodGym was valued as an activity, where you could just "pitch up", do something active and make a difference. For this particular runner-volunteer, who in fact had never done any running before, becoming fitter was simply a side effect of this effort. This snowballed however, as she began to take part in Parkrun, and even started entering competitive running events.

The interest in just "doing" something fits well with the movement volunteering phenomenon, where the body works in creating the desired social or environmental outcome. This means that the outcome is an embodied one, experienced in collaboration with materials and the landscape, a process that was often described as "satisfying" by participants in the GoodGym group. But as the volunteering was sometimes very physical, there were outcomes for the body too. Here, Fiona (a runner-volunteer) discusses the physical element of the volunteering tasks and their unexpected results;

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I think what I've noticed is that I'm doing a lot more physical activity
that I wouldn't have been doing before, I'm thinking particularly
about the digging tasks, things like that. As I was saying, I've never
been a member of the gym, I've got no upper body strength but I've
been doing a bit of upper body work without really realising it because
I'm digging things and carrying things around, that kind of thing.
But I guess when you're like doing a GoodGym thing you don't
necessarily think of it so much as physical activity as well, you
might notice the next day when your muscles are aching (Laughter)

Interviewer: Like - where did that come from ?!

Fiona: Oh yeah – I remember, I was lugging bags of gravel around!! So
yeah, its clever! (Interview with Fiona, runner volunteer, July 2017)
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The volunteering activity had brought about physical benefits for Fiona in a way that she had not anticipated. Not being a gym-goer, strength training was largely absent from her fitness practices, and GoodGym had helped with that. Fiona had even described it as "clever" because she hadn't even realised she was working that hard at the time. The unanticipated and unintentional benefits brought about by GoodGym activity were often cited as a positive by the runner volunteers, as mentioned in Chapter 4. In the description of GoodGym as "clever" however, Fiona shows her understanding of the

GoodGym aim is just that – to make people exercise without them necessarily realising they are doing so.

The way in which people moved within voluntary elements of the programme also had further influences on people's practices outwith the time and space of movement volunteering. When he was cleaning his flat for example, Callum from GoodGym Newcastle told me that he "sped up" and timed himself, as if he was on a GoodGym group run task, trying to get the job done. Whilst this was an individual example of the influence of movement volunteering practice, runner-volunteers also came together as a collective outside of GoodGym in order to do good for one another. Through the practice and social element of movement volunteering they became comfortable asking each other for physical help in their own homes and personal lives, for example helping people move house or renovate their outdoor space. Moving together through volunteering then, opened up possibilities for doing more outside of the programmes, whether that is cleaning your own house or helping others sort out theirs. As I previously argued, movement volunteering had normalised doing these kinds of activities together – it was something the volunteers felt comfortable doing together because of their practical ethos. Indeed, I remember one participant saying at a pub social that it was a bit weird seeing everyone in "normal" clothes – although the group had spent so much time together, they were constantly busy and active, and wearing GoodGym tops and running gear. This was the mode in which they usually socialised, and so sitting in a pub in normal clothes did feel "weird".

In GoodGym, the movement volunteering activities "counted" as "good deeds", which were accumulated by the runner-volunteer and appeared on their GoodGym online profile. Every year, GoodGym run a "January challenge" whereby the various GoodGym areas compete against each other to see who can do the most collective good deeds in a month. This was an opportunity then, to accumulate good deeds on a collective level. This quantification was an important element for Callum, who works as a data scientist, as he explained in a go-along interview;

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If it wasn't for the numbers, I don't think I'd still be doing it…I
remember I did my first community mission for GoodGym as part of the
January challenge and suddenly it was like my number, that number
meant something for the group, as soon as you give me a number…(Callum,
runner-volunteer, go-along interview, June 2019)
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Callum goes on to describe how he enjoys following GoodGym statistics, and even "scrapes" data from the website in order to compare different areas and quantify the good deeds in different ways. For example he tried to find ways of extracting the amount of time into a financial contribution. The

quantified element was satisfying and stimulating for him, allowing him to engage in GoodGym in an analytical way that was familiar to him.

Because the movement-volunteers joined the programmes for a host of different reasons, the stated "purpose" of the given programme sometimes took more of a backseat. People were also seeking to simply get more out of their movements, and activities they already had enjoyable experiences of. Hilary, a pedaller-volunteer, was looking for a volunteering activity but it was the movement element that initially drew her in to the volunteering opportunity, but then also what kept her in it – that "buzz" that you get after a ride;

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Yeah - yeah it was volunteering, and it was what it was…the fact that
it was, it was kind of outdoor, exercise type volunteering, because
I'd always thought when I - so I've reduced my hours as part of
changing my job - and I thought if I'm doing less hours, I'd love to
do some volunteering, but I thought - I don't know what that will look
like, I don't know what kind of volunteering…but when something came
up that was outside and kind of a bit - well not really exercise…but
you know what I mean, it was an active kind of volunteering - it just
kind of seemed really great really and I got way more out of it than
I ever thought…I mean the interaction with the passengers and
actually, being at the care home, we were doing it every fortnight,
so you really got to know people really well, and although some of
them didn't remember you, some of them definitely do, so that was
really nice - and to see how much they got out of it, it just makes
you feel so, so good…so even on not a great day where you kind of
think mmm - you go and do it and you are absolutely buzzing…(Interview
with Hilary, pedaller-volunteer, June 2019)
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Hilary's change in life circumstance – moving to part time hours – allowed her to reimagine how she might spend her time. She was initially interested in volunteering more generally, and did not have any particular cause or organisation in mind. Though she seemed intent on doing some volunteering, it nonetheless felt a bit abstract or unstructured to her, she found it difficult to "imagine" what her voluntary activity might "look like." In the next quote, she hints at her slight nervousness of what she imagined to be a typical volunteer encounter, but how this was different in the context of the Cycling Without Age rides. When I asked her about the influence of movement on social interactions, she described how moving together through the landscape was therapeutic and therefore eased the experience of both pedaller and passenger;

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If you were to go in and sit and have a cup of tea with them, it could
be a bit forced and a bit strange, but because you are taking them
out, they're relaxing, and you're kind of relaxing, and things just
come out…(Interview with Hilary, pedaller-volunteer, June 2019)

Hilary enjoys cycling and generally being active, and so the familiarity of the movement and experience of cycling could potentially allow her to ease into the volunteer encounter more easily. Certainly, it was what attracted her to the role of pedaller in the first place – the "active" volunteering aspect, and the practical nature of the activity. But in describing the "buzz" afterwards, Hilary's words suggest that it is not just the movement that created the buzz, it was the feeling of doing something meaningful in a social sense, of getting to know the passengers, and that sense that as a pedaller-volunteer, you were offering a special experience, mediating an encounter between the passenger and the outside world.

What we see in the examples so far is how movement volunteering re-imagines voluntary activity in a way that was compelling for the movement volunteers. This re-imagining meshed well with the concern to get stuck in and "just do something" meaningful. In the early examples this presented itself as an interest in the practical and the physical element of doing good or making a difference.

This re-imagining also echoes concerns and interests around time use and efficiency which we already find in contemporary discourse on volunteering. The rise of the "microvolunteering" concept signifies this; a form of volunteering which can be transitory, involving a low level of commitment from volunteers and can encompass virtual participation, an example being citizen science projects such as the Royal Society of Birds (RSPB) counting birds project (Heley, Yarker and Jones, 2019). Heley et al. address the emergence of microvolunteering as both a conceptual and practical phenomenon, and show how microvolunteering is defined and appropriated as a means of addressing structural barriers to "traditional" volunteering such as time, health, and mobility. Taking GoodGym as an example, they observe that the organisation are clearly aware of the danger of "foregrounding commitment" (ibid. 9).

The notion of the commitment-shy volunteer may foreground organisational efforts to engage people in voluntary activity, but from speaking to participants already engaged in them, we see that their appreciation of these activities is only partly their flexibility and ease. There was also a sense of satisfaction and practical feel that the movement-based activities afforded. It was this practical, physical element which meant the programmes felt productive. This was not in the sense of producing commodifiable goods or services, but simply doing more with the movement of the body – of caring for oneself as well as caring for others.

The programmes therefore created accessible opportunities for people to connect meaningfully with others, through experiences of moving together. In the next section I step back and consider how the programmes enable a meaningful engagement with the world. The programmes themselves are guided by charitable aims and objectives, but how do these mesh with volunteer intentions, commitments, and experiences?

5.3 Making movement citizenship

"We dream of creating a world together, in which the access to active citizenship creates happiness among our fellow elderly citizens by providing them with an opportunity to remain an active part of society and the local community. We do that by giving them the right to wind in their hair, the right to experience the city and nature close up from the bicycle and by giving them an opportunity to tell their story in the environment where they have lived their lives. That way we build bridges between generations and we reinforce trust, respect and the social glue in our society." (Cycling Without Age mission statement, https://cyclingwithoutage.org/about/)

The Cycling Without Age mission statement sees moving together on the bike as an opportunity to reinforce trust, which they argue is instrumental in creating connectivity across society – between generations and the "social glue" that binds society together. Moving together, with care, is therefore an initial step in allowing this mission to be realised. Cycling Without Age also describe movement in terms of "rights". This positions their mission as not just social but political, with an acknowledgement that older people are marginalised spatially and in terms of mobility and therefore prevented from participating in the world fully, as "active citizens".

During the Cycling Without Age rides, I observed ethnographically how this mission statement played out. Cycling around Rowntrees Park, our passenger Mildred reminisced about her time working for Rowntrees in the factory, then in the office, and when she retired, volunteering by "visiting the elderly" who had worked there. The perfect circle of her "visiting the elderly" once she had retired from Rowntrees and now enjoying being a passenger on a bike pedalled by other volunteers is perhaps indicative of a social history in York that continues to the present day.

Mildred's story positions her not just a recipient of care – as is her everyday experience in the care home where she lives - but as an active, caring citizen in her own right. She proudly recalls "visiting the elderly" and still makes efforts to help her friends on to the bike, and every time she sees the bike, she believes she is expected to ride it herself, and indeed offers to do so. Volunteering was an activity

that enabled her to remain active once she had retired, and she relished the opportunity to get out and remain involved in the organisation where she had worked all of her life.

5.3.1 "Doing your little bit"

Given the charitable/philanthropic element of the programmes, I was keen to understand how volunteers saw the "good" that they did as fitting in with any wider social or political beliefs and understandings of society/the world – such as the ways in which we may be connected to one another. What I found was that "politics" was often dismissed by participants as unhelpful – a slow process perhaps, that involves more thinking and talking than doing. This finding builds on previous discussions in this chapter on the interest in making movement "productive" – volunteers were interested in making more of their movement, efficiency, and actively making a difference. Bruce describes his disinterest in politics;

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"I'm not apolitical but I'm not fervent by any means…I think we have
this sort of…for better or for worse now, we've had to wake up to our
responsibilities, and part of what we're doing as communities is
waking up to the fact that the social aspects of our communities have
been eroded away over time, and you could blame whoever the hell you
like, you could spend your entire life going - it was somebody's fault
- yeah. You could do, and then nothing would get fixed, at all. It
would just be the same. Or you could actually go, OK, I'm going to
contribute and try and make it better, and if in the process I get
something out of that too, then great. I mean who could complain
today, so there I was today, blue skies, warm, cycling some old people
around the park…its a hell of a life! (Laughs)" (Interview with Bruce,
volunteer pedaller, May 2019)
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In this extract, Bruce describes himself as neither "apolitical", nor "fervent", but he does recognise the limits of blaming and assigning fault to politicians. He views this as unhelpful but also as inherently *inactive* – if you "spend your life" assigning blame and fault then you are not actually doing anything to "fix" the problem, or contributing to try and make it better. The problem identified by Bruce here concerns the social aspects of our communities and their erosion over time. This problem was also identified by other volunteers, such as David, who described contemporary society as "private" and "isolationist" (interview with David, pedaller-volunteer, June 2019).

Bruce also points at the enjoyable element of moving outside and volunteering; "blue skies, warm, cycling some old people around the park"…and by doing so he points out that this taking up of

responsibility for those around you and for communities does not need to be a difficult thing – it can be tied in with the things that you enjoy and take pleasure in. Also, making a difference did not need to involve "big" actions, as Hilary points out;

I'm not a political person at all…I think at the moment the key thing that I'm conscious of is the environment - thats the big thing. Global warming, the plastics - all that kind of thing. I'm not kind of massively into wildlife, birds, butterflies, all that - I'm not that geeky about it but I just…I do get quite kind of worried that its just in crisis, and wheres it going to go and whats going to happen. Thats my thing at the moment - its more in the media at the moment, and its bringing it to light even more - so I'm just on that "do what you can do" - you can't solve the world, and you can't solve all the problems, but you can do your little bit…(Interview with Hilary, pedaller volunteer, 14.06.19)

Interested in this recurring theme of "doing your little bit", I questioned her further on whether she thinks small things can make a difference…

Yeah I think…yeah…I think if everybody just got their own kind of house in order…I know theres factories churning out great big…I personally can't change anything like that but what I can do is not buy the products they are producing in great big plastic wrappers…its just - if everybody did that, it wouldn't solve the problem but it would make a big difference…

The idea that small, local actions were valuable and impactful came up frequently in interviews, such as this go-along interview with GoodGym runner, Phoebe:

If everyone just does a little bit, the world will be a better place, and when you look at all these charities you think I'd love to be able to just give all my money away but…if everyone just gives a little bit to somebody, it ends up equalising…like I say I mean, not everyone can be a recycling vegan who doesn't eat anything from anywhere, not everyone can do everything, but if everyone does a bit then you've all sort of done what you can (Go-along interview with Phoebe, runner-volunteer, December 2018)

The idea of "getting your house in order" allowed me to imagine the way in which volunteers saw themselves positioned as part of something bigger – as one of many individuals, each with equal power and capacity to make a difference. There was however, a slight feeling of powerlessness when it came to the activities of "big companies" – "I personally can't change anything like that" (Hilary). This idea of many individuals all doing a little bit to make a change is somewhat disrupted by big companies that operate on a different scale. Some things are unreachable and yet the small things we do can make a difference.

Though the programmes were not overtly aligned with specific political agendas, politics was nonetheless folded into the programmes in implicit ways, for example, the types of charities and causes that GoodGym worked with, and the perceived issues and causes of issues that the programmes aimed to address. Charities and volunteering can be involved in the political sphere without always intending to do so, either through an acknowledgement of issues or causes or through narratives about responsibility. Muehlebach for example, looked at how neoliberalism articulated within the Catholic context of Lombardy in Northern Italy whereby citizens where encouraged to love and care for others (Muehlebach, 2013). In the movement volunteering programmes however, the focus on the "experience" of those volunteering worked to decentre or at least blur the potentially political aspects of the activities – as well as the philanthropic element, as discussed previously. The "experience" of the activities constituted both the aim as well as the methods/processes of the programmes. Activities were intended to be enjoyable in and of themselves, as well as philanthropic in their outlook. In the case of GoodGym, the group was often valued by the other charities they worked with because of its "can-do" attitude, the enthusiasm of the volunteers, but also the slight detachment from various charitable objectives and sometimes political aims of their charity partners. In interviews with "task owners", this was a valued aspect and was sometimes considered refreshing given the inner politics that can sometimes arise within organisations and groups.

Despite a discomfort with the philanthropic and political elements of movement volunteering, through ethnography I found that there were moments of reflection on the purpose of the programmes. I heard (albeit second-hand) that runner volunteers sometimes questioned whether the council had responsibility for, and perhaps should be doing, some of the tasks that GoodGym did. Indeed, Meg, the trainer in York, was well aware that some tasks might feel like "community service" – she recalled their very first group run which involved cleaning graffiti off lampposts and said that she didn't think it was the best task for engaging people. Others made passing comments about some of the organisations GoodGym helped out and whether they really "needed" GoodGym's assistance – these tended to be organisations that seemed either a bit corporate or well-funded, or where the "charitable" side wasn't particularly clear.

In a critique of provision for – and attitudes towards - older people, Cycling Without Age volunteers said that the rides should be normal, and simply part of the landscape. This was not framed in terms of it being e.g. the council or the government's responsibility to run the cycling without age programme, but was instead a commentary about society in general and a normative vision of the way in which older people should be valued.

There was a temporal dimension to the purposes of movement volunteering activity, as pedallers considered what the world will be like when they themselves are no longer able to ride a bike or get out independently. As Bruce said in an interview;

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I think, once you get, so as I say I'm 55 this year…which means
something and nothing…the notion of old age being something that
happens to other people evaporates, eventually you have to come to
terms with your own mortality, you have to recognise that you are
ageing, you are getting older, and theres an inevitability and I guess
a sort of, a bit of responsibility - some people go into denial I
guess, they go right, I'm going to be young forever, I'll drink heavily
and smoke and be damned with the consequences…I've never smoked
thankfully, its not something I've ever done, and I don't drink a
terrible amount, but I think eventually you gotta go - I need to be
responsible and think actually, if I don't make it happen, I can't
expect it to be happening for me, theres that sort of sense of unless
I make it happen or am willing to help make it happen, I don't have a
sense of entitlement to hope that it won't happen to me…so cycling
without age is a classic, I'd like to think that by the time I get to
sort of 80s, then society will have caught up with the fact that there
are older people who are human beings and have wants and likes and
stuff, and there will be stuff there to make that quality of life
continue. I have to contribute to that, I can no longer go, thats
somebody else's problem - its my problem. (Interview with Bruce,
pedaller-volunteer, May 2019)
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"Doing your little bit" was not just about making a difference now – Bruce and others also talked about doing something so that the social infrastructure is there in the future. There was this hope and belief in an overarching system that if you do things now, they may be there in the future for you to enjoy, a reciprocal intergenerational system. So again, caring for others through movement volunteering was a way in which to care for yourself in the future. We saw this played out in the case of 99-year old

Mildred and her work with the Rowntrees, where care existed within the ethos and organisation of a company, and perhaps a city, as in the case of York's social history and current volunteering practice.

Although the programmes did not provide core social care services, they did provide important social support and as we saw in the Cycling Without Age missions statement, they framed their provision in terms of "rights". Ekholm and Dahlstedt are critical of the way in which "rationales of neo-philanthropy" are intertwined in contemporary society, that is, the way in which social support and services become a responsibility of philanthropic actors (Ekholm and Dahlstedt, 2018). The lure of these neo-philanthropic projects is, they write, the "authenticity" of this kind of provision (vis a vis the state), with the implication that this creates "genuine" social relations (ibid.). Indeed, both volunteers and recipients of the programmes did see themselves as intertwined with social infrastructures and landscapes, and as able to influence social practices. In Bruce's interview however, he said that society needs to "catch up", implying that the Cycling Without Age programme was ahead of the curve but that such programmes *should* be "normal". While he does not refer explicitly to the state, the implication is that there should be greater buy-in from society as a whole for these kinds of projects.

5.3.2 Making movement political

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"HG Wells was attributed with the saying; "Every time I see a child
on a bicycle I have hope for the future of humanity" and you kind of
feel that we embody that a little bit, and that people like to see
it" (Pedaller-volunteer David, discussing how "Trixie" is perceived
around York 21.6.19).
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A recurring theme from the interviews with pedallers was the idea that cars were the antithesis to sociability and health. In this interview, I am talking to David, who is retired and spends a great deal of time volunteering. David was one of those participants who was reflective about his activities and his values, and was able to articulate them in an interview format. He gave the impression of having already thought and considered my questions, presenting his volunteering activities as all part of a coherent worldview. Articulating his position on cars, saying he was not "anti-car", but he was just against the "un-questioning use of cars," which he saw as indicative of a wider problem with British society;

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"I mean my judgment about British society is that its increasingly
isolationist - that peoples entertainment is solitary - solitary, and
private. Its televisions, its clamping headphones on your head, its
staring at a mobile phone screen and walking into lampposts, you
know…its sitting in a car, its viewing other people with suspicion…its
not recognising the nature of public services - all of this stuff
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depresses me massively - its no longer really a society, terms like "The X community" like "the gay and lesbian community", "the Asian community" - no such thing, theres no such thing. And to step outside that and actually refuse to acknowledge that kind of emphasis on privacy is a small…I don't do it, I wish I did, I admire people who do and there are people who do - I just think its a little act of rebellion that I rather admire…" (David)

The word "rebellion" reminds David of the Extinction Rebellion movement, which he has recently taken an interest in. He went to a March recently on Oxford Street in London and he said;

"I love those guys, I love the fact that I walked through this demonstration in the middle of London - and there was Oxford Street, devoid of traffic, we walked down the middle of Oxford Street. Now - thats not my kind of thing, I'm too timid for those kinds of things, the kind of political assurance that you are doing the right thing, to do much of that. But it reasserts the notion that there is public space and there are some things that are more important than your own private shopping trip - you know?" (David)

David goes on to refer to an article he read about Landrover, who had paid a supermodel to drive through town as if they were observing a kind of urban safari, looking at people like – "oh how quaint!" The separation that cars create between people angered and frustrated him as he remarked angrily;

"The world is not there for you to observe, the world is there for you to participate in!" (David)

In David's interview, what came across really strongly was the importance of space in constituting the sort of society that he wanted to be a part of. In walking down Oxford Street as part of an Extinction Rebellion march, he loved the fact that it involved "taking up space" usually filled with cars. He describes "stepping outside" of privacy and solitary, isolationist life as an act of "rebellion". This was mirrored in his role as a pedaller-volunteer with the Cycling Without Age programme. He told me he did worry that the project was seen as simply "quaint" – whereas for him, it was something more than that, it was also about taking up space in a meaningful way.

On a particularly memorable afternoon after a Cycling Without Age shift at the care home, David suggested we scout out some new routes around the university campus. I obediently sat in the front of the bike where the older people normally sit, and David set off with determination and adventurous spirit (and at times hair-raising speed), traversing some narrow and bumpy paths previously

untouched by the Trixie bike. We paused outside his old department and he went in to say hello to some of his old colleagues, pointing to the bike and telling them about the project. He seemed to relish riding around this familiar space on such an unusual bike, he wanted it to be visible.

Space and landscape were therefore important contexts where the purposes and interests of the programmes – and of those participating in them – could play out and develop. However, bikes themselves also seemed to be important symbols and tools of joy and hope to those participating in the Cycling Without Age programme. Robin, the co-ordinator for the York Bike Belles and Cycling Without Age programme in York, described cycling as the "greatest gift you give to yourself" in her interview (interview with Robin, Cycling Without Age co-ordinator, September 2019). There was an understanding and an appreciation amongst the pedaller volunteers of the potentialities of the bicycle – of what they are and what they can do, and this informed how they viewed Trixie, the Cycling Without Age electric trishaw.

Writing on bikes from a science and technology studies (STS) perspective, Lassen and Moreira argue that the bike needs to be "brought back in" to this field of research (Lassen and Moreira, 2020). This is because bicycles have been reconfigured as a key health technology, particularly in the context of "active ageing" programmes – Cycling Without Age being one of them (ibid. 39-40). Although these inclusive cycling initiatives vary in their materialisations of active ageing (ibid.) they share the technology of the bicycle itself, reaffirming it as an important technology that can provoke a reimagining of what care might look like. It does this by reconfiguring the relationship between different bodies and tools for movement. These uses of the bicycle chime well with individuals views of modern society in David's case, where he is critical of how space is currently used and moved through, particularly in urban landscapes.

5.3.3 Thomas's story

In order to further explore how the movement volunteering programmes might chime with individuals views about modern society, I introduce Thomas, and his story about how movement volunteering maintained and transformed his volunteering practices and ethics. Thomas signed up as a research participant through the Cycling Without Age programme however he was also at this point actively running with GoodGym. My first impressions of him were of a kind, generous and knowledgeable man. As I got to know him better, I learned how thoughtful and considered his volunteering activities were. For him, movement volunteering wasn't just something to do/to fill time - he cared deeply about particular issues, informed by his personal and professional experiences. The following narrative is drawn from two interviews with Thomas:

Once qualified, Thomas worked as a probation officer. I ask what probation officers do and he said well it *was* to 1. Advise 2. Assist 3. Befriend (he uses his hands to number these)…but that has all changed now. He took voluntary redundancy when the probation system started to become privatised. It became really badly managed - people coming out of prison were not given the support they needed or given a chance to rebuild their lives. He is generally against privatisation - railways, the NHS, etc. Its all linked to globalisation and capitalism…he can't do much about all that, he says, but he can make a difference locally, helping out individuals, creating a kind of "ripple effect" (he demonstrates a ripple effect with his hands) - thats the way he likes to think about it - the work he does with GoodGym, Cycling Without Age, and Move the Masses.

Thomas's belief in the "ripple effect" is he says, to do with his Quaker values. Thomas is involved in all three of the movement volunteering programmes and I asked him if there was anything that guided his volunteer work. Put simply he said:

"Quakerism. What drew me more than anything was that it was what they did*, rather than what they believed, nobody was asking me to believe anything. It was implicit…"this is how we live our lives"…*

Quakerism may have guided Thomas's volunteer work now but it was his interest in *doing* and changing things that drew him into Quakerism in the first place. He was already involved in charity work and volunteering before becoming a Quaker, driven by his experiences of being in the military. He was critical of the military and its influence on him as a person, particularly as a father. Joining Veterans for Peace was a first step for him in reconciling his experiences of being in the military and work for change. A second way in which he "made recompense" for his time in the military was through his experience of being a grandfather. Through grandchildren, he said, you get to repair the damage you did as a parent. Looking back, he said, he was a dreadful parent.

Quakerism had also come at a pivotal time in his life – retirement. He said he often says to his wife, "what would we do without Quakers?" The meeting on a Sunday restores him, gives him time to reflect, and

then he spends his week actively doing things and making a difference. Quakerism he says, is a way of being in the world, about a relationship with other people, places, and things. It has also brought him into activism, he describes sustainability as his next big interest, and has joined Extinction Rebellion.

(Thomas's story)

Thomas's story is one of reflection and learning, of his time in the military, in the probation service, of being a parent, of his place in the world. It was all of these things that came together in his experience of being a Quaker and practicing Quaker values in his day to day life. The way in which he cared for the world and those around him was through actively doing things to bring about change, and this brought him to the movement volunteering programmes. But why movement specifically? Thomas told me he got into this kind of volunteering through his personal trainer, Meg, who is also the trainer for GoodGym York. His family were worried about him since he retired, he said. He has always cycled but his life had slowed down and gardening just wasn't going to cut it to keep him fit. Meg had kick-started his interest in becoming fitter, and he told me how he had entered his first 10k sponsored run which would be his "first and last". His care for others and the world through movement volunteering then, began with his family's concern for him and his health through hiring a personal trainer, which began a process of self-improvement through running and becoming fitter and stronger. Here we see how movement volunteering brings together different forms of care – for the health of oneself, and for others. Thomas's understanding of volunteering as a "ripple effect" on the world resonates with the idea of "doing your little bit" to make a difference. Volunteers in these programmes felt they occupied a role in the movement volunteering programmes which *did* allow their small contributions to make a difference.

It is interesting that both Thomas and David "arrived" at Extinction Rebellion in their stories, almost as if it were a natural progression based on their volunteering trajectories. It challenged both of them in different ways – David described how he was normally too "timid" for that sort of thing and Thomas confessed in his interview that he and his wife are reluctant to give up their diesel campervan. Their move into unusual and more activist styles and forms of volunteering and rebellion shows that these programmes and movements allow people to continually re-imagine their purpose and place in the world.

5.4 Movement as purpose

In the movement volunteering programmes, volunteering did not feature as a discrete activity to fit into a schedule but rather a part of peoples lives and also a lens through which they saw, understood,

and learned about the world – as David said, he is simply involved in "interesting projects". In Thomas's story we saw how his experiences drew on a tradition of volunteering and social action in York and in Quakerism. This meshed with his own personal experiences, for example of being in the military, which drew him initially to Veterans for Peace. However, it was also a concern with health (from both his relatives and himself) which got him into these specific programmes, which were also about the improvement of physical fitness.

On the other hand, the availability of these movement volunteering opportunities is possible through a culture of volunteering in the UK whereby volunteers can dip in and "pitch up", or even "micro-volunteer". These features of contemporary volunteering have been acknowledged and formalised in volunteering models. GoodGym state that they draw on a particular strategy called the "fine grain" approach to volunteering, whereby volunteering fits usefully into people's lives though frequent low impact activities (https://www.goodgym.org/about). The acknowledgement of time pressures and constraints of modern day living came through in all of the programmes I participated in, and the enjoyable, pleasurable, and "fun" elements of this kind of volunteering were emphasised.

This chapter began by changing gear to consider the way in which people moved for others in the programmes – the philanthropic element. Because the programmes were also about the improvement or maintenance of physical fitness, the health of volunteers and beneficiaries, and simply the experience of moving together (as discussed in the chapter 5), I moved away from the commonly held assumptions of volunteering being about altruism, love, and compassion. Unlike other forms and contexts of volunteering and fitness philanthropy, the programmes did not seek to generate disinterested love or moral forms of citizenship (Muehlebach, 2012) and indeed many volunteers actively rejected the idea that what they were doing was somehow selfless or moral. This was particularly interesting in the GoodGym case, because of the branding of their activities as "good deeds" the rhetoric that they create about being and doing good. Instead, movement volunteers tended to be much more interested in the productivity and quality of their movement – of "doing more" – as well as the enjoyment and satisfaction of the experience.

This is not to say that the programmes did not generate a huge amount of kindness and care towards others. As I discuss, this kindness manifested as material, often physical, tiring, satisfying, and rewarding - it happened in and through movement. Volunteers did feel like they were making a difference, because they felt like small acts were impactful. The "fine grain" approach to volunteering and the emerging forms of "microvolunteering" do not trivialise or detract from the sense of purpose and impact felt by those participating in the programmes. They worked in different ways for different people and whilst some participants articulated exactly how these programmes worked with their

interests and values, for others it was simply that access into the world of volunteering that they appreciated and felt was meaningful.

6. Bodies moving in place

6.1 Interventions in the physical and social landscape

Movement volunteering involves the reconfiguring of movement, connection, and space as bodies move together. But in doing so, bodies move through place, and so movement volunteering also takes place within a broader physical and social landscape. This chapter will show how movement volunteering took place through interventions in that landscape. "Intervention" refers here to the ways in which the movement of bodies disrupted the spatial and temporal rhythms, flows, and materialities of the physical and social landscape. Interventions in the landscape through this form of volunteering were both planned and spontaneous, bringing about intentional and spill over physical, social, and therapeutic effects. The programmes took place in different ways however the way in which they constituted a valued and dynamic "presence" in the physical and social landscape through bodies, tools, and mobilities was a common theme across GoodGym, Cycling Without Age, and Move Mates.

Understanding how material and social constituents come together to make up people's experiences of health means going beyond space and place analytically and considering the broader "landscapes" which are produced as bodies move through the environment. I follow the concept of "therapeutic landscapes" in this chapter, understanding landscapes as mutually constituted by bodies and the environment (Bell *et al.*, 2018:128). This means a landscape is not just a singular phenomenon, but experienced differently by different bodies, in different ways over time. This approach is valuable in the context of the movement volunteering programmes, whereby different bodies were brought together in movement and place. This process of moving together in the landscape also offers the possibility of therapeutic mobilities as explored by Gattrell (2013) and Doughty (2013) as well as emerging *communal* therapeutic mobilities (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020). These communal therapeutic mobilities can occur when there exist shared intentions concerning the improvement of health and wellbeing, as seen in the literature on walking groups (ibid.). However in this chapter I also consider how shared intentions and mobilities concerning the improvement of space and place also work to create spaces of shared wellbeing.

This chapter considers the programmes as interventions in two ways. Firstly in terms of their intentional effects; the way in which the activities made a difference to environments and directly encouraged the movement of bodies within certain spaces. Secondly, I explore the programmes as unintended interventions in the physical and social landscape; their "spill over" effects – further effects that spiralled from the activities. These include creating a sense of safety and making spaces inhabitable, the encouragement of the movement of the body through an "activation" of the

landscape, and the way in which the moving volunteering bodies pushed and blurred the boundaries of how to be and move within certain spaces. In the final section of the chapter, I consider these findings in discussion with the fitness philanthropy literature (Palmer and Dwyer, 2019; Palmer, 2020b). I argue that movement volunteering - as an emerging form of fitness philanthropy - can diffuse into spacial contexts and become embedded in everyday physical and social landscapes in ways so far not captured in the literature.

6.1.2 Intentional effects

The programmes all had stated aims and intended outcomes which informed the movement of bodies. In GoodGym this intentionality was most prominent in that the group activities often deliberately intended to impact or change the physical landscape, and was often celebrated for the speed and energy in which they did so. In this section, I look at this intention to impact on the landscape, considering the qualities of this impact and how the moving volunteering bodies intervened in order to generate environmental effects.

6.1.2.1 Making a visible difference

Through movement volunteering as a (quite often large) group, GoodGym made a substantial difference to the landscape through their physical volunteering activities. Though their charitable purpose does not explicitly include helping the environment, environmental management tasks were nonetheless common in GoodGym group activity. This was due to the space, physicality, and materiality of these tasks, which made them practical for GoodGym requirements. They were often able to accommodate large groups of people, required individual or group physical strength, and were fairly easy and straightforward tasks requiring minimal instruction, which were then able to create a material, tangible difference that could be captured visually and descriptively through the GoodGym medium of the "run report" (as described in Chapter 3).

The achievements of the volunteers were captured visually through photos to show the difference made to particular places through environmental or community-based actions. Brad provided a photograph - that had been taken by the trainer for a run report - to the knowledge exchange photo exhibition and commented on the benefits that attend making a substantial and visible difference through a GoodGym community project, in this case an environmental one:

'Making a visible difference: Whilst I loved doing previous tasks, this was one of the first tasks where I could see we made a massive visible difference and I felt really good about it...' [Brad, Knowledge Exchange Event August 2019].

Figure 4: Making a visible difference, photo taken from run report

These group interventions were one way in which people began to feel connected not only to the places where they had volunteered, but also to the wider philosophy of the GoodGym movement as the tasks undertaken became memorable. For the volunteers, making a tangible and physical difference to the landscape was satisfying and made them feel like the difference they had made was meaningful. It also allowed them to connect with one another over these shared experiences, particularly on tasks which required ongoing work and were revisited time and time again, such as the infamous "never ending footpath" as it was often called in the York group.

6.1.2.2 Tidying up, logging and covering ground

As well as large, physical interventions in the landscape, GoodGym running also intervened in the physical landscape in other ways. This highlighted different qualities and engagements with place and scale. In order to understand how people mapped their experience of movement volunteering onto place, I facilitated a map drawing exercise in the knowledge exchange event, the "map of good deeds";

Figure 5: York map of good deeds, photo taken by author

What the map showed was how all the volunteers placed their activities on to physical space in York. The participants commented during the exercise that some tasks where easier to "place" than others, because they concerned a defined physical space such as a community garden, however some were more difficult to map out, such as the dog poo-logging and benchmarking tasks and missions. The poo-logging activity involved running around an assigned area, highlighting dog poos with orange spray and marking their position on a map so that the council could clear it away. It was movement on foot that enabled this, with speed helping them to cover more ground. Runner volunteers in GoodGym were able to cover ground in a way that was useful in tackling constituents of the urban landscape perceived as problematic.

Figure 7: A poo-logged map as created by the GoodGym runner-volunteers (image taken from a run report in January 2019)

Litter was another constituent in the physical landscape that initiated intervention from the GoodGym runner volunteers. Picking up litter while running or jogging or "plogging" (picking up litter and jogging) is already an established movement-volunteering practice [14], beginning in Sweden (the term "plogging" is derived from the Swedish word to pick up; "plocka" with jogging). A litter strewn landscape provides an opportunity for the GoodGym model of getting fit and doing good to play out, firstly through organised activity, and secondly – and more indirectly - through the everyday actions of GoodGym runner-volunteers as the process became familiar. Some runner-volunteers said they were more likely to pick up litter when out and about after doing it during GoodGym activity. Litter picking was an embodied and connective experience, as we zoned in to our immediate surroundings, moving and responding to the litter. It was also a playful activity, as people competed to find the most unusual object, or when the Newcastle trainer suggested we all had to get an "alphabet" of litter – items starting with each letter of the alphabet. It was always a source of laughter when someone found a soggy pair of underpants in the bushes.

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[14] https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/shortcuts/2018/feb/19/a-rubbish-way-to-get-fit-why-i-loved-going-plogging

The GoodGym group in York also participated in a city-wide "benchmarking" activity with the local council. Benches are a more permanent and valued feature of the physical landscape than dog poos or litter however the council had no complete records of where all the benches were. As they were trying to encourage walking within the city, they wanted to be able to show people where the benches were located so that those with mobility challenges would know where they could stop and rest. The overall aim here was to increase physical activity by increasing peoples' confidence to get out. So these benches were already there in the physical landscape, but the movement capacities of GoodGym runner volunteers brought them into public/ collective consciousness, through representation in a map, re-constituting them as benches that can be found and used to aid movement by enabling rest.

In these examples, the GoodGym group disrupted spatial and temporal rhythms, flows, and materialities of the physical and social landscape by intervening in unwanted body-environment interactions, such as dropping litter and allowing dogs to poo on the pavement. These were quick-fix solutions to problems which required ongoing surveillance and monitoring by the council. On the other hand, environmental management tasks also intervened in much slower processes of nature whereby trees and bushes encroached on footpaths or whereby invasive species threatened the biodiversity of green spaces. They were often about access, and part of concerns about access were also conscious strategies to encourage the inhabitation of moving bodies in certain spaces, and as mentioned previously, to increase levels of physical activity.

In re-making and re-designing spaces for this purpose however, it may be that there was a background strategy to include or exclude particular people and groups. For example, the clearing of certain spaces was intended to discourage certain kinds of social behaviours such as graffiti, littering, drinking, motorbiking, fires, and smoking. Though we rarely encountered the people doing these activities, we encountered the remnants of their actions; cigarette butt ends, empty drink bottles burnt objects etc. Taking part in such activities in these spaces may be a result of exclusion from other spaces, a predicament often faced by young people (Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000) and in particular young people from ethnic minorities, who are forced to create strategies in order to stay mobile and claim space (Morris, 2017). Those experiencing homelessness may also seek to occupy public spaces in ways deemed unfavourable, as Hodgetts et al. explore in the example of public library use (Hodgetts *et al.*, 2008). Therefore although GoodGym "improved" space in a way that was well intentioned, such interventions may have knock on effects for space-marginalised groups that are difficult to capture or understand. GoodGym therefore to some extent impose a particular vision on these spaces however I would argue that GoodGym themselves do not create this vision. Through their model of partnership working – often with the local council and other public or third sector organisations – active bodies

and collective energy combine with political and social agendas surrounding the use of public and shared spaces.

These emerging publics that work together to create health-enabling places (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018) are therefore contested and – in the context of austerity – constrained and sometimes in competition with one another. Latham and Layton explore examples of this in the re-making of South Bank in London, as well as the changes in governance and use of Finsbury Park in North London (Latham and Layton, 2019b; Layton and Latham, 2021). Contentions about uses of these spaces highlight what is at stake; what is perceived as the "public" nature of these spaces. They write that "it is precisely disagreements about how social infrastructure should be provided, and conflicts over appropriate uses of social infrastructure, that allow us to see what is at stake in its provision" (Layton and Latham, 2021:15). Different "registers of sociality" (co-presence, sociability and friendship, care and kinship, kinaesthetic practices, and civic engagement) are at times are in competition with one another in the context of austerity and the subsequent efforts to raise money in the form of hosting live music and festivals (in the case of Finsbury Park) (ibid.).

Two registers of sociality afforded by movement volunteering in urban green spaces are civic engagement and kinaesthetic practices. In movement volunteering, civic engagement was simultaneously physical, tactile, and aesthetic in a way that was often appreciated by the runner-volunteers. Activities were regularly described and evaluated in terms of how they had "made a difference" (as described by Brad at the start of this chapter). The difference was intentional and, in this case, visual in that Brad felt good about it because of the way it looked. But the activities were also satisfying in other ways. Pulling up Himalayan Balsam from the riverbanks in York for example, *felt* good because of how easily the roots came up from the soil. The activity was so repetitive and engaging for both the body and mind that volunteers even joked that they had developed an area of the brain that recognises the plant. Although this was not meant literally, the idea that the body was this in tune with the environment suggests that the senses are not just embodied but "emplaced" (Howes, 2005).

The satisfaction involved in environmental volunteering has been noted in previous studies, such as in Muirhead's research with environmental volunteering groups across Scotland whereby volunteers associated the more physical tasks with cathartic release (Muirhead, 2012:148). Writing on the slightly different context of community gardens, Hale et al. similarly recognise the importance of sensory engagement in bringing about therapeutic and health benefits (Hale *et al.*, 2011). In their analysis of the therapeutic effects of community gardens, they turn to the concept of aesthetics as a way to help understand the relational unfolding between people and places (ibid.). I follow their broader

understanding of aesthetics here; aesthetic experience being concerned with "what the senses notice, how these sensory experiences are interpreted, and the way these guide future aesthetic experiences" (ibid. 1854). We can see in movement volunteering that this experience happens in productive collaboration with the landscape, as the body moves and changes/is changed by it.

Aesthetic experience is perhaps more comfortably associated with an activity such as gardening (which is partly about creating a pleasing visual display). What was significant in the GoodGym tasks however, was the transgressive or "polluted" element to some of the activities. Tasks could be smelly, dirty, and generally unsavoury however this did not necessarily make them any less enjoyable, valuable, or indeed satisfying to the group. The group element was important; what might have been an unusual or undesirable activity to do individually became something quite different when combined with the collective momentum of group activity. In moving together as a group, GoodGym activities blurred boundaries between what was perhaps "normal" – they were intentionally out-of-place and their ability to traverse boundaries in this way was at once playful and disruptive. In being "out-of-place" *together,* it also created possibilities for sharing in these at times surreal activities, an experience that was unifying for runner-volunteers. Moving together in this way has resonances with the "liminoidity" (Turner and Turner, 1978) that has been discussed in the context of pilgrimage walking and can serve to create connective and intense experiences between pilgrim walkers and also with the environment (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020). Although GoodGym offered a fleeting flavour of this, it was important in constituting the "aesthetics" of the GoodGym experience, aesthetics being a valued element of contemporary physical activities (Tainio, 2018).

Even leisure activities that do not set out to improve the environment may still foster an awareness and care for the environment, through engagement in polluted landscapes. This comes about through an embeddedness and interaction with the landscape, and indeed an interdependency – leisure activities often require particular kinds of environments and these environments can then benefit from engagement and use. Environmental volunteering is promoted by the cycling charity Sustrans for example[15], and GoodGym trainer Meg described volunteering for Sustrans as one of the first volunteering activities she had got into. As a cyclist who often uses national cycle routes, she said she was keen to support the charity and felt a sense of duty to do so. In a different leisure context, it has been argued that a connection to the landscape brought about through surfing has fostered pro-environmental attitudes among surfers, positioning them as environmental "stewards" (Larson, Usher and Chapmon, 2018).

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[15] https://www.sustrans.org.uk/get-involved/volunteer

The more spontaneous interventions in the landscapes as found in the litter picking and dog-poo spraying exercise constitute a particular kind of polluted aesthetic experience, a tidying-up and ordering of the landscape in a way that was described by one participant - in the case of poo-logging - as "weirdly satisfying". However these activities were also humorous and fun. The humour and fun of the event happened in collaboration with the environment as it offered opportunities to spark conversation through odd bits of rubbish in the moment. As the events also took the form of a run report, things that happened in the moment were also turned into a narrative, to be shared publicly and enjoyed by the reader. For example, this run report on a poo-logging activity was written up as a poem entitled "Poo patrol on a roll", and was much appreciated by the other GoodGym runner volunteers;

"Three smiling lasses, wet and cold, Armed with aerosols and feeling bold, Sprayed the ground orange and pink, Highlighting all the doggie stink.

Meg with her clipboard, feeling fine, "LOOK at that, I wish it were mine!" Pippa and Mags marvelled at it Whilst Meg marked the map with all of the sh#t.

Short and sweet we did retreat, Hands so cold, as were our feet, So we warmed up and wrote a little ditty, About our good-venture spotting dog sh#tty" (GoodGym run report, March 2019).

Thus movement volunteering collaborates with the landscape to invoke a variety of physical and social experiences but these experiences were also shared and carried through time through their creative re-telling through narratives, jokes, and stories, as they were written up and shared online.

We begin to see how the intentional and unintentional coalesce in the movement volunteering programmes, and the way in which this happens through space and through movement. Intentional efforts to improve the environment stimulated a range of – sometimes surprising – responses from the group, as bodies moved through and changed a variety of public spaces.

In the following case study, we see how interventions in the landscape coalesce and produce a specific place – which in this case is a more of a "route" – a cycle path managed by the organisation York Greenways.

6.1.2.3 Case study: York Greenways

It is a hot July day, the hottest of the year yet, and I meet Mark at the start of the York Greenways route to find out more about his work with the Greenway, and how GoodGym have helped his organisation. It

is a mobile interview on bikes, stopping and starting at various points of interest along the way. Our interview structure is very much rooted in the landscape, as we come across various elements and features that GoodGym and others helped build, sow, clean, clear, or create. Mark knows the Greenway well as he regularly cycles it and allocates a lot of his time to it, as he is now retired.

York Greenways was set up in 2011, he tells me, by a group of Sustrans volunteer rangers, the idea being that they needed a locally focused, independent organisation that could "move quicker" than Sustrans and were more aware of the local issues. They were helped by Yorkshire Wildlife Trust to set up – they had a project worker for a year – and so the main focus was biodiversity. A big focus of theirs is pollinators - growing wildflowers for butterflies and bees and creating habitats that encourage biodiversity. The Greenway used to be a railway line, he says, the London to Edinburgh route. It is now a cycle path. An ongoing job is simply clearing the path, making sure it is accessible and safe, but this forms part of a broader process of helping biodiversity, as Mark explains;

"Whenever we do cut back unwanted growth, we don't call it piles of rubbish, we create habitats; bee hotels, hedgehog hotels, different places were insects will congregate and find a place to live, so apart from being a good thing – in improving biodiversity – it also makes a days work – which can be quite backbreaking and sometimes quite boring, it makes it more meaningful if you think about how you are creating a habitat, a wildlife habitat garden, as oppose to just piles of rubbish. And it does work, we do get animals colonising these spaces"

One of the first stops along the way is a large infrastructure project – the construction of new football pitches for a local football club. Currently, he says, the cycle path is the only way to get all the way to the football pitches so Mark is working with the council to get improvements to the path "on the back of this project". It's a big multimillion pound project, and what he wants is a fraction of that. Part of the deal is that the football club help manage it. He has a new volunteer who is happy to "adopt" this section of the cycle path. At the moment there is loads of Himalayan Balsam (invasive species) –

the volunteer will remove that this year but next year he says they could have a team of 12-year old footballers helping remove it.

Further along the Greenway, Mark shows me a makeshift rubbish bin that he came across while he was doing one of his usual cycle rides along the Greenway. As we were cycling along, we come across the bin that had been erected by a set of benches along the Greenway. He stopped to tell me the story behind it, saying that because this was a picnic area it had started to attract a lot of rubbish. One day this bin had appeared, and he was impressed with its makeshift structure and the thought behind it. As someone who invested so much time into the Greenway project, and co-ordinated various volunteering activities he was heartened that an unknown person had taken the initiative to construct this bin, and regularly empty it too. In a bid to find this person, he had put up a note and made contact, and was delighted to find that the person had a background in environmental management and was keen to get involved in the Greenways project. For Mark, who was now over 70 years of age, this gave him the confidence that the project could continue without him.

Figure 8: The makeshift bin that popped up out of nowhere, photograph by author, July 2019)

Looking to the future, Mark is continuing to apply for funds and engage new volunteers. He runs volunteer days for private companies, and recognises the importance of "making it fun". He has also become interested in the rail history of the path and recently won a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund for his "Railway to Greenway" project, which will support archival research and public engagement with the rail history of the Greenway. Also a Cycling Without Age volunteer,

he says he is keen to bring passengers along the Greenway so that they can share stories and memories about the old railway and surrounding area.

The Greenway is more than just a cycle path, connecting Selby to York. There is an outdoor picnic area and self-serve honesty box tuck shop at Naburn where we stop for a drink and snack. Further along at the bridge we come across a group of teenagers jumping into the river. It is a mixture of bodies and mobilities, and purposes too, as people seek different experiences along the Greenway.

York Greenways is itself an intervention within an intervention. As many of the railways were re-routed and dismantled, they were made into cycle paths. Sustrans itself is an organisation that intervenes in the landscape, by working with the public sector and volunteers to create cycle paths, and maintain them. This provided the basis for York Greenways – originally a group of Sustrans volunteers, as Mark says, who were committed to improving the cycle paths near where they live.

What the cycle path required was a fast-moving and responsive local group that could apply for their own funds and manage their own volunteers. Managing the Greenway landscape therefore involves known and unknown bodies and publics, who take ownership and care over it in both planned (e.g. GoodGym activity) and spontaneous (e.g. the mysterious bin constructor) ways. This meshing of voluntary action with public sector involvement is Mark's strategy for managing the Greenway, as he shares his plans to involve the local youth football club in managing the invasive Himalayan Balsam. His vision is therefore not just to create a clear and safe cycle path, but to engage and activate other bodies in creating it, which in turn engages and activates other bodies to then use the Greenway. GoodGym therefore play an important part in this wider process of activating the landscape whereby physical landscapes do not just facilitate bodies and mobilities, but are created and re-created by them.

The ongoing transition from railway to greenway involves multiple, shifting transformations over a long period of time. These transformations were tied to the many shifting purposes of the Greenway route. Its character as a route and as a space is constituted by the planned and spontaneous, intentional and unintentional, as movement and volunteering coalesce along the cycle path – not just from the movement volunteering programmes covered in this study, but the many other organisations and inhabitants of the space.

6.1.3 Spill over effects

The presence of moving-volunteering bodies in the landscape create further, unintended or "spill over" effects. These could be spontaneous and unpredictable, going beyond the remit of the movement volunteering programme. These effects show that place is more than just a backdrop or passive recipient of movement and indeed health and wellbeing. Instead, place can actively create and mediate relations between different bodies, and bodies and environments (Foley, 2011; Andrews, Chen and Myers, 2014).

6.1.3.1 Safety and making spaces habitable

The effects of the programmes intervene in the physical landscape, and these physical interventions also influence the less tangible ambient atmosphere of the spaces and places through which the volunteers are moving. Writing on atmospheres of recovery for mental health, Duff says that atmospheres belong neither to an environment or to a subject; "atmospheres inhere in encounters between spaces and bodies, objects and subjects" (Duff, 2016:63). Atmospheres do not directly influence embodied experience, but make them more or less likely (ibid. 64). In GoodGym group activity, bodies disrupted the physical landscape and in doing so, created fleeting atmospheric effects. Ruth, the volunteer co-ordinator at a nature reserve in York and a GoodGym "task owner", described a group from GoodGym coming to dig a trench in the middle of winter, in the dark;

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"This is the trench that they helped us to dig in the middle of winter,
it was absolutely freezing and it was January when they were trying
to do as many tasks as they could and they had a couple of nights on
the trot doing this and it really was, it was so cold, I was so
impressed that people came to each of them" (Ruth, GoodGym York task
owner, August 2019)
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In this example, the GoodGym volunteers returned to the same place to continue the trench digging task, which resulted in a noticeable physical difference in the landscape at St Nicks nature reserve, helping with drainage. But simply the presence of these active bodies in the cold darkness was also an intervention in itself in space and time – bodies being there was unusual (and described as impressive by Ruth), and they wouldn't have been there had it not been for the organisation/choreography of GoodGym and the facilitation and indeed existence of St Nicks nature reserve. Disrupting a quiet, cold, dark space with flashlights, spades, and general activity.

In the example of the trench, this atmosphere was described to me by Ruth, sparked by us coming across the trench in our walking interview. However, I saw this atmospheric intervention myself one night, though with an unexpected twist. This time, the group activity under darkness served to arouse suspicion from onlookers. It was a cold night in March and the task was to rip up wetpour at a local play park. This excerpt is from my fieldnotes:

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"Once sections had been ripped off, they were piled into wheelbarrows
and wheeled across to the edge of the park, where a mountain of
discarded wetpour was beginning to form…… On a trip to the wetpour
mountain, I notice a police van has pulled up outside the play park
and a policeman is talking to one of the group. I listen to the runner
volunteer trying to describe what we are doing here – there's a man
from the council here who is in charge, they say. The policeman seems
satisfied. Apparently, some concerned neighbours had called in,
quoting suspicious activity in the park. We fall about laughing when
the policeman leaves for another job – what kind of gang wears matching
t-shirts and headtorches? Someone says, now we are literally "BadGym""
(Fieldnotes, GoodGym York, March 2019].
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This is, effectively, a conflicting encounter of public spiritedness whereby GoodGym's voluntary activity aroused suspicion from a well-meaning neighbour, who, under the darkness of the evening, spotted a hub of unexpected activity and involving handsaws, spades, and other tools. The task was admittedly a destructive one, and the playpark was completely physically transformed. The darkness of the evenings changed the feel of the group runs, prompting the use of head-torches and flashlights to see. This generated jokes about what their work might look like in the light of day and the feelings of acting like an undercover operation.

In contrast to the potential for suspicion, the runner volunteers noted that their presence on the streets, and most often in the evening, might actually improve the safety of an area. At the knowledge exchange, the participants wrote down all the groups, places, and spaces that are involved in or that benefit from the movement volunteering charities. Someone simply wrote down "the street", which sparked conversation in the group. The contributor explained that the GoodGym runners literally help "the street" by maintaining paths and other aspects of the material environment. They also, however, inhabit the space of the streets with their bodily presence. Where residents or those moving along a street feel neither safe nor connected to an area, the sight and presence of a group of people involved in making it better might not only make the street safer through the presence of more people, but could also makes it feel safer through the care being given to the space. The contributor describes here the intentional and spill over effects of movement volunteering in and with "the street". This, of course, was the perception from within the GoodGym group, and it may be the case that the presence of GoodGym might not have been appreciated in this way from others sharing and using the space.

Physical interventions in the environment by GoodGym runner-volunteers therefore also constitute social and atmospheric landscapes and in doing so could challenge expectations of how bodies move and what they do at night and in specific places. Their activities can also influence the mobilities of unknown other bodies interacting with the same space at different times. These "inhabiting practices" (Thibaud, 2015) update the resources of the built environment (ibid. 44). Following Thibaud's understanding of how "ambience" operates in urban spaces, we might say that GoodGym's inhabitations – and the inhabitations of movement volunteering more generally - may "impregnate" (ibid.) spaces, engaging in relations with time and space in a way that disrupts existing habits and makes alternatives possible.

6.1.3.2 Activating landscapes

"Stirring up" the landscape

The Cycling Without Age programme intervened in the physical and social landscape simply through the presence of the unusual bike – and passengers - on roads and paths. As described by the pedaller volunteers in Chapter 4, the movement of the bike with its pedaller and passengers created rhythms and flows in traffic as the bike navigated the route. Pedestrians, cyclists, and cars stopped and slowed down either for safety or curiosity. Trixie was a spectacle in the physical and social landscape, even in York, where non-conventional bikes are more commonplace, and where it is more common to see older cyclists than in other parts of the UK. York is very flat and being an old city, is not well designed for cars, so cycling is promoted and normalised there.

In the Cycling Without Age rides, passengers and pedallers moved through a limited number of risk-assessed routes. This facilitated a re-visiting of places, and Trixie became part of particular landscapes in York, such as the Minster and Rowntrees Park. In re-visiting these places, there grew a familiarity not just with the places as experienced in the present, but as they had been experienced in the past. This happened through a process of "unfolding" as the park was moved through. I argue that this unfolding also involves a "stirring up" of the landscape, activating bodies as well as memories. I return to Mildred, introduced in the last chapter, exploring how her experience moving through the park brings together the past and present.

Rowntrees Park

I often seemed to end up in Rowntrees Park during fieldwork, whether I simply moved through it to get from one activity to another, or whether I was there specifically for a movement volunteering activity. On a Monday in January I went there twice on the same day, first during a Cycling Without Age ride where we took round Mildred, who commented on how much she loved the park and how well it was looked after, and then that evening I returned under darkness with GoodGym during a group run, where we were cutting back the bushes and the blackthorn (figure 10.).

Figure 10: Cutting back the blackthorn in Rowntrees Park with GoodGym. Image taken from run report

I got the sense that this park had seen - and you could say even "experienced" a lot – that it was more than just a host for the activities, it was almost like a participant in the way it had silently mediated an interaction and a mutually beneficial relationship between the two programmes. Within the same day,

it was both a scenic and sensory route for the bike rides, and a hive of physical voluntary activity and fitness.

Beyond this, Rowntrees Park has a social history of itself – it was donated by Joseph Rowntree in 1921 in memory of employees at Rowntree's factory who died in WW1. Joseph Rowntree was a Quaker philanthropist and entrepreneur from York who, with his family, owned Rowntree's the chocolatiers and was really interested in improving the quality of life of his employees through healthcare and education, and set up a number of charitable trusts which are still in effect today.

Figure 11: Rowntrees Park gates, photo taken by author

The photo here is of the gates, the one open on the right is the one we go through on the bike, it never looks like it will fit, so almost every time, someone will say "breathe in!" and in that moment you can really feel the transition into the park, which is a rich kind of space, with so many different elements to it – trees, lake, amphitheatre, skate park, tennis courts, play park…

Figure 12: Rowntrees Park

Mildred is 99 years of age and has lived in York all of her life. She has a rich memory of the park and the surrounding area, as she used to live in a house by the river. There are certain stories that always emerge during rides with Mildred in the park; her swimming from one side of the river Ouse to the other when she was 8, is a popular one. She was top in her class at school and wanted to go into administration at the Rowntrees Factory but at 14 she was too young and so she worked in the factory for two years first. Even when she retired, she continued to volunteer for Rowntrees by visiting the elderly retired workers who were no longer mobile. She has been in walking groups all her life and loves being active and getting out and about. She reminisces about the swimming pool that used to be in the park until the 80s. Now nearly 100, she often offers to ride the bike herself and helps her less mobile friends into the seat.

Mildred's story and her experience of the park is so richly tied in with her past experience that history almost seems to unfold every time we go. It is specifically her history too, her memories of swimming and walking, and her work with the Rowntree organisation. The bike, along with the pedaller and passenger, therefore "stirs up" places as they are moved through, sparking memories. Unlike the GoodGym runners, it is a gentle intervention in the landscape, as its slow movement allows time for elements of the landscape to unfold and become "cues" to be engaged with. The possibility to move differently here activated Mildred in the landscape, and in doing so activated landscapes of the past. This re-constituted the physical and social landscape as experienced by Mildred. Her experiences of the park in the past play out in the present.

The park was also an active mediator in itself. Mildred's comfort in and affection towards the park was only possible through the actions of other moving volunteering bodies – GoodGym – as they often visit the park on the Monday night group run to do a task. That day before Mildred was telling her story, I had been there with GoodGym, cutting back the blackthorn.

This is an excerpt from an interview with Bruce, one of the regular volunteer pedallers. I was asking him here how the bike is perceived when it is out and about. His answer also alludes to the unfolding nature of the landscape when on the bike. He says:

> "I mean the bike is sort of unusual, you know, and to see this sort of lumbering trike with at least one little old person on board and in some cases two, you know, and then there's me on the back, and because we are only going at, what, one and a half, two miles an hour, we're there, there's plenty of time…if somebody engages in conversation I'll always just stop, you know, and I think that's fun …" (Interview with Bruce, pedaller-volunteer, May 2019)

Here, Bruce is talking about the bike, but he is also talking about it in the context of the environment it moves through; the bike and its slow movement is a tool for interaction because it allows an engagement with the surrounding opportunities which continually unfold throughout the ride. Movement is generative here, in the co-constitution of the body in its environment and the pedaller (as well as the bike) actively facilitates this, pointing out elements of the landscape. Rowntrees park was widely regarded as good for this as there was always things to see, and people who were there for leisure, so had time to stop and chat. However, some passengers chose the hustle and bustle of town because of the unpredictability and pace that it offered, as a pedaller volunteer explained to me;

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"Recently they've extended the ride into town, through the Minster,
so they love that, one of the residents actually - her mother in law
saw us and came over and there was a big kind of hugging - and that
was just great, and she was just buzzing for the rest of the ride,
like 'I can't believe it, I can't believe it'…and it was just fab –
it's that kind of, it's almost that unexpected like "what are you
going to see" when you go just that bit further afield…there's so much
more to see, and you've got the Minster, you just come round the
corner and it's there, it's looming…" (Interview with Hilary,
pedaller-volunteer, June 2019)
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Again, we can see how place unfolds throughout the ride here – you turn the corner and the minster was "looming", and then there was the spontaneous interaction with the mother in law. The passenger really valued the spontaneity of this encounter, and so the value of the rides is that it places people dynamically in the landscape, as they themselves become cues for engagement.

6.1.3.3 Disrupting everyday landscapes

Move Mates constituted a smaller scale, slow placed intervention in the landscape. The support provided to move across the everyday, public/private boundary of the beneficiary's doorstep was the key intervention here. This doorstep encounter meant the shared movement of walking could flow into everyday public spaces. In my walks with Freya, the doorstep was a space invoking a variety of experiences and emotions for both myself and Freya; of potential, possibility, fear, anxiety, and hope. In this section I will show how the intention to improve mobility can make further therapeutic landscapes possible, in ways that go beyond the scope of the intended intervention.

Move Mates are supposed to meet their walking buddy on the doorstep. What I found with my walks with Freya was that it was this very movement across the doorstep which was the point at which she appreciated the support and confidence. Moving down the stairs inside the home was a task in itself but the bannisters and railings - and Len - supported her. These were embodied, familiar landscapes.

As she reached forwards and out the door however, she literally leaned her body forwards into space, catching the railing opposite. It was this moment, she told me, where she felt most afraid and indeed – months later - it was in this moment of transition out the door that Len had to call an ambulance for her. Speaking to me about it afterwards, she said she just "froze" and became "stuck".

Weather played an active role in her anticipation and experience of the landscape and the walks, as she looked out the window from her armchair, anticipating what the ground would be like, and checking in with me about the temperature and general conditions. The doormat became slippery in wet weather and she became more anxious on the stone steps.

Moving together across the boundary of the doorstep opened up further possibilities for intervening in everyday spaces. One of the aims of the Move Mates programme is to connect beneficiaries with other health services, such as fitness classes or healthcare appointments. Freya had been visiting the same dentist surgery, just round the corner from where she lived, for the last 50 years. It was in one of the old streets in York and located on the first floor of a narrow building with a winding staircase. Months in advance, she had checked with me that I could come with her to her appointment as she and Len could no longer make it up the stairs just the two of them. In the weeks and months leading up to it, she often evaluated how she was doing with her walking, mobility, and general health by working out whether she would be able to get to the dentists.

Though I would describe the dentists as being "round the corner," for Freya this was too far to walk, even with assistance, and so Len pushed her to the doorstep of the dentists in her wheelchair, with me walking alongside. Len and Freya were incredibly confident as they traversed around the busy, tourist filled streets of York surrounding the Minster, so much so that I sometimes cringed at their "assertiveness", with Freya going so far as to offer a rude hand gesture to a van driver who wasn't looking where he was going. They would often loudly criticise people walking along with their head buried in their phones, or people walking in big groups and not paying attention to where they were going. At times, the pavements were too bumpy and busy for the wheelchair, so Len simply joined the traffic in the road, saying "they'll just have to wait".

I realised at this point that this was how Len and Freya had to negotiate their everyday urban landscape – with confidence and assertiveness. They very much felt they had a right to be there, and so it was then necessary for them to disrupt the urban flows of traffic, bikes, and other pedestrians. When the landscape was challenging, they always found a way to work through it, whether that was identifying the flat bits of the kerb, and the various gradients and textures of the ground on their different routes.

The transition from uncertainty and fear crossing the doorstep immediately diminished once Freya was in the wheelchair and Len was navigating the streets and roads. She would begin to offer instructions and pointers about the route he was taking. Arriving at the dentists, her anxieties arose again. Getting through the front door was difficult enough – big, deep, stone steps that we took one at a time. The carpeted stairs inside were steep and uneven, but Freya had been working up to this moment for months and she approached the stairs with determination, keen to make her appointment and see her dentist, who she had known for almost 30 years. Len stores the wheelchair to the side of the steps, hurried along by Freya as she anxiously called for him to be at her other side. Holding on to each of us, we take the stairs one at a time. We take a break halfway as she caught her breath, but Freya is determined to get it over and done with and ascends the stairs with surprising speed. We make it to the top and into the waiting area with plenty of time to spare.

The visit to the dentist involved Freya negotiating a familiar landscape, but one that had changed in relation to her ageing body. What was once a short walk round the corner had become a meticulously planned and shared journey with both myself, Len, the stick and the wheelchair as we formed a physical frame and emotional support as well, offering words of encouragement as she moved. These were familiar, everyday landscapes to be negotiated but ones that had slowly changed over time as Freya experienced declining health and mobility. Keeping to her appointment was important for her, not just because she was concerned about her dental health, but because she was keen to catch up with her dentist. She remembered him back when he was newly qualified, and has followed all his life updates with interest and curiosity. Freya even asked if I could go in with her to her appointment so that she could introduce me to him, and she enjoyed telling him about the research project and the walks we had been doing together.

The visit to the dentist involved moving together over three doorsteps and multiple indoor and outdoor everyday landscapes; leaving the private space of her home, and moving into the wheelchair, traversing the busy urban landscape with Len, moving up and out of the wheelchair and through the front door of the dentists, up the steep steps and into the waiting room, and finally into the dentists room and onto the chair. Freya had visualised and anticipated the whole journey, she knew who had to be where and when, and instructed myself and Len how we could best support her. The scale of these landscapes in relation to her body had changed over time, but moving together created new possibilities for negotiating familiar and important places to her.

The visit to the dentists brought into focus the importance of the Move Mates walks within a wider realm of health and social opportunities, creating possible routes, connections, and mobilities through everyday landscapes, from one doorstep to another. These shared – or communal - therapeutic

mobilities (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020) can therefore make further therapeutic landscapes possible, not just through the process of walking itself, but through the process of creating routes and making destinations possible. The intention to walk and improve fitness can transform into a communal therapeutic mobilities through process of walking and the sociability of moving together (ibid. 7) – in this case the one-to-one Move Mates walking buddy relationship. The intention to open up these more distant therapeutic spaces were – at the start of the intervention at least – unintentional. Freya simply needed to improve her mobility and the referral from the community physio aimed to do this. But through the intervention and the moving together, and indeed the relationship that was formed between myself and Freya, these more distant therapeutic spaces and the possible routes/mechanisms/processes to them came into focus.

6.2 Movement volunteering in place

In this chapter I consider how movement volunteering as an everyday phenomenon can become embedded in the landscape in intentional and unintentional ways. The movement volunteering programmes were not simply imposed on the landscape, but were at work in generating it, producing a range of communal therapeutic and health effects.

These effects were possible because in the movement volunteering model, neither movement nor intervention constituted the "end point" of the programmes. The constant interplay between movement and intervention meant that therapeutic effects were always emergent, and the programmes were constantly engaged in a process of learning how they were therapeutic and how they constituted health. This happened in collaboration with volunteers, beneficiaries, and environments, and in the knowledge exchange, participants were able to identify various constituencies and beneficiaries of the programmes which went beyond the scope of the intended interventions. As such, I follow Hinchliffe et al.'s call to recognise the "healthy publics" at play in constituting health and wellbeing; the "collectives that take seriously the social and environmental relations that make health and wellbeing possible" (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018:8).

Existing literature on fitness philanthropy attempts to understand how fitness philanthropy spaces and locations work as vectors of wellbeing (Palmer, 2020a:81). Drawing on ethnographic research in the "Mothers Day Classic" (a timed running event in Australia whereby participants raise money for breast cancer charities), Palmer describes how existing everyday spaces in cities such as streets and parks can operate as important therapeutic landscapes (ibid. 97). This happens, Palmer argues, due to the way these spaces have been "re-interpreted"; they are not "intrinsically therapeutic" but "become therapeutic due to the cultural work that is overlaid onto them through peoples' experiences of and in these places" (ibid. 97). However, the actual process by which this happens is unclear – Palmer

describes these fitness philanthropy spaces as spaces to "work through" emotions (ibid. 89), and as such these everyday spaces appear to be a blank canvas for fitness philanthropy events. The role of place/space and most of all *movement* in generating these therapeutic landscapes and experiences is unclear. We know that health and illness narratives are an important part of fitness philanthropy events (Nettleton, S. and Hardey, 2006) but we do not have much detail on how they actually occupy and perhaps transform everyday spaces.

This chapter therefore goes some way in understanding how movement and philanthropy can become embedded and indeed constitute everyday landscapes – in this case through intended and spill over "interventions" which improve public spaces, make spaces inhabitable, and "activate" the landscape through stirring up memory and traversing and disrupting boundaries and obstacles. The programmes did this at different scales and as such, differently engaged time and space, stirring up past experiences as well as imagining new ways of being together. The movement of bodies disrupted spacial and temporal rhythms, flows, and materialities and in doing so actively co-created the landscape, the terrain, access, wildlife and biodiversity, technologies, mobilities, and representations and guides (through the maps and routes created in movement volunteering activity).

Urban public spaces are known to be dynamic, fluid, and mobile, and created by rhythms and flows. Places can harbour various activities, movement and encounters formally and informally. There are often intentional efforts by the state and others to engineer spaces in such a way to create movement and encounters, as Thang explores in the context of intentionally created intergenerational spaces or "contact zones" in Singapore (Thang, 2015). But intentional efforts to create particular kinds of places can also be contested. As Latham and Layton show in analysis of disputes about developing the South Bank area in London, these debates are integral to the forming of "publics" (Latham and Layton, 2019b). So even in the way they are contested and debated, public spaces can generate important collectives of people. However, some space-marginalised groups such as young people or those experiencing homelessness may not be able to participate in these publics, and as I suggest in this chapter, the "improvement" of particular spaces may have unintended adverse effects on certain groups.

This chapter has shown how the qualities of movement in movement volunteering - their open, visible, and playful dimension, intervene in the physical and social landscapes in the places where they operate. By intervening in the landscape in this way, the movement volunteering programmes exceed the benefits of just movement itself, creating interrelations of movement, people, things, and places, which in turn shapes bodies and places. This happened through stirring up and "activation" of the landscape, and through physical and temporal disruptions in everyday landscapes.

7. Moving together

In this chapter I look across my findings on movement, volunteering, and place in order to contribute to and develop theoretical conversations about the interrelationships between philanthropy, care, health and wellbeing. Of particular interest to this thesis is the way the body features in these movement-based encounters of care and philanthropy. As a phenomenon, movement volunteering compels us to think about how, why, and where bodies may be mobilised for broader philanthropic goals and purposes. The phenomenon also offers an opportunity to explore how care happens through the body outside of healthcare contexts.

Because movement volunteering is a new phenomenon that brings together goals around moving more or moving "better" with initiatives to connect people together and improve environments, there are a number of ways into understanding the programmes and their effects. Here I pick up on the contexts described in Chapter 2 around physical inactivity in the UK. I consider the social and therapeutic effects that emerge from movement volunteering; how they both encourage the movement of bodies as well as generate a sense of togetherness and connection. However, the hybridity of movement volunteering also addresses other challenges and problems; of caring for ourselves whilst caring for others, and relatedly, contemporary concerns around time use and productivity.

Throughout this discussion chapter I will show how moving together in the programmes created novel opportunities to both be with and care for others. Although care happens through movement and the body, it is the space between bodies that is important here, in generating communal therapeutic mobilities (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020) as well as healthy publics; cultures and environments that enable health and wellbeing (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018). The programmes were able to do this most effectively when they accommodated a variety of different bodies, motivations, and purposes, and secondly when they were flexible and adaptable, able to respond to changing circumstances.

7.1 New ways of being together

Overall, it is clear that the programmes afforded new ways of moving and indeed "being" together. The programmes brought volunteers and beneficiaries into embodied encounters with one another, but they also brought volunteers together as well – particularly in the GoodGym programme. This experience and sense of doing good together was an important way in which the programmes generated a sense of togetherness; meshing movement with philanthropy, and engaging with urban environments in tangible and kinaesthetic ways (Latham and Layton, 2019a).

7.1.2 Spaces between bodies

In this section, I explore this sense of togetherness through examining the spaces that are created between bodies. Indeed, it is in these spaces that we begin to understand – and build on - the "mutual" element that these new forms of volunteering afford. This mutuality is repeatedly emphasised, not just in the movement volunteering programmes in this ethnography, but across the voluntary sector as a whole. Volunteering is now often understood and expressed as "reciprocal" and at times transactional; a relationship between two parties, highlighting the benefits of volunteering to the volunteer, as well as the beneficiary. The idea that doing something for others involves doing something for yourself has become familiar, and indeed celebrated. Organisations do not shy away from explicitly outlining the benefits of volunteering to the volunteer. However, in emphasising this two-way benefit, the effects of this mutual element of volunteering becomes restricted to individuals, and the more public, shared, and place-based effects can be missed. What movement volunteering offers is a space where bodies come together in creating reciprocity and communality, a tangible example of volunteering and its "mutual" element. An examination of the spaces that are created between bodies then, can begin to unpack the shared and therapeutic effects of movement volunteering, as they embed themselves in environments.

Both Bruce and David – Cycling Without Age pedaller volunteers - do not shy away from articulating their interest and enjoyment of the programmes in Chapter 5, going so far as to resist the label of "volunteer" because of the rhetoric around the "noble volunteer", as David described it. The pedallers did not see themselves so much as part of a "system" or "sector" of volunteering, but believed they were actively creating a kinder, more reciprocal, and joyful world. But how exactly were they doing this, and what made them *feel* they were doing this? It was sometimes difficult for them, and indeed the passengers of the rides, to articulate the immediate effects of moving together through the landscape; Hilary describes the "buzz" after the ride and the passengers spoke of the "freedom" that the rides offered. Nonetheless, the sense that they were creating something communal, public, and shared, emerged throughout the research process; it was something that I felt myself whilst riding the bike, and it emerged through interviews, conversations, and analysis.

An analytical focus then, on the space between bodies, places, and things, is a way in which to understand emergent effects that go beyond the individual; the "buzz" that was experienced by the pedaller volunteers, and the "freedom" of the passengers. Cycling Without Age brought less mobile bodies into encounters with the world, and these effects were not only individual, but collectively experienced as the bike moved (and was moved by) the pedaller volunteer. As I show in Chapter 7, the moving bike formed an intervention in the landscape which was both spacial and temporal, collapsing distance between the body and the environment, generating new, kinaesthetically

experienced landscapes as well as older ones, as the past was remembered and – particularly for the pedaller volunteers – possible futures were imagined and hoped for.

This collapse between the body and the world also created new or at least re-imagined ontologies of moving bodies; the technology of the bike was transformative for both pedaller and passenger. It necessitated slowness and gentleness; pedaller volunteers no longer felt they had to be as defensive on the road because the bike and its passengers commanded respect and space. The Cycling Without Age programme also materialised active ageing by "re-assembling old age", using technology to facilitate participation and wellbeing (Lassen and Moreira, 2020). Although Lassen and Moreira argue that the Cycling Without Age programme is a particular materialisation of old age which positions older people as "passive" (vis a vis a cycling programmes whereby the older person also pedals the bike) (ibid.), through my ethnography I show that this analysis misses the transitions on to and off the bike, which are, for the passenger, a challenging and physical manoeuvre which involved learning, skill, and resolve.

These new ways of moving and being together, and the spaces that they collapse and create between bodies and environments are captured under more-than or post-human understandings of the world. These perspectives have previously been used to understand philanthropic acts and processes that go beyond the individual body. For example, to understand human blood donation, Lynch and Cohn conceptualise blood as a substance in itself, going beyond the "person-to-person donation" rhetoric that can neglect the technical processes that take place between donation and eventual use (Lynch and Cohn, 2017). As such, posthuman approaches can take seriously the process of philanthropy; the spaces, bodies, and materials involved and how – in movement volunteering - these elements hold their own capacities to move and be moved.

Posthumanism conceptualises the human form as something that is incomplete and "open" rather than complete and "closed" (Andrews and Duff, 2019:124). Under posthumanism, the ontological boundaries between human and nonhuman become blurry. This perspective is helpful for understanding the emergence of health in particular contexts – such as during the Cycling Without Age rides - through spaces between bodies, technologies, and environments.

In GoodGym, there was a similar process whereby bodies came into contact and moved with tools, other bodies, and terrains in order to generate therapeutic effects that went beyond the individual volunteering body. The runner volunteers described moments with passers-by and onlookers whereby they became drawn into the performance and aesthetics of the activity, and in doing so, challenged conventions of what bodies do and where, inhabiting spaces through movement and volunteering activity. In a photographic submission for the knowledge exchange event, Callum shared a photograph that had been taken by a passer-by. The passer-by took his role as photographer very seriously and spent time getting the perfect shot, which Callum appreciated and remembered. He writes in the

caption "this photo is very artistic. Shot at a Dutch angle, a passer-by lay on the floor until he had perfected the shot" (Callum, runner volunteer, knowledge exchange event, August 2019).

Figure 13: A group photo of GoodGym Newcastle, taken by a passer-by. Photo taken from run report

In this example, the passer-by also meaningfully engaged with the landscape and aesthetics of group running in GoodGym, and was drawn into the activity through the act of taking a photograph. The possibility for other bodies to participate in GoodGym was therefore always there, and these opportune moments were special because of their sudden, fleeting quality, and the way they became embedded in collective memory. Bodies, landscapes, and technologies – and the spaces between them – actively constituted the emergent effects of GoodGym activity as movement volunteering took place in urban contexts. Following Hinchliffe et al., I understand these processes as constitutive of "healthy publics"; cultures and environments that enable health and wellbeing (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018). The healthy publics approach shifts the focus away from the individual and focuses on the environments, spaces, and processes that enable health and wellbeing; they are not just about people

(ibid. 5). The processual element of healthy publics can be seen clearly through the cyclical nature of movement volunteering in GoodGym, whereby bodies often actively create and maintain spaces that enable health for others (such as green spaces), whilst engaged in health practices and goals around improvement of their own health.

The posthuman perspective is also helpful for understanding the emergence of health in Move Mates. I refer here not to my own experience as a Move Mate volunteer, but more generally the emergence of health through walking, in what – though I did not know it at the time – would be Freya's final year. Being the first Move Mate volunteer for Move the Masses meant that I was taking part in a programme that was still being developed, and as such, the therapeutic effects of the programme were constantly unfolding and being understood. Move Mates was – on paper – about trying to break down barriers to physical activity. This was undoubtedly the case however I wish to go beyond this framework of barriers and facilitators here to understand the way in which moving together can generate possibilities and effects which continue to emerge in changing circumstances.

I remember one Move Mates volunteer meeting where it was suggested that we should be encouraging our beneficiaries to be setting goals i.e. around walking certain distances, or even subjective wellbeing. The implication here was that this could then be measured and would be beneficial for securing future funding. Indeed, the thinking behind the Move Mates programme initially was that it would form one "step" in a bigger process of enabling movement and increasing wellbeing. Move the Masses also run free fitness sessions in local parks which are suitable for a range of fitness levels, and so Move Mates aimed to help people feel more confident about getting out the house and moving, so that they could potentially attend one of the "pop-up" fitness sessions, and meet others in their area.

As it transpired, this model of progression did not align with Freya's situation. Freya enjoyed and indeed required the one-on-one support of myself as a Move Mate, and did not seem drawn to group activities. She was facing her own set of challenges; the unwieldy walking frame, uneven paving slabs, the journey to the dentists, ongoing health challenges, grief, and anxiety. Walking together then, was not part of an upward trajectory of health, but a gentle way in which to "disrupt" the spaces and rhythms of her everyday life in ways that could be both uncomfortable and pleasurable (Phoenix and Orr, 2014; Phoenix, C. and Bell, 2019) and Freya seemed to appreciate both. She often said that she needed to "push herself", believing that this is how she would get better. What was important here though, was that it was Freya herself who decided to set these goals and boundaries, and our relationship as "Move Mates" supported her to move in ways that felt right to her.

Drawing on research on the physical activities of older people, Phoenix and Bell write about the importance of the relational dimensions of rhythmicity in supporting active mobilities (Phoenix, C. and Bell, 2019). They show that slowness and indeed stillness should not be problematised; we have to be careful in how we create space for slower moving bodies, because the experience of being unable to "keep tempo with a world on the move" can result in exclusion from spaces of activity (ibid. 67). For Freya, feeling in control of her movements was important, but this did not, in itself, enable wellbeing. By allowing Freya to guide her own movement experience, a therapeutic assemblage was created, involving a mix of bodies, environments, tools, and intentions, and it was through this assemblage that wellbeing could emerge, as a situated and relational effect, in the context of ongoing health issues (Atkinson, 2013).

Being able to move in ways that felt right for Freya also set the conditions for a therapeutic assemblage of place, walk, and talk, similar to the one described in Ireland's study of a volunteer-led walking group intervention for women in recovery from breast cancer (Ireland *et al.*, 2019). In this context, and for myself and Freya, "shoulder-to-shoulder support" was contingent on moving side by side, and from therapeutic assemblages of places, walk, and talk (ibid.). Of course, the scale of the Move Mates assemblage was much smaller; whilst in Ireland's study the transition from urban to rural landscapes was important, for us it was the move from the private space of the home to the public space of the courtyard and the street (and back again) which constituted an everyday therapeutic landscape. What was shared with Ireland's study however, was the way in which the transition back indoors after a walk was also important; "physical activity prior to discussion in a sedentary setting was observed to release emotional energy and heighten awareness of the physical side-effects of cancer treatment, profoundly shifting the nature of the conversations that occurred in the café at the end of the walks" (ibid. 7). Freya always invited me in for a cup of tea after the walks, and she relished the opportunity to reflect on them, as well as simply catch up without the fear of falling or getting "stuck", that arose when walking together. This linkage between public and private, inside and outside, meant that as time went on and Freya experienced ill-health, the walks continued to have a positive effect – even on days when walking was not possible, simply the opportunity to walk together and the social occasion were important.

Whilst in Ireland's study this assemblage constituted processes of recovery for the women, for Freya the walks were situated in a constant flux of recovery and ill-health, and the shifts and changes in mobility that came with it. A posthuman perspective can shed light on both the tangible and intangible atmospheres and spaces which constitute recovery in all its forms (Duff, 2016). Although the structure of the Move Mates walks set up our initial relationship and the associated therapeutic assemblages, as time went on and Freya's health fluctuated, these assemblages continued to shift and evolve.

Indeed, one such shift was away from the formal "Move Mates" relationship, as the organisation did not support pairings when they no longer were centred around walking. Nonetheless, because our relationship had developed through walking together and looking forward to the future, this sense of hope set the context for my visits. Whilst Freya was not always hopeful about the future, our friendship had nonetheless emerged from her desire to work on her mobility and improve her health. It was also an unlikely intergenerational friendship forged at a difficult time in her life; if it was not for Move Mates and the PhD project, it would have been unlikely that we would have met.

An initial focus on health and fitness – which for Freya, had motivated her to sign up to the Move Mates programme - can be a good starting point for a range of therapeutic mobilities and effects. Practices that may have been initially concerned with health and fitness can be transformed into an emergent therapeutic mobility that involves purpose, confidence, and mobile companionship; a "communal therapeutic mobility" (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020). This was found in the context of walking groups, and was the case with movement volunteering as well, where shared purpose was an important element, but through the "doing" of the activity, new meanings emerged, whether that was related to the "fitness" or the "philanthropy" element. The programmes explicitly and implicitly challenged the intentions and purposes of movement. The ontological and the normative become intertwined; ways of being and moving also form commentaries and desires about social life and communities, what people want them to be like. In the ethnography I show that it is the combination of both shared and different embodied experiences of movement which can bring about therapeutic effects. This happens firstly through the processes of manoeuvring, negotiating, tinkering and learning that are necessary when a commitment is made to move together and then the performance that is created as moving volunteering bodies engage and produce landscapes.

The communal therapeutic mobilities concept can also help to articulate the "togetherness" that the programmes afforded. Through meta-ethnography, Pollard et al. bring together the communal and therapeutic elements found in studies of group walking which they suggest come from the "contemplative" experience that walking can facilitate (ibid. 8). In describing this experience, they draw on familiar concepts in anthropology; that of *communitas* and liminoidity (Turner, 1969). These concepts are often used in analysis of ritual, whereby liminal phenomena present a moment "in and out of time" (ibid. 360) and in which social structure is suspended to create the spontaneous, immediate, and concrete nature of *communitas* (ibid. 372). In later writing on the concept, Edith Turner, whilst pointing out that *communitas* was beyond strict definition, said that it "has to do with the sense felt by a group of people when their life together takes full meaning" (Turner, 2012:1). Liminiodity and *communitas* can emerge through pilgrimage walking (Coleman, 2002) and the

communal and therapeutic effects can potentially take effect in everyday group walking contexts (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020).

I apply and extend the communal therapeutic concept here to the various forms of movement volunteering described in this thesis. Indeed, there are other anthropological trajectories here which bring together work on wellbeing, ritual, values, and morality which can enrichen the communal therapeutic mobilities concept, and help us understand how it works when movement is combined with philanthropy. Durkheim's understanding of collective effervescence, which emerged from his study of religious ceremonies, is useful for explaining the "buzz" from moving together, as well as the normative and philanthropic element that volunteering contributed (Durkheim, 1912). It has already been commented that collective effervescence is strikingly similar to Turner's theories of ritual, social process and the concept of *communitas* (Olaveson, 2001)*.* They are similar in what they do – collective effervescence has the power to reveal and create values (Robbins, 2015) in a way that is similar to Turner's description of *communitas* as the "sense felt by a group of people when their life together takes full meaning" (Turner, 2012:1). Both then, are generative of social life and involve collective embodied experience.

There was an aesthetic and performative element to movement volunteering, and it was an activity which enabled spontaneity and connective moments. Through Durkheim, anthropologists have recognised the importance of these connective moments; "the ebb and flow of kinship, and the power of those liminal moments in which social barriers melt away to produce an integrated, joyful sense of *communitas*" (Walker and Kavedzija, 2015)*.* Whilst there is a momentary, immediate, and transient element to collective effervescence, in fact, Durkheim's understanding of the concept was that it was inherently social and embodied, and was therefore an important way in which "collectivities of embodied individuals both cognitively and emotionally engaged with their social world" (Shilling and Mellor, 1998:194). Movement volunteering then, in collapsing and creating spaces between bodies, also had the potential to substitute the world immediately available to our perceptions for another, more moral world (Durkheim, 1984 (1893) in Shilling and Mellor, 1998).

Durkheim's ontological understanding of the body in the world can therefore account for both the immediate and the longer term effects of movement volunteering, as well as how these effects operate on different scales. As such, they can tell us about how movement volunteering can create wellbeing; not as bounded in the minds and/or bodies of individuals, but instead in the spaces between bodies. These spaces are supported by the places and organisational contexts that enable bodies to move together in this way, and therefore enable bodies to constitute social and moral worlds. This understanding of wellbeing is shared with the communal therapeutic mobilities concept,

whereby therapeutic spaces of wellbeing can emerge through assemblages of people and environments (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020:8).

Existing literature has made connections between Durkheim's concept of collective effervescence and sport. Collective effervescence, for example, was said to emerge in a programme to encourage football fans to become active[16], because of the common cultural focus point of the football club, combined with the lively and group atmosphere (Bunn *et al.*, 2016). In this context, the collective effervescence was vital for the successful rehearsal and enactment of new practices - it was important for the men's health in that it fuelled "confidence and resolve" to make changes which might have otherwise been difficult (ibid. 824). Here, we can see collective effervescence as an energy that is created through movement, rather than simply used up, inhering not within individual bodies but an energy that is "transbodily" (Crawley, 2018). Collective effervescence then, was not an abstract or ethereal entity, it was experienced through and across bodies, as they moved together. Building on Crawley's work here on energy, I also understand energy in terms of its conversion or potential conversion, not as something that can be created and destroyed. This is the core of the GoodGym philosophy – of harnessing and "using" energy, not letting it go to "waste". More than just metaphors, these are powerful messages at a time in climate history where people are increasingly aware of the impacts and effects of their own bodies on the world. They also tap into contemporary interest in the UK with time use and productivity, as many people try to "fit in" activities around other responsibilities.

Though we cannot know the specific qualities of movement that bring about communal therapeutic mobilities – that is – the speeds, distances, environments, and contexts that can bring about contemplation and a separation from the everyday - we know that group walking can do this, because of its mobile sociability, and particularly group walking in "natural" environments (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020). It has also been suggested that the slowness of walking contributes to its therapeutic quality (ibid.). Slowness, however, can also be due to fear or uncertainty in movement – certainly this was the case in Move Mates, and in the transitions of the passengers onto the Cycling Without Age bike. The concept of collective effervescence, *communitas*, and liminiodity are suggestive of a separation from the body in some way, of contemplative experience whereas these moments were characterised by acute awareness of the physicality and dynamics of the body as it moved – or indeed became stuck – in and through space.

As such, I contribute to the communal therapeutic mobilities concept an awareness of the movement and bodies of others, which emerged when different mobilities came together in the programmes in

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[16] Football Fans in Training: https://spfltrust.org.uk/projects/football-fans-in-training

a purposeful and philanthropic way. This attentiveness was acknowledged by the movement volunteers as a good thing – it was one of the qualities they noted down at the knowledge exchange event. It was the meshing together of different bodies, capacities and styles of movement which formed communal therapeutic mobilities, and this was underpinned by the conscious philanthropic motive to do good by moving oneself, moving others, and moving with others.

7.1.3 Intergenerationality

Collective effervescence can be stirred up through social relationships that are created in a liminal space; both "in and out of time" (Turner, 1969). Intergenerational relationships can add to this dynamic, and programmes that intentionally create "special" experiences of intergenerationality add to this effect. Cycling Without Age is one of those – indeed one of their principles; "without age", emphasises that life "unfolds at all ages", challenging dominant perceptions of ageing as a linear process of decline. Intergenerationality has a liminal quality – it does not refer to any specific generation or combination of generations, but appears as a relation and an effect emerging through the bringing together of people who have both shared and different lived experiences of the world.

In a Cycling Without Age programme in Denmark, the programme was said to "broker" active citizenship and effervescence because it was underpinned by an "intergenerational dynamic" (Lassen and Moreira, 2020:46). This dynamic was described; "the gift of physical propulsion by the younger "pilot" prompts the gift of wisdom and transfer of knowledge from the older person" (ibid.). An intergenerational dynamic then, is powerful for mediating further effects around togetherness and active citizenship. However in this section I go further in exploring this intergenerational dynamic, understanding it not simply as a transfer of gifts but more generally as site of intergenerationality, that is, of relations and interactions between generational groups (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). A focus on intergenerationality and the intergenerational spaces it creates opens up new possibilities for imagining what being together is and what it could be, and indeed what it could mean for the movement volunteering programmes and beyond. It is interesting that, although very different, all the programmes included an intergenerational element, which configured bodies and intergenerational space in different ways. So what problem are they trying to solve, in bringing generations together?

Efforts to foster non-familial intergenerational relationships in the voluntary sector are indicative of broader concerns around an ageing population and age-related social segregation. The way in which these intergenerational relationships are fostered in public life then, hint at an interest in wellbeing as social, temporal and spacial. At the societal level, the temporal aspect of generations brings about an interest in the "continuity" of society, its "social metabolism" (Kertzer, 1983). The process of generating society also involves the transference of skills, values, competencies and norms and this

process occurs increasingly through intergenerational relationships outside of the family (Newman, S. and Hatton-Yeo, 2008). As such, concerns with the production of generations become entangled with concerns with the "efficacy" of a society – how effectively intergenerationality allows the transference of resources and information across generations. The realities of depleting environmental resources and growing population size also necessitate an intergenerational perspective which requires economic calculation, meaning "intergenerational wellbeing" effectively becomes bound up with notions of "fairness" and "justice" (Dasgupta, 2001). Here, intergenerationality is tied up with how members of different generations engage with the environment, and whether these engagements allow for the wellbeing of future generations.

This economic model of intergenerationality can position generations at odds with each other, and it is this age segregation that concerns many social commentators. Age segregation is perceived as neither natural nor benign, and age integration programmes aim to break down structural age barriers and bring people together of different ages (Uhlenberg, 2000). The notion of "re-engagement" has been used to emphasise the dilemma of alienation between generations in contemporary societies – a dilemma that calls for a conscious attempt to link these generations (Thang, 2001:8). Underlying this notion of "re-engagement" is the idea that we are making efforts to revert back to a more natural, harmonious situation of age integration. The challenge, or perhaps the irony then, in bringing generations together is that we do so in a conscious, planned way, and yet the desire is for age integration to feel natural, or perhaps spontaneous. This irony emerged as a key finding in Thang's ethnography of the Japanese *Kotoen,* an age-integrated facility.

There are different ways in which to consciously bring generations together. These range from urban design (Thang, 2015) to community intervention (Alcock *et al.*, 2011) to the creation of an age integrated facility, which in Thang's ethnography, combined a nursery with a care home (Thang, 2001). Underlying all of these initiatives is the notion that intergenerationality is a "good thing". The ways in which intergenerational programmes have been designed has changed over time – more recently in the UK, attention has been drawn to the potential of such programmes to build cohesive communities and promote civic engagement (Melville and Hatton-Yeo, 2015:51). Furthermore, intergenerational practice today is based much more on exchange and reciprocity (ibid.). We can see movement volunteering as fitting in to these trajectories; both in the way it fosters civic engagement and exchange and reciprocity. However movement volunteering also creates new meanings to intergenerationality through its focus on mobility as relational and intergenerational, and its configuration of intergenerational space, bodies and technology.

Moving the focus to intergenerational space can move away from this understanding of wellbeing as a limited resource that positions generations in tension with each other. Instead, the literature on intergenerationality has sought to generate concepts which capture shared interests and experiences, which might foster wellbeing. One of these is "active living" – the idea being that staying physically active (across domains of recreation, transport, occupational activities and household activities) is a healthy lifestyle that applies to all generations (Kaplan, and Haider, 2015:35). Intergenerational design can promote active living as well as foster informal, unstructured, intergenerational encounters (ibid. 46). Efforts to develop an explicit framework for creating intergenerational spaces that promote health and wellbeing make moves to position health as a shared, spatial, and intergenerational experience; "concerns about health transcend generational position: healthy communities for young communities are also healthy communities for older adults. The safe and supportive environments needed for "healthy ageing" intersect with the safe and supportive environments needed for "healthy youth development" (ibid. 35).

Although the concept of active living is shared in the movement volunteering programmes, this thesis has shown that moving together also involves important intergenerational mobilities, which allow bodies to both move and be moved. They key thing here is that these intergenerational mobilities are not fixed; the older people in the ethnography moved the volunteers and vice versa. I follow Lassen and Moreira in arguing that movement volunteering programmes do indeed "broker" a variety of effects (Lassen and Moreira, 2020). Indeed, something seems to happen when the purposeful movement of the body – in movement, exercise, or sport - is combined with additional purposes around generating togetherness and connection, or helping others. Key to this is bodies moving *together* and it is this ritualistic, performative, everyday group movement which is generative and which can enable collective effervescence. Phil – a runner volunteer in GoodGym – articulates this through a photograph taken as part of a GoodGym activity. He submitted the photograph as part of the knowledge exchange event, writing in the caption:

"Togetherness: One of the many fitness sessions to music – nearest I get to dancing and symbolises the togetherness of every GoodGym group run for me" (Phil, Knowledge exchange event, August 2019)

Figure 14: "Togetherness" Phil's submission to the knowledge exchange workshop. Photo taken from run report.

7.1.4 Challenges to "togetherness"

Moving together in the programmes was not always harmonious and synchronised, and neither were the organisational aspects of the programmes. As I discuss in Chapter 5, there were sometimes conflicting ideas between movement volunteers regarding the voluntary element of the activities. This could be partly debates on the best way to complete a task in GoodGym, or different ideas about what the purposes of the activities were.

In any group there can be tension or debate. This was the case in the movement volunteering programmes too. Because the programmes were novel and "grassroots", volunteers felt they were a part of something that they could potentially influence and change. I heard multiple examples of volunteers in GoodGym getting in touch with head office to voice concerns or give feedback, on a variety of issues. For example, one of the older runners in GoodGym felt as if he was not represented in GoodGym's marketing materials, which tended to show younger people. This was something I noticed when visiting groups in London and when attending their annual get together – the groups tended to be mostly young professionals, whereas the groups I was a part of in Newcastle and York seemed to have more of a mix of older and younger runners.

In Cycling Without Age, which was a new programme in York led by the York Bike Belles, there was also debate among the volunteers how the programme should be run. As a researcher I was interested in these conversations however I was also wary of becoming involved in internal politics. What I found was that there was a drive among the volunteers for the programme to be sustainable and inclusive

and some volunteers felt that it wasn't in its current form. At the heart of this debate were issues around governance and finances – indeed these issues are often at the core of charities and voluntary groups. Whilst, as I point out in the thesis, some volunteers wanted to just pitch up and do something that felt "good", others took a keen interest in how the programmes were run and what could be done better.

Most conflicts and tensions about the programmes often came back to the financial precarity many of the programmes were under – short term or unreliable funding sources. It is this underlying feature that seems to challenge the sense of "togetherness" that the programmes were so keen to foster. This precarity unfortunately impacted the paid employees in the programmes such as GoodGym trainers and volunteer co-ordinators, who were either employed on a freelance basis or on short-term contracts.

Whilst the programmes did many good things around experiences of and access to physical activity and volunteering, they were limited in their political leverage to change systemic problems in this area, such as the insecure funding streams previously mentioned, or socioeconomic inequalities in health. These movement volunteering groups relied on keen groups of volunteers who have both time and expertise to make things happen, and this undoubtedly has a knock-on effect on where programmes are able to set up and how successful they are. On a group run one evening in York I met the trainer for GoodGym Barnsley, who invited me to come along to their group. Barnsley was an interesting area because there was not an initial interest from the public which is usually what initiates the set-up process, instead it was something the council were interested in setting up, and put the money forward for it. The trainer for Barnsley explained to me that they had struggled to recruit volunteers as there was not this "drive" from people within the area.

The at times fleeting nature of voluntary encounters in the programmes was also a source of discomfort to myself and other volunteers. Whilst this model of volunteering enables people to work volunteering into their lives more easily, it is possible that this also limits potentially meaningful interactions between volunteers and beneficiaries. On the other hand, this was often counteracted by the programmes working in tandem with other charities and groups who could deliver further assistance and help. The programmes therefore fitted into a broader landscape of care which had its own challenges regarding funding streams and service delivery.

7.2 A new field of movement and care

Existing studies of moving together in for example, parkrun, in fitness philanthropy events, and in walking groups help us to understand the collective experience of moving together for a shared purpose, and the way in which moving together is more than just the sum its parts (Nettleton, S. and

Hardey, 2006; Doughty, 2013; Gatrell, 2013; Stevinson, Wiltshire and Hickson, 2015; Wiltshire, Fullagar and Stevinson, 2018; Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020; Palmer, Filo and Hookway, 2021). In this section I explore how the new forms of communal therapeutic mobilities (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020) discussed in the previous section constitute an emerging field of movement and care. Indeed, the caring side of sport/exercise is already a feature of the increasingly aesthetic forms and justifications of physical activity (Tainio, 2018) and has been explored in the case of fitness philanthropy (Palmer and Dwyer, 2019; Palmer, 2020b, 2020a). The volunteering element of movement volunteering however, brings collective care and self-care together in new and unexplored ways, contributing to and indeed challenging existing landscapes of care in the voluntary sector.

7.2.1 Enabling care

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I mean who could complain today, so there I was today, blue skies,
warm, cycling some old people around the park…its a hell of a life!
(Laughs)" (Interview with Bruce, volunteer pedaller, May 2019)
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In this section I draw upon an understanding of care as interdependent, reciprocal, and multidirectional (Milligan and Wiles, 2010:737). In movement volunteering, care happens in this way; it involves networks and delayed reciprocity (for example, through ideas about intergenerationality, and simply because – as Bruce points out - helping others is enjoyable in movement volunteering). Although there were many reasons why movement volunteers got involved in the programmes, the opportunity to care was an important pathway into them. Movement volunteers were looking for manageable opportunities to volunteer and connect with others and places, and found that the programmes enabled them to do this.

Care was enabled and managed in different ways in the programmes. Firstly, it was enabled by setting parameters, through the management of bodies and relations. This served to maintain and manage both proximity and distance – physically and relationally - and in doing so, constituted the "innovative" element of the programmes. Thus, the programmes enabled people to care at different scales – for themselves, the environment, and for known and unknown others. It was this engineering of care which enabled care to operate at different scales; organisationally and dynamically on-the-ground in movement itself – in the spaces between bodies. Secondly and relatedly, the parameters set by the programmes through the management of bodies and relations also created the conditions for care to "overflow" and for commitment to snowball, as movement volunteers became embedded in the relationships, activities and places where they moved.

In the movement volunteering programmes, proximity and distance was, in the first instance, managed in organisational and administrative ways; training about the boundaries of the volunteer role, safeguarding procedures and DBS checks, monitoring and supervision, etc. One of the draws of movement volunteering for the volunteer was the way in which it was possible to care for others in a context that was carefully managed and structured. In Chapter 5, Phil describes the draw of volunteering in GoodGym; that it was possible to simply "pitch up" and dig a hole. These were opportunities that were accessible and satisfying, that did not require limitless and unpredictable emotional labour – the time, space, and even the relational element was set out and visible in a way that appealed to a wide range of people.

However, even though the voluntary activities were carefully managed, with expectations delineated beforehand and so forth, it was not possible to simply "switch off" normative ideas about what the programmes "should" be doing. In voluntary tasks with GoodGym, every so often someone would pause or consider the activity, reflecting on its purpose. For example sometimes in environmental tasks it was not always clear to the volunteer how pulling out a particular plant was in fact "the right" thing to do in particular contexts. One runner-volunteer for example, who had a background in ecology and conservation, questioned whether it was right to be pulling out a plant that was attractive to butterflies and other insects. Some runner-volunteers also told me that they were less drawn to certain tasks because they felt their help was less "needed" – these tended to be well funded charitable organisations that had a "corporate" feel to them. This shows that although the movement volunteering activities were mostly predictable and time-specific, volunteers did become drawn into the ethics of movement volunteering practices in sometimes unpredictable ways. This could be because of the way in which the activity invoked a particular response when doing the activity, or it could be the way in which commitment can snowball in different directions; whether that was in terms of fitness, mobility, or volunteering commitments, both within and outside of the programmes. We can see then, that the volunteer encounter, though carefully managed organisationally, had the potential to extend beyond the activities themselves.

As well as setting boundaries of the volunteer role, the programmes also delineated the bodies who could participate in the programme as beneficiaries. For example, in the Move Mates programme it was a requirement that a beneficiary could walk without the physical support of the Move Mate, that is, they must be able to walk independently or with the use of a mobility aid. This became increasingly a concern for myself and Freya, who preferred holding my arm for stability rather than using her mobility aid, which she found difficult to control and manoeuvre. In Cycling Without Age the care homes also filtered who could and could not take part in the rides – whilst we had residents

transitioning from wheelchairs on to the bike, there were still residents whose health and support needs were deemed too high for the rides. Moving together, whilst often enjoyable and pleasurable, was nonetheless an experience that was contingent on particular relations and bodies.

Despite these contingencies, boundaries were, in practice, negotiated on-the-ground in various ways. In our Move Mates walks for example, myself, Freya, and Len, experimented with different ways to support Freya using various mobility aids and the presence and physicality of our own bodies. Eventually, however, when the parameters enabling these formal volunteering relationships are no longer there, there is a collapse of the formal volunteer-beneficiary relationship. This happened with myself and Freya – as I describe in Chapter 2, we continued to meet in a social capacity beyond my role as volunteer and beyond my role as a researcher too. This is not uncommon in contexts – such as health and social care and volunteering – that rely on what has been termed "affective labour"; labour which produces emotion/feeling and intimate encounters in space (Muehlebach, 2011; Parrenas, 2012).

GoodGym also set up these formal/informal relationships in their "coach running" programme, where a runner commits to visiting an older person once a week on their run. In anticipation of the bonds that could form in this long-term coach-runner relationship, GoodGym developed a protocol should the coach-runner relationship extend beyond the time and space of the coach run. Coach runners are made aware that if this happens, then the partnership can no longer be supported organisationally by GoodGym. Instead, it becomes simply a friendship between two people.

Relations between volunteer and beneficiary then, were carefully managed so as to ensure appropriate distance, whilst facilitating a physical proximity which could foster communal therapeutic mobilities (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020) and that had an intergenerational element. Although setting parameters enabled care in the programmes, they were also restrictive, meaning that there was an "overspill" of care as people negotiated the proximity and distance of affective relationships outside of the programmes.

7.2.1.2 Landscapes of care

The literature on care across geography and anthropology can help us understand the spacialities involved in care, including the negotiations of proximity and distance which the programmes necessitated. The landscapes of care framework builds on therapeutic landscapes concept, which recognises the spaces that enable caring interactions (Milligan and Wiles, 2010:738). It is important to see movement volunteering as part of landscapes of care as it helps us understand the different ways in which care can become spacialised through movement, particularly outside of a healthcare context. We know that care and movement are connected; the movement of the body has been associated

with practices and processes of self-care (Lloyd, O'Brien and Riot, 2016). We also know that moving in particular contexts have characterised some settings as settings of care. This is the case with moving through green space, and moving through particular mediums, such as water (Foley, 2015; Bell *et al.*, 2018). The fitness philanthropy literature is also suggestive of the ways in which care becomes spacialised through movement (Palmer and Dwyer, 2019; Palmer, 2020a), however movement volunteering takes this further because of the way in which it simultaneously enables communal therapeutic mobilities (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020) as well as practices of care.

Because landscapes of care are spacial manifestations of the interplay between the sociostructural processes and structures that shape experiences and practices of care (Milligan and Wiles, 2010:739), the framework can help us understand how movement volunteering becomes part of the physical and social fabric in the places where it is located. Engaging with landscapes of care as an analytical framework requires an understanding of macro-level governance or social arrangements that can operate at either (or both) the national and international scales as well as the interpersonal (ibid. 738). It is thus useful for analysing movement volunteering, as it allows us to think about how moving together articulates with both the state and the body. It also helps us understand how movement volunteering enables care by managing proximity and distance.

Proximity and distance

In the thesis I attend to the embodied nature of movement volunteering and the experiential aspects of moving together. The closeness and intimacy of both human and non-human encounters in the programmes worked to create ethical commitments. However, despite the communal therapeutic mobilities previously discussed, physical closeness does not necessarily constitute respect and responsibility (Pitt, 2018), and nor does collective effervescence necessarily lead to socially beneficent solidarity (Shilling and Mellor, 1998). Pitt demonstrates this in the case of community gardens, showing that whilst bodily contact with nonhumans – in this case plants - has ethical potential (in terms of generating an awareness of the environment), it is the quality of these relationships that matter. Contact may not be enough, we need to know more about these relationships, and how things can relate in different ways (ibid.).

In the wildlife rehabilitation centre in Parrenas' ethnography, affect was produced at the interface between humans and non-humans, in encounters that were inherently risky and dangerous (Parrenas, 2012). However, the risk to international volunteers temporarily working at the centre was minimised because the low paid custodians who worked there took on the more dangerous work. As such, Parrenas argues that the affect not only characterises the encounters that occur at the orangutan rehabilitation centre, it also generates the risky and unequal work of care (Parrenas, 2012:674).

Proximity through moving together may not necessitate care per se, but it certainly sets up a negotiation of closeness and distance for the volunteer, of caring for vs caring about (Milligan and Wiles, 2010). Writing about the role of the "accredited social health activist (ASHA)", Zabiliūtė describes how closeness and distance were managed in the context of the Rajeev camp, a poor neighbourhood in Delhi. ASHA's reside in the communities in which they work, and acts creating distance and detachment from neighbours were important for a neighbourly ethics of attending to one another (Zabiliūtė, 2021). The role of the ASHA was complicated by existing networks of intimacy and conflict within the Rajeev camp, whereby ASHAs had to navigate "motivating" women to engage with public health (e.g. vaccinations, pre and postnatal check ups, and hospital births) whilst ensuring amicable and supportive relationships with neighbours. In this context, distance was maintained by at times not performing the ASHA role so as not to intrude on the privacy of those living in such close quarters, but also by being discriminate in relationships. As Zabiliūtė points out, some neighbours did cultivate friendships, but others remained "just neighbours" (ibid. 29). This relation of "neighbourliness" is therefore one example through which proximity and distance is managed in order to provide care. Volunteer-beneficiary relationships are similar in that they have to maintain boundaries whilst connecting with beneficiaries and their needs and desires.

As I show in the previous section, movement volunteering both collapses and creates spaces between bodies, and this enabled care to work. The care enabled through movement volunteering emerged and found expression through a merging of mobilities and movement itself. Moving together therefore constituted a way in which to connect and care for the wider world, present selves and even future selves through small, regular philanthropic activity, of "doing your little bit" (as we saw in Chapter 6). Processes of care through embodied movement created new configurations of movement, connection, and space. These reconfigurations shed light on the possibility of volunteer and charity-based care as being at once fluid, intimate and distant. The ethnography also showed that the care involved in volunteering was multi-directional – that volunteering was not something that was done "to" others or "for" others but an encounter which had a range of caring and therapeutic effects.

7.3 Movement volunteering in context

Movement volunteering also mobilised the body socially and politically. I return here to the question posed in Chapter 2 of how movement and volunteering might sit within public health and socio-economic contexts. Health and social care restructuring in the UK has meant the voluntary sector has become increasingly formalised and competitive. This "third sector" which itself sits somewhat awkwardly between public and private sectors and provokes difficult questions about how philanthropic and charitable intentions might be intertwined with the logics of capitalism and neoliberal market ideologies and further, how these might play out through the body. So how do

discourses of responsibility, care, and social change play out in these new partnerships between emerging collectives and publics? And how does movement volunteering emerge from and also re-constitute these changing landscapes of care and responsibility? There are two things to consider here, firstly how the "movement" aspect may produce and reproduce moralising discourses of individual responsibility and secondly how the "volunteering" aspect fits in with the so-called "Big Society" agenda and the creation of citizen subjectivities (Garthwaite, 2017).

The public health imperative to become more active and generally move more no doubt influenced both volunteer and beneficiary entry into the programmes. In GoodGym this came through more strongly because of their explicit focus on fitness – some volunteers said that the improvement of fitness was one of the main reasons for their involvement. In some ways then, participation in the programmes constituted a way in which an individual could minimise their risk of ill-health through the maintenance of physical activity practices. This perspective, termed "healthism", links what a person does to their health through conceptualisations of risk (Wright and Burrows, 2004:1). Healthism discourse is undoubtedly pervasive, informing the way we view and make sense of everyday activities and practices.

It has been noted that physical inactivity is a relatively recent addition to the range of possible ways through which individuals can define themselves as at risk (Wiltshire, Fullagar and Stevinson, 2018). However, participation in movement volunteering was – for the volunteers – often more about the seeking of particular experiences rather than the minimisation of risk. It is of course possible that participation in activities can be about the minimisation of ill-health related risks as well as other positive experiences such as social support and community building. This was the case in a study of parkrun, a weekly, free, timed 5k run in local parks (Wiltshire, Fullagar and Stevinson, 2018). Drawing on interviews with previously inactive parkrunners, the authors argue that participants in physical activity practices can simultaneously enact personal body projects while they also experience a sense of being "all in this together" (ibid.). This was also the case in movement volunteering, whereby individual health goals (from both volunteers and beneficiaries) to become fitter or faster were accompanied with a sense of being connected to one another in the movement volunteering activities. Indeed, in some cases this initial focus on health and fitness was actually transformed through movement itself, generating new communal therapeutic mobilities – new meanings and experiences of movement and of moving together (Pollard, Guell and Morris, 2020).

When movement and volunteering come together, they constitute an opportunity to be (and of course move) together and connect with others in the context of both high levels of physical inactivity in the population and increasing prevalence of loneliness and isolation experienced in all generations

of people living in the UK. Additionally, movement volunteering takes place amidst a climate crisis and in the context of increasing awareness biodiversity loss and ecological emergency. Volunteer participation was therefore often framed – by volunteers themselves - in terms of what was "possible" to do – and indeed change – in a society and a world with multiple, complex, and seemingly insurmountable problems and injustices, particularly those around climate change and the degradation of the environment. Movement volunteering was seen as a simple and effective way in which to create meaningful, interesting, and enjoyable encounters which made a difference to people's lives and gave a sense of connection to local contexts and places.

The addition of volunteering to moving could be seen as yet another element of "responsibilisation" under neoliberalism, making people not only responsible for their own health but also the health of others, of places, and their communities as well. It has been shown how looking after ones health is constructed as a "responsible" activity in the context of public funding cuts, to the extent that being healthy has become tied up with ideas of "good citizenship" (LeBesco, 2011). This addition of philanthropic action to an already heavily moralised activity merges self-care with philanthropy. The implications of this could be that volunteers take on the public health imperative to maintain their own good health whilst engaging in affective forms of labour. In practice however, the philanthropic element in the movement volunteering programmes served to decentre the sense of individual responsibility by engaging the body in encounters with other bodies, creating new forms and styles of movement which emphasised shared experiences of movement, and the sense of shared responsibility and care.

The programmes also constituted opportunities to do some sort of "good" (whether for the community, the environment, the health of oneself and/or others) in the context of shifting governance that we see in the provision of health and care in the UK. In this context, volunteer roles become increasingly formalised, as volunteers take on the affective labour required when caring for others. In the UK, responsibility for health is now diffused across sectors and collectives, with the voluntary sector's role becoming increasingly formalised. Interestingly, there was a bit of a rejection of this shift in the movement volunteering in the programmes. In Chapter 6, volunteers spoke about how they were put off by formal volunteering "jobs" and sometimes found it hard to visualise what volunteering actually involves. This motivated their involvement in movement volunteering – a tactile, aesthetic, embodied, but also a low-commitment and casual activity. However, a considerable amount of work has to happen in order to make volunteering easy, casual, and enjoyable, and this was undoubtedly taken on by those paid to co-ordinate movement volunteering activities. These roles were often precarious, operating either on a freelance basis or on fixed term contracts, and were roles

where it was easy to go beyond paid hours because of the responsibilities of the job and the desire to do it well.

Processes of citizenship therefore take on a new form in movement volunteering. Whilst on the one hand, the programmes facilitated recognisably "good" citizenship in a neoliberal context, the collectiveness, interdependency, and connection brought about by moving together was also in tension with these rationalities of neoliberal governance. It is true though that the various programmes encouraged different modes of engagement from volunteers and beneficiaries. The GoodGym rhetoric was quite explicit about the advantages for the volunteer, and heavily focused on the volunteer experience and individual health and wellbeing benefits. This was epitomised in how GoodGym categorised and counted "good deeds" for example, and encouraged runner-volunteers to set themselves targets and goals around health and wellbeing. In Move Mates on the other hand, the relational aspects of the Move Mates pairing was important; the shared experience of walking together, and the volunteer/beneficiary dynamic. Whilst Move Mates do acknowledge and talk about the benefits for the volunteer, what came out in the volunteer meet ups was an interest – both from volunteers and organisers - in the possibilities that emerge through the pairing itself, and the practices and processes of the Move Mates walks. I experienced this first-hand with Freya, as we negotiated through each walk what was possible and enjoyable, and also what support she needed from me as a Move Mate. However, it is worth noting that the umbrella organisation of Move Mates – Move the Masses – have an explicit focus on the health and wellbeing benefits of getting people active. So although relational forms of wellbeing emerged from the Move Mates walks, they were built from the initial focus of improving wellbeing through physical activity.

There are, therefore, limits to drawing on neoliberalism to understand movement volunteering; its emergence but also the experience of moving together and the way in which it becomes embedded in peoples lives and in places. Indeed, there has been much debate in anthropology and beyond about how, when used analytically, neoliberalism obscures rather than captures morally and/or ethically oriented projects. One of the difficulties in the "neoliberal framework" is identifying what it is and also where it resides or operates. Williams and Fullagar go beyond neoliberalism in their analysis, and locate the "truths" of neoliberalism in everyday life;

"The pervasiveness of individualised rationalities and market-orientated logics is so evident in all aspects of everyday life that it is now more accurate to refer to "advanced liberalism" as a descriptor of post-industrial societies where the "truths" of neoliberalism are popularly unquestioned and endorsed as common sense" (Williams and Fullagar, 2018b:21).

Following on from this, it is therefore necessary to consider everyday life as an arena of inquiry in order to disentangle and comprehend how exactly these logics and rationalities become embedded as well as transformed over time. In the movement volunteering programmes, for example, we can see how neoliberalism might play out at the interface with bodies and persons, through moral subjectivities and responsibilities concerning health and citizenship. However it is also important that when considering the effects and logics of neoliberalism, we develop "ethnographically thinkable concepts of freedom and responsibility" (Laidlaw, 2014:44). Laidlaw's concerns about freedom are a response to how anthropological analyses can create certain kinds of "subjects". When we move from ethnography to analysis, we can draw on theoretical frameworks which do not always take seriously the forms of life that we aim to describe (ibid. 46.). This is a problem when trying to understand the ethical dimensions of social life, where it is important to take seriously how people organise their personal and collective lives to foster what they think of as good, and to study what it is like to live at least some of the time in light of such a project (Robbins, 2013:457).

Taking forward these concerns and building on the ethnographic findings around moving together, it seems both simplistic and misguided to say that the "purpose" of the moving body in movement volunteering emerges purely in neoliberal (or advanced liberal) and post-industrial contexts. These contexts are important to acknowledge because of how they create the conditions for care; "healthy publics are clearly conditioned by the ways in which public services and public life are more broadly constituted" (Hinchliffe *et al.*, 2018:5). However, the new forms of participation in movement volunteering programmes configure bodies, spaces, and relations and new ways of moving and being together. Through these everyday practices, physical and relational aspects of the public are maintained and transformed, as the practices engage, participate with and influence public spaces and those in them.

7.4 Re-framing the "problem" of physical inactivity

So to return to the problem posed in Chapter 2 of physical inactivity in the UK; how do these new ways to care mesh with the "problem" of physical inactivity? I argue that by enabling care through movement, movement volunteering subtly re-frames the "problem" of physical inactivity by moving the focus from individual bodies to the spaces between bodies, and the spaces, environments, and organisational contexts that enable bodies to move together.

Approaches to framing, understanding, and solving the issue of physical inactivity are debated, as discussed in Chapter 2. I return here to some of these debates about what it is that moves us, or indeed what makes us immobile or sedentary. Rather than see movement volunteering as simply

another way to increase physical activity however, I consider here how movement volunteering might re-frame the "problem" of physical inactivity in the first place.

In much of the public health debate around physical activity, immobility or dependence are seen predominantly as barriers or challenges to be overcome. This idea did not play out in practice in the movement volunteering programmes. In the programmes, there was a creative approach to enabling shared movement experiences. These movement experiences were not simply viewed as a way to increase levels of physical activity, or break down barriers to physical activity, but as pleasurable and enjoyable experiences in and of themselves. Immobility and dependence therefore constituted opportunities for connecting people together and moving in a different way. The relationships that were then created through the programmes enabled movement to continue to happen over time as well as adapt as circumstances changed.

This approach to enabling movement did not necessarily emerge from a planned or conscious decision within the programmes to shift away from seeing physical inactivity as a "problem" and instead think about movement as a shared endeavour. The programmes were varied in themselves, and although encouraging and enabling movement was clearly an intended outcome, the context that necessitated these efforts was differently conceived. Indeed, the focus and emphasis of the programmes continually changed as they adapted and grew within local contexts as well. From my participation across the three programmes, this acceptance of interdependence, an attentiveness to others, and an enjoyment of moving together emerged as strong themes. This finding poses a challenge to the rhetoric around physical inactivity in public health, whereby inactive bodies are constructed as stubbornly sedentary without due consideration of where, how, and why issues of immobility may emerge and persist. Furthermore, through movement in the programmes, there was a process of learning – of awareness of others mobility, which involved changing pace and generally adapting. This was because the programmes involved bodies moving *together*; shared experiences of movement. All this serves to destabilise the idea that it is up to individuals to change their behaviour in order to become physically active.

This focus on moving together is a departure from many physical activity interventions, whereby initial support to become more active is not sustained, and the goal of the intervention is to create independent and individually practiced physical activity routines. Evidence has shown that whilst intervention-style programmes that target the individual may elicit an immediate "first step" towards increasing the volume and/or intensity of physical activity, they do not necessarily invoke long term lifestyle changes (Tudor-Locke *et al.*, 2004). There have been further critiques of the individually targeted physical activity intervention. It has been argued that interventions aimed at increasing

physical activity and decreasing health inequalities can in fact have the unintended effect of exacerbating inequalities (Williams and Fullagar, 2018a). This can happen through the creation of "opportunities" (in this case in the form of a leisure centre) to do physical activity without consideration of access or the everyday contexts of peoples lives, meaning that those who are already more privileged are more able to take advantage of opportunities (ibid.). Drawing on the case of movement volunteering, we learn of further flaws in the individually targeted intervention style model. Targeting an individual's health can miss the point because it fails to acknowledge that movement is about pleasure and not only health. This was undoubtedly the case in the movement volunteering programmes, whereby enjoyment, fun, and pleasure were important reasons for continuing engagement in activities. Additionally, movement volunteering shows that there are further possibilities that emerge from the moving body, in this case, opportunities for bodies to move one another, and opportunities to involve bodies in creating and producing environments. The benefits of movement therefore do not stop at the individual level, but continue to emerge as bodies move together in the landscape.

Not only did the programmes re-frame the problem of physical inactivity by reimagining sedentary bodies, they also re-imagined the way in which bodies could be active as well. This was most pertinent in the GoodGym ideology, which saw treadmills and gyms as inherently problematic – as a waste of energy and as disconnected spaces. The programmes therefore focused attention not only on helping inactive bodies move but also on what bodies do when they are active and the places and communities they create. The programmes showed that fitness is no longer just about individual health outcomes and that the moving body can be a powerful connective medium for forming relationships with others and the world. Recognising this (and indeed drawing on the example of GoodGym), Tainio argues that we are seeing a shift in justifications of physical activity from "rational" justifications to "aesthetic" ones (Tainio, 2018). We can see movement volunteering then, as an example of this renewed interest in physical activity, whereby there is a general awareness of physical activity "in all its dimensions" (ibid.). Movement volunteering then, is able to accommodate and support the public health imperative for individuals and populations to move more, whilst subtly challenging and unsettling habitual forms of movement and sedentariness, and introducing new ways of moving and being together. In doing so, the "problem" of physical inactivity shifts from individuals, to the spaces and contexts that enable or hinder movement.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has explored an emerging form of volunteering; "movement volunteering", which brings together volunteering with physical activity. Through ethnography, I have shown how movement volunteering can produce relations, mobilities, and places, as people move together. I have demonstrated how the communal therapeutic mobilities of movement volunteering challenge the idea of physical activity as an individual behaviour. I therefore propose that the problem of physical inactivity has more to do with the spaces and contexts that can enable or hinder movement and relatedly, how the aim of "moving together" can focus attention on these spaces and contexts, whilst creating supportive relationships that do not problematise immobility.

By looking at three different programmes which bring movement and volunteering together in different ways, I have shown how the phenomenon of movement volunteering is about both health and wellbeing. Whilst GoodGym for example had a focus on improving the fitness of volunteers, Move Mates and Cycling Without Age were more generally about "wellbeing", as an effect that can emerge through the experience of moving together. This was often described in terms of the "togetherness" that was experienced as bodies moved together through and with landscapes.

The thesis has also created a valuable contribution to understandings of contemporary volunteering practices. Movement volunteering builds on trends in volunteering practices in the UK whereby we have witnessed a shift to more fragmented, sporadic, or low commitment forms of volunteering. I have shown how volunteers appreciated this kind of volunteering, and were keen to benefit from the activities, whether that was through the health benefits of becoming fitter, meeting new people and socialising, or through the experiences of being outside and the pleasure of moving through particular landscapes. This was all possible in movement volunteering, which assembled bodies together in different ways, and enabled different and shared experiences of movement.

The ethnographic approach taken in this study was valuable for creating an embedded understanding of the programmes which explored not only individual experiences but also shared and collective ones, and the place-based effects that movement volunteering brought about. The extensive fieldwork period of 15 months meant that I was able to develop relationships and trust with participants as well as an understanding of how the programmes worked through the changing seasons.

There were some limitations to the study however. First of all, although it was in many ways a strength that I spent time doing fieldwork across three different programmes, it also meant that at times I could not attend all the activities I wanted to within individual programmes. The study could have been strengthened by a meaningful engagement with the organisational aspects, for example by conducting

interviews with GoodGym head office in London, and with stakeholders within the areas where I did fieldwork, such as representatives from the council working in health and social care, or volunteer and outreach. Due to time limitations, I decided to instead "zoom in" on the activities themselves and understand how they worked in practice, rather than take a step back and considering how they fitted in to a broader landscape of volunteering and physical activity policy and practice. Future work could explore the organisational aspects of movement volunteering to create a deeper understanding of how the programmes work in local contexts.

Another limitation of the study is that I only followed participants who stayed engaged in the programmes. It would have been valuable to follow up on those who had stopped attending in order to build a more nuanced understanding. Although I did capture some critical reflections and attitudes from participants, this side of the story was definitely limited because I did not engage with those who had left the programmes.

I would have also liked to involve the older participants more meaningfully in the research. Because of the significant mobility issues and care needs of the care home participants, who were passengers in the Cycling Without Age rides, it was not feasible to invite them to the knowledge exchange event held at the end of the fieldwork period. Their input would have been valuable and in hindsight I should have organised a separate event within the care homes which they could have attended.

Looking to the future, studies of movement volunteering should also attend to the shifting forms of governance and funding streams which heavily influence the feasibility and scope of volunteering and outreach projects. Underlying all of the programmes was a concern with funding and how best to scale up and expand whilst ensuring programmes stay focused on their aims. It would be useful to take a longitudinal perspective on movement volunteering programmes to explore if funding and political interests may initiate a "drift" in focus from, for example, moving together and inclusivity to more neoliberal drives to encourage individual responsibility and behaviour change.

Future work could also take a participatory action research approach to more meaningfully involve participants in the research process and outcomes. Whilst ethnography is a useful method for developing an embedded understanding of social phenomena, it can also amplify the voice and interests of the researcher over the concerns and questions of participants. Whilst I have tried to represent and tell the stories of my participants in a detailed and rigorous way, ethnography is still a lot about the ethnographer and their experiences and reflections. A participatory action approach to research would shift the focus and voice, mean those involved in movement volunteering could be involved in, for example, creating research questions, writing, interpreting, and developing impact from the research. This would be particularly useful for the movement volunteering programmes. As

I discuss earlier in the thesis, movement volunteers often felt they had a lot to contribute to the running of the programmes and organisations, and would voice ideas about how they might be improved. Facilitating a platform whereby both volunteers, beneficiaries, and other stakeholders could come together and discuss what they feel the programmes should be doing in terms of the issues they address or their purpose and so on would be valuable. Some of the programmes were doing this already through volunteer meet ups and socials, and so future work could build on this by incorporating more formal methods of research.

Afterword: Covid-19 and the spaces between bodies

I was very fortunate that my fieldwork was not disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic which resulted in a series of national "lockdowns" in the UK. It would have radically changed the PhD project, making it impossible to immerse myself in the field in the way I did, and for as long as I did. Instead, I was in the middle of writing up when our lives changed so dramatically by the restrictions.

As anthropologists, we should always be aware of how the phenomena which we study is context specific. I did not realise at the time that moving together through movement volunteering programmes was in fact a privilege and a pleasure, afforded to a time when being physically close to one another was indicative of support, trust, and kindness. At the time of writing up, being physically close to one another was dangerous and coming together and gathering in groups had been described as "selfish" by the health secretary in the UK[17]. Paradoxically, practicing "social distancing" and "self-isolating" became a pro-social thing, a way in which to prevent the spread of the virus and the burden on the already strained NHS.

Most of the activities I observed and participated in during the course of fieldwork were suspended for the foreseeable future. Most of them involved contact with the elderly, immobile, and socially isolated, and were considered particularly risky. Many of these people were being advised or told to stay indoors. Though much of this thesis is built around the physical, embodied practice of moving together in the programmes, there was always a sense of connectedness and responsibility towards others that grew out of and transcended the physical. It was because of this connectedness, combined with – as I discuss in the thesis – the deeply practical nature of this kind of volunteering, that the programmes – in this case GoodGym and Move Mates – were able to adapt to the needs of the pandemic. As I argue in the previous chapter, the programmes harboured a particular kind of energy – an energy which always had the potential to become something else. And because this kind of volunteering was flexible and casual, the programmes had a large number of volunteers who could be – literally – mobilised.

Move Mates transformed into a whole different service. They began delivering prescriptions on foot and on bike, as well as making phone calls to isolated people. From the prescription drop off service they realised the value of "doorstep chats" and made these a new feature of their volunteer work. GoodGym redesigned their missions and coach runs in order to continue to support isolated older people in the community. They partnered with the Red Cross to assign runners to "shopping missions," helping older people get the supplies they need when they cannot leave their homes. They also

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[17] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-51999864

changed coach runs to "coach calls," and those who visit an isolated older person on a weekly basis would call them on the telephone instead. In York, both charities worked together in order to stay connected with vulnerable people and deliver essential supplies and medication. Solo running was still possible, and so runners continued to keep up their fitness. Indeed, keeping fit and healthy became a public health message in itself, alongside social distancing and hygiene advice.

The Covid-19 pandemic may have changed the way I reflect on, analyse, and write about the movement volunteering programmes. Perhaps there is more of a sense of nostalgia and celebration. We are always affected by the contexts in which we write and do research, and this global pandemic reminds us of that more than ever. Things are always changing, but I cannot remember a time when social life here in the UK changed this drastically, and this quickly. What I hope this thesis will offer then is a sense of hope in the social. I hope it will show that moving together brought about relations, practices, attitudes and norms which encourage us to think about how we are all connected, especially at a time when we are encouraged to be physically apart.

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