Running head: Mothers at the wall

This is an Accepted Manuscript of a book chapter published by Routledge/CRC Press in Motherhood and Sport: Collective Stories of Identity and Difference. Routledge, pp. 149-161. ISBN 978 0 367691820] on 5th August 2022 available online: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003140757 or https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003140757

Chapter 11

Mothers at the wall: Using creative nonfiction techniques to explore climbing and motherhood

Emily Coates (unaffiliated) and Ben Clayton (Buckinghamshire New University, UK)

Submitted:

Abstract

In this chapter we explore some of the competing discourses of climbing and motherhood, and the associated discourses of risk and responsibility, which inform a sense of self for mothers who climb. Creative nonfiction techniques are employed to understand, and then convey, the complex and contradictory nature of such discourses, and further allow for multiple and contingent interpretations of the findings. The premise and benefits of creative nonfiction are first explored in relation to this particular research study and then the resultant story is presented and finally deconstructed and discussed using a Foucauldian lens. However, in the literary tradition that informs the chapter, the reader is encouraged to see this as just one possible direction for discussion, as a dais for further dialogue, and to suggest alternative meanings based on their own situated understanding.

Introduction

We start this chapter not with a theoretical framework, but with a theoretical *confession*. This confession is used because creative nonfiction (CNF) writers will often find themselves caught somewhere between two discrete epistemological positions. The first position is that the act of writing a story should itself be the primary means of 'knowing' (Richardson, 1994, 2000) and that same story must then be allowed to 'breathe' (Frank, 2010) so that the reader might generate further possible meanings and ways of knowing and being (Smith, McGannon & Williams, 2016). In other words, theories are generated in the writing and reading of a CNF rather than any one theory being dictated by a fixed framework. Second, CNF writers cannot wholly detach themselves from their theoretical allegiances or macro-knowledge of the social world during the research and writing processes (Clayton & Coates, 2020). As a result, all CNFs are at least tinged with theory from the outset, even if they are not made explicit by the storyteller.

These positions are not easy to reconcile, but by confessing our theoretical influences, rather than framing some theoretical inevitabilities, we aim to show *our workings* while still allowing for alterative readings and competing interpretations of the story we will present in this chapter. In this vein, then, we dispense with a comprehensive literature review, but confess that our story originated as part of a broadly Foucauldian agenda. We are especially influenced by Foucault's (1972) central ideas of discourse as language as a source of thought and as a relativised *a priori* constraint placed, in any given time and space, on how people think and subsequently act. In other words, discourse provides the "conditions of possibility" for thought, which are contingent on the particular historical situation (Foucault, 1970, p.203). Because such conditions are relative, not only do discourses change but multiple discourses shape human life (Markula & Pringle, 2006) and alternative discourses compete for attention. Examples of research on motherhood and sport using Foucault's ideas include McGannon, McMahon & Gonsalves (2017) and Spowart, Hughson & Shaw (2008), which show how mothers convey their experiences of sport in relation to an 'ethic of care' (Shaw, 1994) and feel guilty about seeking time for themselves and an increased unease about taking risks in their pursuit of sport. However, they also demonstrate how maintaining sport participation and a sporting identity can offer alternative practices of motherhood.

In this chapter, we aim to advance this body of work by focusing on the competing discourses of motherhood and 'serious' climbing. For the latter, we are influenced by Stebbins' (2001) concept of *serious leisure* as an amateur activity that "is deeply satisfying and [offers] a full existence" (p. 54). Serious leisure and, by extension, serious climbing are defined by the

personal rewards they generate, including fulfilling one's human potential, expressing one's skills, having cherished experiences, and developing a valued identity. A climber's identity is framed predominantly by discourses of authenticity, relating to the micropolitics of forms of climbing (mainly bouldering, traditional climbing, and sports climbing), risk and risk management, and commitment to the activity, its natural environment and community (Lewis, 2000; Rickly-Boyd, 2012; Robinson, 2008). We tentatively posit that these discourses stand in opposition to those of the mothering identity, which is structured by expert, medical, legal, and popular discourses that position mother's leisure time as enduringly relational and for the consumption of others (Odih, 2003), notably for partners and children (Clayton & Coates, 2015; Wimbush 1988). Research on motherhood and action sports, such as climbing and snowboarding, has shown how women's lives can become entangled in the competing discourses that bind them to the home and to their children and those of competency in a risky activity, which provides a sense of joy, an escape from domesticity, and confirmation that motherhood alone does not define them (Frohlick, 2006; Spowart & Burrows, 2016).

Methods

CNF is one of a few literary modes of representation that have gained momentum in interpretative studies, especially those that are written under the aegis of poststructuralism or late- or postmodernity. Here scholars explore complex and subjective issues and attempt to find partial meaning in the data they generate while also assuming and facing the consequences of an "endemic contingency and uncertainty of human condition" (Bauman, 2000a, p. 213). Denison (2003) reminds us that interpretive research is supposed to "deliver an open-ended version of the truth" (p. 201) and that emerging forms of writing, which transcend the boundaries of fact and fiction, art and science, can be useful tools in this endeavour. Denison drew, in part, here on Bauman's (2000b) appeal for sociologists to combine intimacy and criticality, to move "between several linguistic universes" (p. 83). Central to Bauman's call was his warning about written sociology as a means of 'expertocracy,' which tends to 'interpret away' the plight of individuals in society. There is heuristic value, we argue, in the conventions of fictional storytelling, which allows us to find meaning in our data while acknowledging the complexity and contingency of the circumstance. CNF is one such approach, which has been increasingly employed to explore the complexities of gendered experiences of sport (e.g. Clayton & Coates, 2015; Lucas-Carr & Krane, 2013; McGannon & McMahon, 2021).

CNF remains something of a vexed term. It is generally described as an analytic practice that borrows from the literary arts, where empirical data are woven into a story akin to a fictional text (Cheney, 2001; Clayton, 2010; Gutkind, 2012), but there is less palpable

agreement about the permissible scale of fictionalisation and the ultimate form of the writing. The common theme of all CNFs is that they are "aesthetically *and* substantively impressive" (Barone, 2008, p. 107, not original emphasis), evocatively written, use a variety of fictional techniques, and are grounded in witnessed or experienced 'truth'. That is to say that CNF is based on systematic qualitative data generation and analysis, which gives the researcher a narrative of the surrounding culture or explanation of phenomena under study, but these are then used to construct a story that might allow the reader to inhabit the world that the researcher finds. The stories can take many forms including monologues (e.g. Carless et al., 2014), conversations (e.g. Higgins & Wattchow, 2013), vignettes (e.g. McGannon & McMahon, 2021), and extended scenes with both narration and character dialogue (e.g. Clayton, 2010). The CNF writer will work the data, narrative, and experience of the world under study into a more evocative form, using techniques including composite characters, inner dialogue, metaphor, and observational humour (Clayton and Coates, 2020).

The story presented in this chapter is one of the fruits of a wider study about seven heterosexual, dual-parent families in which both mother and father identified as serious traditional climbers. The couples were selected using purposive and snowball strategies and had at least one child and both parents had pursued climbing as serious, hobbyist leisure for several years prior to the conception and birth of their children. Except for one of the mothers, all the parents in the sample were still climbing at the time of the research and had been climbing for at least eleven years. All participants were white-British with ages ranging from 32-years to 62-years and the age of their children from six-months to 27-years, with one couple expecting their second child. The primary data generation method was narrative life-history interviews (see Wengraf, 2001) with each parent, which explored the journeys towards and through both climbing and parenting and the balance of the two. Only one couple had children over the age of 18 at the time of the research and were asked to recall their experiences of when their children were young. While not an ethnography per se, the researcher (Coates) also engaged in sustained periods of participant observation at climbing walls, crags, and in the family homes, developing close relationships with family members, which have remained to this day. The story that follows builds on data specifically about the mothers' experiences.

What was apparent early in the research process was that these mothers' lived experiences were complex and multifaceted and could not be fairly represented by a realist tale that attempted to isolate expressive quotes and explain them from a position of omnipotence. Any such quotes were dysfunctional and reductionist, denying any possibility for empathy. To understand the plight of these women, we needed to reconstruct their day-to-day mores,

engage with the nuances of the lived experience, and recreate the context in our own minds. As Freire (1998) suggests, writing is not a mere mechanical act that follows-on from the act of thinking and, rather, "while writing [we] continue to think and rethink what [we] had already thought before" (p. 2). We found writing the story to be an important 'method of inquiry' (Richardson, 1994), a method that allowed us to feel the fibres of the rope in our hands, share in the guilt of time away from children, and watch the clock ticking down on our time climbing with friends. In part, this process occurs because of our own respective identities, knowledge, and empathy, as a climber and mother-of-two (Coates) and father-of-three (Clayton).

Using CNF provides other benefits. Given that the British climbing scene is relatively small, the use of fictional techniques was key to protecting the identities of the participants without the need to lose the rich detail of actual happenings or expressed feelings (see also Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Further, because this research arguably catered to a limited audience and represented an exclusive group of people, but, simultaneously, generated themes and outlooks important for a wider readership, we wanted better access to other populations. Traditional academic texts, some have argued, are boring (Caulley, 2008; Richardson, 2000) and engage only a handful of stalwarts of the discipline or topic. Conversely, the most basic function of CNF, according to Gutkind (1997), is to capture a subject in such a way that anyone will be able to, and want to, read more about it.

The story that is presented in this chapter takes a few sudden changes of form, but to say that we *chose* these media is an oversimplification. We needed to show the different experiences of these women over the course of a typical week. Part of the 'fiction' of the story is that the events depicted transcend time and space and therefore while the story aims to represent a typical week, raw data were not necessarily concerned with any one week. Most of these data were generated by interviews, where the mothers expressed thoughts, feelings, and recollections in their own words, with the kind of affection and sincerity that are not easy to describe. We wanted to maintain these features but present findings in a form that felt more 'real', or everyday, and simultaneously allowed us to bring together the spoken experiences of several mothers, as well as participant observations, into one place and show an illustrative experience. Therefore, wherever possible, responses from the interview are explicitly relayed (verbatim), but sometimes paraphrased to maintain the sense of the everyday, and further witnessed actions, including naturally occurring talk, are peppered through the story. These have been used to "centralize participants' voices and retain the authenticity of the experiences" (McGannon & McMahon, 2021, p6). What started to develop on the page as we wrangled with several first-person

accounts (including that of the researcher), filled with messy thoughts and awkward phraseology, and contradictory feelings, were two distinct forms of writing. The first was akin to a blog, or multiple blogs of a few protagonists, which worked to express complex, and quite specific, nuances of the mothers' lives and more easily maintain verbatim quotes while also synthesising multiple experiences. The second was a short scene, or a composite vignette (see McGannon & McMahon, 2021) of a mother's climbing lifeworld, which allowed us to stand with these climbing mothers despite our status as outsiders by uniting the unfamiliar 'reality' of their accounts and our own imaginations informed by our knowledge of micro-social processes in similar, comparable, and transferrable arenas of lived experience. This process forced us to live and relive every scenario, inclusive of every nuance, to think and rethink meaning. The two forms come together to tell one short story of three main protagonists who are not facsimiles of participants, but composite characters who, together, represent the mothers in this study (see McGannon & McMahon, 2021; Croker, Shard & Duncan, 2021). The final step in our process of story generation was the refining of the text, which requires several re-readings and small adjustments to the phraseology aiming to balance, intuitively, the need for sense-making and readability and the requirement to remain faithful to the original wording, style, and vernacular.

Mothers at the wall

Liz: Monday. Time, less really is more

This morning had that September feeling, summer's last gasp before the dark evenings set in. I hoped there could be a few more Thursday night's outside before it's back to the climbing wall. I dropped Sam off for his first full day at school. I still cannot believe he is at school already, seeing him standing in his uniform, his shoes shining, his look of nervous excitement as I kiss him goodbye… I worried about him all the way to work; he is the youngest in his class, only four in July.

Lunch hour and off duty, so I texted Rachel and Becky: "Fancy doing some routes on Thursday? Looking dry..." I guessed it would probably be a no from both, but I can't stop asking. In some ways I'm looking forward to winter, bouldering and the indoor season because I'll have the girls to climb with again. Becky still loves her climbing, but not the risk, which is fair enough. Not that I would ever do anything reckless. I'm careful about the routes I choose, but I'm still psyched. There are risks, for sure, I wouldn't be climbing E2 without them, but I manage them and it's great not to have to rely on anyone to climb it first!

It has always been hard finding women to climb with but it is even harder when you are a mum. In the initial months you are in baby-cuckoo land. Never mind the physical changes, the breast feeding, getting over the caesarean, the jelly ligaments, the baby weight. Every time you get out feels like a massive achievement. By the time you feel halfway normal again the non-mum climbers are 'Team Strong' and far too good for you to climb with, or they become mothers and just don't seem to want to climb anymore.

I do get it: work, children, house, partner, then you, but I didn't want to give it up. What would I be if I couldn't do the things that make me who I am? Maybe I'm just lucky that

Jack has always worked shifts, so been at home more, been so hands-on and made sure I have the time to climb.

Becky: Monday. Last week before work!

Louis was in nursery, so I got some one-to-one time with Olivia. It's my last full week with her before I return to work. A whole year has flown by and the rat-race beckons. So, this is it until I retire!

There was a text from Liz about getting out this Thursday. I'm in two minds. I could always just follow her up some routes… how things have changed! Back in uni I was all about the trad[1], and getting that extra route in before heading home. It was all about pushing the grade, even did my SPA[2]. Never thought I would be any different, but when Louis came along, I started getting scared leading and the thought of doing any trad leading fills me with dread. Mike does it all the time but I can't escape the thought of what would happen to the kids if something happened to me.

When I look at Olivia giggling on the swing, I feel so warm. It brings a smile to my face. I'm going to make the most of these last few days with her. I'll text Liz and say I'll just nip to the wall for a boulder or go for a run when the kids are in bed. Less hassle than asking Mike to be back early, anyway. To be honest it's a relief not needing to push myself to constantly climb any more: it's not really a sacrifice, I'm not a frustrated mum, I get enough me time and the trips to the park, playdates, kids clubs is my life too now. It's pretty good spending time enjoying all the things that come with the kids and family as well. Actually, sometimes I feel a relief; the pressure is off. I do not have to be Superwoman and that is ok. I love being outside in beautiful places, doing something physical like bouldering, and being with friends. Climbing is a part of me, it will always be there, but it is not the be-all and end all anymore!

Rachel: Monday. Head space

And relax! The sounds of crying faded as I ran slowly – was I always this slow? – around the corner away from the house. I nearly didn't go. I got that 'ugh, I can't be bothered' feeling, something you feel a lot when you've been up all night feeding. But Rob came back from work early, and he told me to just go, that he would sort the boys and I'd feel better after it. 20-minutes of fresh air and my head was cleared. There is nothing like the feel of my muscles moving to help me forget everything I've left behind.

Thursday evening at the wall

It is England, it rained, so Becky, Rachel and Liz are meeting at the wall. Or they're meant to be.

"Where. Are. You?" Rachel stares menacingly at the mantel clock, legs and arms twitching, unable to sit still. It had been a long day. A sick child, a teething baby, and seemingly endless episodes of Peppa Pig. But they were fed and they were bathed. She had expressed milk and somehow managed to get herself looking acceptable for venturing out. She just needed a husband at home right now. Then, the sound of an engine, some headlights cut through the gaps in the blinds. Rachel springs to her feet, baby in arms ready to be passed over, kisses George on the forehead and makes for the front door.

---

[1] Traditional climbing is the form of climbing that has historically dominated in the UK. Climbers place their own protective equipment into the rock to offer a protection from falls.

[2] The SPA (Single Pitch Award) enables climbers to take groups of people out climbing.

The plate glass doors part with a swoosh. Rachel steps through, a little out of breath. She inhales deeply and a smile spreads across her face. Those chlorine-infused walls, the slight dampness of the building and crash mats, the pungent suede climbing shoes, the filter coffee. "It's good to be back," she quietly remarks with a slight wheeze from the circulating chalk dust.

Liz excitedly throws a wave from across the busy atrium and Rachel hurries over.
"Thanks for that chat the other day," she says.
"Anytime," says Liz, embracing Rachel.
"Where's Becky?"
"Getting the kids down. She won't leave until they're asleep, but she should be here soon," Liz replies. "Are you ready?"
"Hell, yes, let's go," says Rachel with a broad grin, dropping to the floor to pull on her climbing shoes. "Best start with some easier problems, though."
"Of course. So, tell me what's been going on with your lovely litter."

"Keep it going," Rachel buoys herself, reaching for the next hold. "God, it hurts."
"All okay?" Liz calls.
"Yeah, I think so. The muscles are just remembering how to move."
Becky arrives with a long and hurried gait across the atrium, all a fluster. "I'm sorry, I'm sorry, I'm sorry!" She stops and exhales. "That took forever!"
"Which one," Liz asks.
"Both of them. Well, mostly Louis. He makes me feel so lousy when I need to leave. Right, I better skip the warm-up, then, and jump straight on. How does it feel to be back, Rach?"
"Hard, heavy, I don't think I'll ever have abs again, but it's good to move again," Rachel replies, grimacing as she stretches a leg over to an adjacent hold.
"I don't know! Two children and you still look like that. Where were you storing them?" Liz teases.
"Thank you," Rachel replies with a coy giggle. "I'd better be careful though. It's so easy to just think you can climb what you were before."
"I made that mistake after Olivia. But you'll get back again. You did before." Becky reassures her, swiftly and dexterously scaling the wall.
"Wow!" Rachel exclaims. "Have you been climbing much, Becky?"
"The occasional evening. And family days at the weekend, although I don't get much climbing done then."
"Tell me about it!" Liz rolls her eyes in solidarity. "Jack does his best, but when Sam needs me, he needs me. Even when I'm halfway up the fucking crag!"
"Liz!" Rachel sniggers, dropping to mats. She stretches out her fingers with a wince, tilts her neck and reaches around to squeeze her tight shoulder. "Aww, I'm pumped. I'll feel it tomorrow."
A muffled jingle of Rachel's phone emanates from her bag. She reaches for it and answers.
"Hey, everything okay?" She asks, walking away out of earshot of Liz and Becky.
"And that's probably that," Becky looks down at Liz, eyebrows raised.
"Yep," Liz agrees. "Hungry baby has awoken."

Epilogue: Ethic of care, Morality of time, and Commitment to Climbing

Using CNF allowed us to show differences and commonalities across experiences that appeared in the data as well as giving order and meaningfulness (Polkinghorne,1995). One reading may compete for attention with others (Frank, 2010; Smith, McGannon & Williams, 2016) and through this process a number of possibilities and theories might be used to explore interpretations. Some writers of CNF of sport offer no explanation for their stories

at all (e.g. Douglas & Carless, 2010) and argue that to do so would be at best futile and irrelevant in the pursuit of complex 'truths' and potentially self-serving and disingenuous. Others provide some theoretical underpinning and discussion, but usually aim to maintain a clear separation of the nonfictional text and the explication (e.g. Clayton, 2010), but here the influence of the explication on the reader is unknown. We neither advocate nor reject either approach but given our remit in this volume, we have weighted this chapter more towards a methodological and creative contribution that asks for the story to be allowed to 'breathe' (Frank, 2010).

That said, having earlier confessed our allegiances to the concept of 'serious leisure' and a broadly Foucauldian agenda at the time of the research and writing, it might be remiss to not – ever so briefly – acknowledge this influence on our rendition of these mothers' lives. To this end, we see these women's plight as one created by the competing discourses of the ethic of care and commitment to climbing. The latter may be unrelated to traditional gender roles because when women normalise discourses of serious leisure, they can construct identities distinct from traditional femininity (Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998). The ethic of care, however, is more gendered, broadly defined as the discursive position of mothers as primary caregivers (Shaw, 1994), which inevitably impacted these women's perceptions of children's needs and their own identities as mothers and climbers.

Foucault's work on the disciplinary nature of power would suggest that these discourses produce docile bodies that regulate their own behaviour. For us, these mothers were clearly engaged with the discourses of intensive parenting and the mother's role, including medical discourses about the importance of breastfeeding and cultural discourses of the maternal bond and the need to sacrifice one's own body and time and to assume the position of primary caregiver within the family. These sacrifices seemed natural and necessary to *be* a mother. Motherhood, Guendouzi (2006) argues, is a product not only of a deep-rooted hegemonic discourse but also the discourse expressed and guarded by women themselves, and their sacrifices of body and time, therefore, while greater than the sacrifices of fathers, may be less painful and more easy to rationalise (Clayton and Coates, 2015). Indeed, the sacrifice of personal leisure was not always experienced as constraining because spending time with their children was also satisfying, enjoyable, and experienced as empowering.

Nonetheless, tensions did show, and the moralities of time and risk required constant negotiation. Foucault might argue that no one is free from the constraints of moral discourses, but some people are more disposed to exploit the moral pluralism of late-modernity (Weeks, 1995) and create practices that might defraud binaries of right and

wrong, good and bad. That is to say, while the women in our story were entrenched in discourses of the 'good mother', they remained serious climbers with a commitment to authenticity and voluntary risk-taking (Rinehart & Sydnor, 2003; Wheaton, 2004), which led to strategies that they thought allowed them to tread a safe moral line. These included 'family climbs', so that imperatives of children's leisure and happiness, and time spent with children – priorities of motherhood – could be satisfied while simultaneously pursuing their personal leisure time. We have shown some of the perils of the family climb elsewhere (Clayton and Coates, 2015), but they are also alluded to in the story above, where the serious climber identity is inevitably displaced by the need to continue the ethic of care at the crag.

Similarly, arranging climbs at times when children were at school or nursery, or in the evening when children were in bed, attempted to avoid conflicts between the ethic of care and the serious climber identity, but a clean separation proved impossible to achieve. This was informed, in part, by a sense of guilt about putting one's own leisure needs above the needs of children, but also by the commitment to breastfeed children. The latter is also informed by discourses of the 'good mother' and, more generally, the medical discourse of motherhood, which is based on expert opinion and suggests that breastfeeding is natural, but not necessarily right for individual women (Lomax, 2009). It represents a sacrifice of the body and bodily performance – as did pregnancy – which was particularly hard to reconcile with the serious climber identity and was perhaps the greatest single marker of a lost climbing identity for these women. The physical barriers aside, motherhood also gave them a heightened awareness of risks of bodily harm, which may have previously been unquestioned (Coffey, 2003). Such awareness appeared more easily dealt with by most of the mothers with a simple cognitive replacing of the concept 'voluntary risk' taking with a more palatable inner discourse of risk management.

Conclusion

The story in this chapter was constructed from verbatim quotes, quotes reformulated for readability, paraphrased dialogue, recast timelines and settings, and composite characters to, perhaps paradoxically, assist in creating something more representative of the realities for mothers who climb. There is plenty of messiness, contradiction, and vacillating feelings in these experiences that may not have been done justice in a traditional rendering of quotes and field notes. In that kind of output, the reader might be told about the messiness and shown the contradictory evidence, but in reading a quote at a time, fixating on one theme at a time, this becomes fragmented and detracts from the empathy needed for comprehension. If the reality is fluid, then so too should be our representations.

We finish this chapter by suggesting three future directions for CNF for research on motherhood and sport. First, because one of the aims of CNF is theory generation or renewal through readers' reflections and responses, CNF provides a dias for exchange of further related stories. Therefore, the future of CNF in research on motherhood in sport is wholly connected to the acceptance of, engagement with, and gradual improvement of this genre. This means that greater exposition of the concept is needed, and it is important that accepted characteristics and measures continue to evolve within communities of practice to develop standards for writing and judging. If this can be achieved, CNF has the potential to further show the complex lives of mothers in sport, and to do so more ethically. Each new story becomes a node in a wider network of understanding experiences of motherhood and sport. Second, and wholly related to the above point, CNF offers an opportunity to bring experiences of motherhood and sport to a wider audience. One of the main factors in our decision to employ CNF in our research was that the climbing world was so small and that research about motherhood arguably has a limited audience and one that may not be best placed to enact impactful policies or actions. Because CNF is more readable and accessible and more capable of generating empathy, it may help to find and engage a larger readership. For this to come to fruition, however, writers of CNF about motherhood and sport must think carefully about how and where they might disseminate their work and consider political, popular, and industry spaces as well as the academic ones. Finally, we feel that CNF might usefully represent the intricate ambivalences in the life course of motherhood, from pregnancy to the emptying of the nest, the changing discourses of each stage of motherhood and the strains on time, finances, and feelings and the impact on a mother's sporting practice. We posit that these transitions are neither superficial nor regular and are thwart with vacillating emotions as well as physical and psychological impacts on the athletic identity of mothers. CNF might be able to represent these complexities with more clarity than traditional qualitative writing practices.

References

Barone, T. (2008). Creative nonfiction and social research. In J. Knowles & A. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 105-116). Sage.

Bauman, Z. (2000a). *Liquid modernity*. Polity.

Bauman, Z. (2000b). On writing sociology. *Theory, Culture and Society*, *17*(1), 79-90. https://doi.org/10.1177/02632760022051013

Carless, D., Sparkes, A., Douglas, K. & Cookes, C. (2014). Disability, inclusive adventurous training and adapted sport: Two soldiers' stories of involvement. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *15*(1), 124-131. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2013.10.001

Caulley, D. (2008). Making qualitative research reports less boring: The techniques of writing creative nonfiction. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *14*(3), 424-449. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800407311961

Cheney, T. (2001). *Writing creative nonfiction: Fiction techniques for crafting great nonfiction*. Ten Speed Press.

Clayton, B. (2010). Ten minutes with the Boys, the thoroughly academic task and the semi-naked celebrity: Football masculinities in the classroom or pursuing security in a 'liquid' world. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *2*(3), 371-384. https://doi.org/10.1080/19398441.2010.517043

Clayton, B., & Coates, E. (2015). Negotiating the climb: A fictional representation of climbing, gendered parenting and the morality of time. *Annals of Leisure Research*, *18*(2), 235-251. https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2014.957221

Clayton, B., & Coates, E. (2020). Creative nonfiction in outdoor studies. In B. Humberstone & H. Prince (Eds.) *Research methods in outdoor studies* (pp. 143-152). Routledge.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data*. Sage.

Croker, B., Shard, S. & Duncan, L. (2021). Composite vignettes of challenges faced by Canadian collegiate student-athletes negotiating the demands of university life. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise. 55,* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2021.101937

Denison, J. (2003). Conclusion: Movement practices through text. In J. Denison & P. Markula (Eds.) *Moving writing: Crafting movement in sport research* (pp. 201-212). Peter Lang.

Douglas, K., & Carless, D. (2010). Restoring connections in physical activity and mental health research and practice: A confessional tale. *Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise*, *2*(3), 336–353. https://doi.org/10.1080/19398441.2010.517039

Foucault, M. (1970). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge*. Routledge.

Frank, A. (2010). *Letting stories breathe: A socio-narratology*. University of Chicago Press.

Freire, P. (1998). *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Rowman and Littlefield.

Frohlick, S. (2006) 'Wanting the children and wanting K2': The incommensurability of motherhood and mountaineering in Britain and North America in the late twentieth century. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *13(5*), 477-490. https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690600858820

Guendouzi, J. (2006). 'The guilt thing': Balancing domestic and professional roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *68*(4), 901-907. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00303.x

Gutkind, L. (1997). *The art of creative nonfiction: Writing and selling the literature of reality.* Wiley.

Gutkind, L. (2012). *You can't make this stuff up: The complete guide to writing creative nonfiction – from memoir to literary journalism and everything in between*. Lifelong.

Higgins, P. & Wattchow, B. (2013). The water of life: Creative non-fiction and lived experiences of an interdisciplinary canoe journey on Scotland's River Spey. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, *13*(1), 18-35. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2012.702526

Lewis, N. (2000). The climbing body, nature and the experience of modernity. *Body and Society*, *6*(3-4), 58-80. https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X00006003004

Lomax, H. (2009, September). *'You are going to be a wonderful breast-feeder': Mothers, midwives and the micro-politics of infant feeding* [paper presentation]. Child Rearing in a Risk Society Conference, Aston, UK. https://issuu.com/sspssr/docs/scpcs_sem-3_hl

Markula, P., & Pringle, R. (2006). *Foucault, sport and exercise: Power, knowledge and transforming the self.* Routledge.

McGannon, K.R., McMahon, J., & Gonsalves, C. (2017). Mother Runners in the Blogosphere: A Discursive Psychological Analysis of Online Recreational Athlete Identities. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 28,* 125-135. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2016.11.002

McGannon, K.R. & McMahon, J. (2021). (Re)Storying embodied running and motherhood: A creative non-fiction approach. Sport, Education and Society.

https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2021.1942821
Odih, P. (2003). Gender, work and organisation in the time/space economy of 'just-in-time' labour. *Time and Society*, *12*(2-3), 293-314. https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X030122008
Polkinghorne, D.E. (1995) Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J. Amos Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.) *Life History and Narrative* (pp. 5-25). Falmer Press.
Richardson, L. (1994). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 516-529). Sage.
Richardson, L. (2000). New writing practices in qualitative research. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *17*(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.17.1.5
Rickly-Boyd, J. (2012). Lifestyle climbing: Toward existential authenticity. *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, *17*(2), 85-104. https://doi.org/10.1080/14775085.2012.729898
Rinehart, R., & Sydnor, S. (eds). (2003). *To the extreme: Alternative sports inside and out.* State University of New York Press.
Robinson, V. (2008). *Everyday masculinities and extreme Sport.* Palgrave.
Shaw, S. (1994). Gender, leisure and constraint: Towards a framework for the analysis of women's leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *26*(1), 8-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.1994.11969941
Smith, B., McGannon, K., & Williams, T. (2016). Ethnographic creative nonfiction. In G. Molnar & P. Purdy (Eds.) *Ethnographies in sport and exercise research* (pp. 59-73). Routledge.
Spowart, L., Hughson, J., & Shaw, S. (2008). Snowboarding Mums Carve Out Fresh Tracks: Resisting traditional motherhood discourse? *Annals of Leisure Research, 11*(1-2), 187-204. https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2008.9686792
Spowart, L. & Burrows, L. (2016). Negotiating moral terrain: Motherhood and action sports participation. In Thorpe, H., and Olive, R. *Women in Action Sport Cultures: Identity, Politics, Experience and Pedagogy* (pp. 155-174). Palgrave Macmillan.
Stebbins, R. A. (2001). Serious leisure. *Society*, *38*(4), 53-57. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-001-1023-8
Weeks, J. (1995). *Invented moralities*. Polity.
Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*. Sage
Wheaton, B. (Ed.) (2004). *Understanding lifestyle sports: Consumption, identity and difference*. Routledge.
Wheaton, B., & Tomlinson, A. (1998). The changing gender order in sport? The case of Windsurfing subcultures. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *22*(3), 252-274. https://doi.org/10.1177/019372398022003003
Wimbush, E. (1988). Mothers' meeting. In E. Wimbush & M. Talbot (Eds.) *Relative freedoms: Women and leisure* (pp. 48-59). Open University Press.