

Climbing Mount Everest: Combining career and family in outdoor education

Dr Linda Allin

Abstract

Research suggests that family involvement in the outdoors can enhance personal relationships (Freeman and Zabriskie, 2002). Yet for women outdoor educators, combining an outdoor career with family relationships is inherently contradictory. Long and/or irregular hours, residential and increasing work commitments are congruent with traditional notions of career, yet they clash with social constructions of women's primary identities as partners, wives or mothers. Acker (1990) further argues that organisational cultures and career processes are inherently gendered, constructed as gender neutral, but unsuited to the social and material realities of women's embodied lives. In this paper I explore how 21 women outdoor educators constructed connections and disconnections between career and family in outdoor education. In doing so, I uncover how they negotiated their career identities and show how contradictions between home and work were exacerbated due to the centrality of the body to their outdoor education careers.

Introduction

The issue of combining career and family has emerged as one of the most significant areas to be addressed in contemporary government policy in the UK. Public awareness of the need for what has come to be known as 'work-life balance' (see Hogarth, Hasluck, Pierre, Winterbotham & Vivian, 2000) has been raised by a desire for working fathers, whose role has traditionally been as the main breadwinner, to become more involved in the lives of their children. The desire for change has been compounded by the realisation that the UK has the longest working hours in Europe and that more than three-quarters British managers surveyed reported that this situation was damaging relationships with their partner or children (The Guardian, 2001). A decline in manufacturing and an increase in service sector jobs, together with a high divorce rate has also led to a situation where one in five women is now the chief income earner in the family. This, combined with an increase in cohabitation and changing marriage patterns mean that children are now living within an increasing range of family structures over the course of their lives (ONS, 2003). At the same time, statistics show that mothers are still doing a disproportionate share of parenting and the majority of domestic chores, despite their increased participation at work (UK 2000 Time Use Survey, 2000). Hence the issue of juggling full time work as well as maintaining family connections remains particularly acute for women. The ways women have actively managed home and work have been identified in many more traditional career areas, including banking, nursing and accountancy (Halford, Savage & Witz, 1997), science and engineering (Evetts, 1994; 1996) and higher education (Ledwith & Manfredi, 2000). However, we have a more limited understanding of how women combine career and family whilst working in the less traditional career area of the outdoors.

The combination of the outdoors and family life has the potential to be an enriching one. Freeman, Potter, Duenkel & Zabriskie (2002) review a number of articles citing a positive relationship between marital satisfaction and involvement in outdoor recreation and camping. These include the suggestion that residential outdoor experiences offer the family time

together away from the stress of work, enabling relationships to be built on a deeper level. It is paradoxical, then, that women who work in outdoor education spend much of their time using the outdoor environment to build relationships between people outside, rather than inside, the family. Carter (2000) notes how women's perceptions of long, irregular working hours and residential work in the outdoor industry may deter them from pursuing such a career in the first place. While not denying women's historical involvement in agriculture and the countryside and the recent increases in the numbers of women involved in outdoor recreation, it is also recognised that the outdoor industry is a space where a male gendered culture has dominated (Allin, 2000; Humberstone, 1994; Carter, 2000). Lugg (2003) shows how outdoor education is an area where women may still try to be "one of the boys" to be accepted.

It is also important to identify that outdoor careers occur on both an occupational and recreational level (see Loeffler, 1995). That is, to work as a leader in the outdoors requires developing a level of technical skill and outdoor competence to gain the necessary activity leadership qualifications. Occupational and recreational levels continue throughout an outdoor career, with the need for individuals to maintain and update their qualifications in relation to developing legislation. This need for outdoor organisations to ensure instructors have up-to-date qualifications was heightened in the UK, for example, with the introduction of the Adventure Activities Licensing Authority (AALA) in 1996 as a regulating body and a renewed emphasis on health and safety. One aspect that distinguishes careers in the outdoors from other occupational areas, therefore, is that balancing home and work involves not only work and family, but also maintaining some kind of involvement in outdoor activities.

In this paper, I attempt to grasp some understanding of the careers of women outdoor educators and how they have managed the issue of career and family. In doing so, I take heed of feminist researchers who have identified how the traditional concept of career, associated with objective career structures and routes, does not address the complexities of women's working lives (Evetts, 1994a). For researching women's careers in outdoor education, it therefore seems important to have a theoretical framework that can unravel women's careers as seen from their perspective. One such framework is derived through examining the sociological concept of the 'subjective career' and the concept of career identity.

The subjective career and the concept of career identity

The notion of the 'subjective career' has its roots in the Chicago school of sociologists and the work of Hughes (1937). Hughes defines careers as, objectively, a series of status positions or typical sequences of achievement, and subjectively, as "the moving perspective in which a person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions and the things which happen to him" (Hughes, 1937: 409-10). That is, with the subjective career the emphasis is on the individual, the choices he/she makes and the meaning attributed to having a career (Adamson *et al.* 1998). In this way, the subjective career can be viewed in terms of a life history. It can encompass many different life domains, with the occupational career one part of the broader, life career.

From a sociological perspective, the subjective career shifts attention to the dialectical relationship between an individual and their social and institutional contexts. In the sense that this involves a "dialectical relationship between self and circumstance" it can also be seen that the subjective career is closely concerned with the concept of identity (Sikes, Measor &

Woods, 1985: 3). Rooted in symbolic interactionism, a body of research in the educational literature has used this approach to explore teacher socialisation and the complexities of teacher careers (e.g. Sikes, 1988; Templin & Schempp, 1991). Some have referred to the concept of career “strategies” (e.g. Sikes, 1988; Woods, 1980) to show how individuals are active in managing the circumstances of their lives. However, Crow (1989) and Edwards & Ribbon (1991), have criticised the use of the concept “strategy” for women’s careers, suggesting that it has masculinist connotations associated with the military – “strategy” implies both conscious planning and an ability to affect the outcome that may not reflect accurately the complexities of women’s career decisions. To overcome this issue, Evetts (1994b; 1996) adopted the term “career identity” to conceptualise a person’s sense of self in relation to their work and their occupational future. It is such a notion of career identity that I draw on in this study.

Evetts (1994b: 178) suggests that the value of using an identity perspective to analysing women’s careers is that it stresses inner development, and can include processes of “negotiation, change, transformation and adaption”. The concept of identity can also account of how career identities may change at key turning points in the life course such as motherhood and can address the complexities of women’s positions, as workers, mothers, wives and/or partners. Evetts (1994b) retained a symbolic interactionist approach to her work, where identity is viewed as ongoing, coherent sense of self that incorporates outside world. More recently, however, post-structuralists have criticised the notion of a unified self that underpins a symbolic interactionist concept of identity, arguing that within a post-industrial and post-modern society, self has become more contradictory and fragmented (Bradley, 1996). Bradley (1996) explains how individuals in contemporary society draw their sense of self from a much broader range of sources. Different fragments, including those of gender, class or physical ability may all be sources of identification and may cut across each other. From a post-structural perspective, the self becomes a conglomeration of contradictory subjectivities, with individual subject positions that are constantly reconstituted in discourse and subject to relations of power rather than any fixed or changing “essence” (Weedon, 1987).

Taking a view of identity as nothing more than momentary subjectivities has implications for understanding careers, however. That is, the close relation between the concepts of career and identity mean that, from a post-structuralist position, careers become nothing more than “provisional, kaleidoscope constructions” (Lather, 1991: 46). Yet, the very word career has an inherent notion of time - of movement across past, present and future - that is not easily disregarded. One way to explore this issue further can be achieved through Giddens’ (1991) suggestion that in an increasingly uncertain world, individuals maintain ontological security through a reflexive construction of self. That is, the self is constructed as a reflexive project, with self-identity the “self as reflexively understood by a person in terms of his/her biography” (p53). In this study, I use this idea to conceptualise career identities as women’s constructions of their careers in outdoor education as they are recounted retrospectively, through women looking back over their careers and looking to the future from where they see themselves. According to Evetts (1996), career identities involve consideration of how individuals reconcile their career identities with different aspects of their selves and the contexts of their lives. In this sense, I have explored women’s stories of managing their career identities with professional, family and outdoor identities – how they talked about combining an outdoor career (including involvement in outdoor activities) with maintaining family relationships such as unmarried partners, husbands and with children. I suggest that

the extent to which women outdoor educators construct a coherent sense of career identity in relation to combining career and family also provides insights into the concept of career.

The Research Process

The findings for this paper are derived from life history interviews with 21 women who work or had worked in outdoor education in the UK. These were conducted between 1997 and 2000 and lasted between one and three hours. The method used to access women outdoor educators was 'snowballing' (Bryman, 2001: 508), due to the difficulties in locating women working outdoors and the small, interconnected nature of the outdoor field itself. As the issue of combining career and family emerged from early interviews, a process of theoretical sampling led to the inclusion of women who differed with respect to their marital status and whether or not they had children. The final sample comprised women who had worked in or through a variety of outdoor education contexts and who were born between 1936 and 1975. Nine interviewees were single, two were divorced with children, four interviewees were married with no children and a further four were married with children. The remaining two interviewees were pregnant at the time of interview. None identified having a female partner.

The transcripts were analysed as part of a doctoral study exploring women's career identities in outdoor education. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and a process of coding, similar to the grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (1990), was adopted. This included descriptive labelling, or 'open coding' of discrete sections of text, staying close to the meaning of the text, and building up to more analytical and conceptual codes, remaining aware of where sections occurred over the life course. I made constant comparisons across codes and texts as I went, asking questions of the data and looking for differences and exceptions as well as commonalities.

The information from qualitative interviews is influenced by the rapport established within that context. Given the focus of this paper, it is important to note that I am a mother and that during the interviewing period, I also became pregnant. Being visibly pregnant enhanced the rapport I felt I established whilst interviewing other women who were mothers and/or pregnant at the time of interview and hence is likely to have impacted on the findings. At this time, I was not interviewing women who were single and it may be suggested that my pregnancy might have had a different impact in such a context. It must also be recognised that whilst interviewees were provided with the opportunity to view their transcripts and to clarify the meaning there, the presentation here is mediated through my own interpretations and it has been my selection of quotes to discuss. I have tried to ensure that I am telling their stories, but my own story is inevitably bound up with theirs, as I am also a mother combining career and family. I have tried to show the variety of career identities that emerged from the interviews in places where women talked about their careers in relation to partners, marriage, motherhood and /or children. This includes the comments by those who did not have a family or were not married. All names used are pseudonyms.

Results/discussion

Staying single

Among the interviewees, nine were single. With the exception of one interviewee who married before entering outdoor education work, those who did marry during their

occupational career did so in their early or late thirties, slightly later than societal trends where the average age of marriage for women is now 28 (ONS, 2003: 47). It could be argued that being single was a way interviewees avoided the career-family issue. However, women's stories were more complex than this. Many recalled how their early identities were very much bound up with their involvement in outdoor activities and they were 'too busy adventuring' or 'too keen on doing things' to consider marriage and/or children at that time. For several interviewees, this was instrumental in their single status at the time of interview: Susan commented:

As I've got older I've thought more about it, but it actually it's a very difficult thing to have. It would have to be a massive change – compromising if you like... Yes I'd very much like to be married ... it is an issue, yes. And if say years ago I had got married and had a family, would I have got this job I have now? And the chances are probably I wouldn't have. And is that more important to me than getting married and having a family? (Susan).

The final part of Susan's comment above was an indication that now, aged in her early forties, she was reflecting more questioningly on her single status. What such findings suggest is that that remaining single was not necessarily a conscious decision, but was rather an unintentional consequence of their commitment to the outdoors. In addition, two interviewees also of single status did not appear to view marriage as desirable, contradicting assumptions that all women view marriage as a central part of their feminine identity. Laura simply stated that she had not considered marriage without providing a reason, whilst for Cathy it was the freedom of outdoor education that she enjoyed and this impacted on her approach both to avoid marriage and to not apply for a managerial position in her career.

Negotiating relations with partners

Interviewees who had partners typically met them whilst participating in the outdoors, supporting a similar finding by Loeffler (1995). This shared involvement in the outdoors was an important part of their lives and enhanced their ability to retain a focus on their occupational career. As Sarah explained "it's always been part of our lives". Furthermore, where interviewees were married, most husbands, although not all, were involved in outdoor education or in a related occupation such as teaching or forestry. Indeed, when asked about how she combined married life with work, one interviewee recalled "married life *was* work", showing the extent to which she saw the two as intertwined. Having a partner in outdoor education was perceived as beneficial, in terms of support, discussing work-related ideas or understanding what it was like to work in outdoor education.

Having partners also involved in or interested in the outdoors was therefore an important part to some women's careers and to their relationships. Indeed, it may be that, as Freeman *et al.* (2002) indicate, joint participation helped contribute to their ongoing relationship. One interviewee specifically referred to the numerous divorces and separations she knew of in her own organisation where partners differed significantly in the extent of their participation and expectations concerning the outdoors. Two other interviewees recalled examples of when their relationships failed as partners had minimal interest in outdoor activities. In order to manage their developing career identities and maintain marital relationships, several

interviewees found ways to meet or work alongside their partners or husbands. An exception was one interviewee who recalled how she perceived “it’s not very good when you work at the same place as your spouse and you bring work home all the time”. This impacted on her decision to change jobs and work in a nearby centre rather than in the same organisation.

Several women compromised promotion in their career in order to build or retain relationships, constructing what Evetts (1996) describes as a dual-focus (promotion-accommodated) career identity. For example, in addition to rejecting self-employment, Amanda had decided against a promoted post in her outdoor organisation as she felt she would “get sucked in and become a workaholic” in what she described as the “woman-free zone” of management. She explained:

The hours are a real block to having a relationship, you know it’s always manic. It’s a very work hard profession, and people give up a lot of their personal life ... A contributing factor to the relationship not working out was that we hardly saw each other really, and it became a real point of conflict, and that made me think...and that was the first time my whole life in the outdoors that I thought, ‘I feel really shackled by this now, it doesn’t feel right anymore, the intensity of working residential’ (Amanda).

Amanda’s comment supports the findings of Loeffler (1995) and is an indication that women’s perceptions of long working hours in outdoor education identified by Carter (2000) are in many cases, accurate ones. Amanda was single at the time of interview, but her desire for what she described as ‘a more normal life’ that included a family, also impacted on her career identity. If she worked in either of these two outdoor employment options (self-employment or management), Amanda felt that her chances of being able to establish a stable relationship and family diminished further. Her dilemmas indicate support for the work of Acker (1990) who suggests that promoted posts are presented as disembodied and gender-neutral, but in reality are more suited to those without commitments (or here, the desire for such commitments) outside their work. Amanda’s perception was reinforced by the fact that in her organisation, there were no women in the management hierarchy.

For Hayley, accommodating her career in order to build and maintain family relationships was a particularly critical decision to make:

...it was either my marriage or my career and I must say it was a close call... I feel that when you’re working that sort of a job it’s 100 per cent, it doesn’t work unless you give 100 per cent and you’re involved in everything, and I was. And I loved it, I really loved it, and I’m really glad I did it. But if we were going to stay married, things had to alter ... and at the end of the day I decided to come back (Hayley).

Hayley had described how her partner was unable to find work near her outdoor centre and how the long hours and commuting were not working in providing them with a satisfactory relationship. Hayley’s decision reflects what might be considered a traditionally gendered pattern, where women accommodated their careers for those of their husbands. Two other interviewees described how their decisions to move were made jointly on the basis of

whichever partner managed to obtain a job first, suggesting equality in their marriage relationships. However, in neither of the cases had husbands actually compromised their career identities for their wives prior to having children. The extent to which equality was actually achieved, therefore, is hard to say.

Those who accommodated their career identities for relationships, did not necessarily find this easy to do. Tracey described how after three years of commuting long distances at weekends she finally made the decision to leave her job and move nearer her husband. In doing so, she explained how she felt she was “sacrificing [her] career for her family” that “goes against the grain really”. On moving, Tracey described how she had taken up a post-graduate Master’s course in outdoor education in order to feel that she was also “doing something for me”, that is, retaining a sense of her own career identity. Her comments are indicative of changing expectations for women in relation to their right and ability to sustain their own occupational careers outside the domestic sphere (Rowbotham, 1997). They also suggest that some women may be retaining a career focus, but adapting it by taking alternative paths that fit in more easily with their home lives.

Having it all? Career and motherhood.

The decisions of women working in the outdoors regarding pregnancy are to some extent discussed in a previous paper (Allin, 2000). In this section, I explore how women negotiated their careers during the transition to motherhood.

All those who became mothers whilst in outdoor education made a conscious decision to take maximum maternity leave, indicating the importance they placed on this time in their lives. Most had initially intended to return to work full time, illustrating the strength of their initial career identities. Interviewees also employed different strategies or plans to maintain their occupational careers. Ruth and Marie, for example, had negotiated with their partners to become the main breadwinner of their families. This finding is in support of current trends and indicates that women’s increasing participation in work may be influential in changing power relations in the home. Tracey took on a committee position for an outdoor governing body organisation whilst she was pregnant in order to “retain a profile in the outdoors”. Barbara made plans to job-share, but only after considering that on a curriculum vitae, “I’m quite confident that there is a good enough reason why I’m stepping down, but I’m not ditching out altogether”. Melanie had discussed the possibilities about returning to work with her employer. In this way, interviewees were active in negotiating ways that might help them maintain their career identities through this time. At the same time, these interviewees were drawing on gendered discourses of career that emphasise continuous employment and commitment, and where “breaks” for having children are viewed as detrimental rather than part of a woman’s career (Evetts, 1994a).

Regardless of how interviewees sought to retain previous career identities, returning to work evoked dilemmas between their career identities and their identities as mothers. This conflict emerged even when interviewees enjoyed their work and were otherwise happy with their decision to return:

I am actually pleased that I have returned to work. Although, I don’t feel, if I’m really honest, that I can do the job I’m employed to do in a full time capacity and be, um, as effective

and efficient as I want to be as Head of Centre - to be a good mum who gives her daughter lots of time and energy. And also, you know, be someone who can keep up some of the activities that are so important to me (Barbara).

This image of “being a good mum” here reflects the characteristics identified by Woodward (1997) as the traditionally ‘feminine’ qualities of self-sacrifice, caring for and nurturing children’. The ability to be a “good mum” was perceived explicitly by two mothers as conflicting with the demands of outdoor education. For Barbara, it was also associated with a contrast to the more “masculine” and rational images of work, such as effectiveness and efficiency (see Kanter, 1977). These dilemmas reflect dominant ideologies about motherhood that emphasise women’s primary responsibility for looking after children and are ambivalent about mothers of young children working full time.

An additional issue identified by women was the lack of recognition from work for the physical consequences of motherhood. Linda recalled the difficulties of combining breast-feeding, lack of sleep and a long, physical day at work:

...And I was getting up at half five in the morning having had no sleep with [the baby], expressing, getting [the baby] ready for nursery, getting to work and then, not even having been to the loo some days. And then getting to ten o’clock and feeling, ‘my god I’ve done a day’s work already here’. And I was absolutely knackered, and I thought, ‘well nobody notices’...and I also felt I had something to prove – If I wanted to work part time then I had to show them I could do my job, so I just got on with the job really (Linda).

Linda described how being seen as a mother changed her relations with colleagues at work such that male colleagues started talking about their children. On the other hand, it was evident from the comment above that “getting on with the job” and her accommodating to organisational demands also reflected organisational cultural norms that issues in domestic life should not impact on work.

A central difficulty for interviewees was in relation to requests for more flexibility. For two women working in outdoor centres, negotiating a job share meant taking a lower position than that held previously, regardless of the status of the position held. Barbara, who was in negotiations at the time of interview, was offered a deputy post rather than her head-ship, whilst Linda was eventually offered a protected salary, but losing her deputy status. Ruth worked in higher education and perceived it would be “like asking for the earth” in relation to working less than full time hours. They were on the other hand more sympathetic in allowing her husband, who had also worked for the organisation previously, to accompany her on a field trip abroad with their young baby. This suggests there may be some changes to organisational approaches to women combining career and family, but that some organisations may be more open to change than others. It also shows that women’s career identities remain highly influenced by the power of the organisation.

Losing coherence: Struggling to find a balance

Difficulties in combining career and family relationships were further evident as interviewees discussed how they had continued their outdoor activities following motherhood. Whilst interviewees tried to manage career, family and outdoor activities in different ways, it was evident that several experienced ongoing conflicts:

He just says ‘I’m doing it’, while I find I value the time together as a family more. I think, ‘well I was working last weekend and it’s very selfish of me to say I want to go off and practice this (Marie).

What was particularly noticeable was the way in which these women constructed their desire to continue their outdoor activities in terms of having to be “selfish” or “ruthless” and how their comments reflected their struggles to position themselves in relation to their own outdoor involvement, as well as work and family. The comments of interviewees support the literature that shows how women are more likely to feel guilty in taking their own leisure away from the family (Deem, 1987). For women in this study, it also became difficult to maintain or update their outdoor qualifications following motherhood as the pressure for technical qualifications increased in the early 1990s. The material consequence of such conflicts between family and career was that these women found their physical and cultural capital within the changing field of outdoor education was declining and this impacted on their ability to change jobs.

Some interviewees managed their lives by involving parents and partners in childcare, although Ginny, who came from a traditional working class background, indicated that her parents were less supportive of her leaving her family to go on outdoor expeditions. Others recalled how they had begun to involve their children in the outdoors. This they enjoyed, and was an important part of developing their family relations, though it typically meant women reduced their own level of involvement. The most successful in continuing her own activity level seemed to be Belinda, who explained how she had a “clear idea of what I want and what I expect”. Belinda had hired a nanny, had very supportive parents and a good relationship with her ex-husband, hence she was able to draw on both economic and social resources. Yet one outcome of combining career and family with excessive demands of outdoor education had been her divorce, something Freeman *et al.* (2002: 134), perhaps rather unfairly, associate with the “demise of the family”.

For the remaining interviewees, combining career and family involved drawing on the critique of 1980s feminism and the superwoman myth (McKenna, 1997). Linda explained “but you’re not superwoman, and I think people just have to realise, you just can’t do everything all the time”. When asked of their future work intentions, these women either struggled to identify any clear occupational future or described their decisions in terms of being able to balance different aspects of their lives:

I’m not going to do everything, I’ve got a family here, I can’t spend twenty-four hours at the job. I have to do what’s needed and some things get left a bit, so I don’t have any great career plan at all (Ruth).

The career identities of mothers in this study could therefore be understood in terms of what

Evetts (1996) describes as ‘accommodated’ career identities. That is, they were concerned to leave sufficient time for family as well as work. However, maintaining such a balance was perceived as a continual process of negotiation, with an uncertain future. Marie was perhaps the most critical in reflecting on her position. She explained “I sometimes curse my mother for being a feminist and saying we could have career and a family, which she did, with four kids, and I do find it hard”.

Summary and Conclusions

This study shows the connections and disconnections for women outdoor educators in combining career and family relationships. Joint involvement in the outdoors was illustrated as important in maintaining some partnerships, but the findings show clearly the dilemmas and contradictions for women outdoor educators, especially after motherhood. While the issue of combining career and family is not new, the study highlights the ways in which women’s ability to negotiate career and family relationships in outdoor education is made more difficult by the centrality of the body to outdoor education careers. Women outdoor educators were actively negotiating career and family relationships in a variety of ways, but tensions were compounded for women as they negotiated their career identities within outdoor organisations where the material and social realities of women’s bodies were not openly acknowledged. The fragility of women’s career identities in the outdoors is evident where mothers struggled to identify a coherent sense of their occupational future. As a consequence of changing legislation in the UK, as from April 2003, all workers who meet qualifying criteria in length of service are now entitled to request flexible working, something outdoor organisations will need to implement. The findings from this study suggest that outdoor organisations also need to support women, including providing time for maintaining technical competence, if they are to retain women in and through outdoor education careers.

References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organisations. *Gender and Society*, 5, 139 - 158
- Adamson, S. J. Doherty, N., & Viney, C (1998). The meaning of career re-visited: implications for theory and practice. *British Journal of Management*, 9 (4), 25- - 9
- Allin, L. (2000). Women into outdoor education: negotiating a male-gendered space. In: B. Humberstone (Ed.), *Her outdoors: Risk, challenge and adventure in gendered outdoor spaces*. Eastbourne. Leisure Studies Association Publication, 66, 51 – 68
- Bradley, H (1996). *Fractured identities: Changing patterns of inequality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bryman, A. (2001). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Carter, M. (2000). Developing confidence in women working outdoors: An exploration of self-confidence and competence in women employed in adventure recreation. In: B. Humberstone (Ed.), *Her outdoors: risk, challenge and adventure in gendered outdoor spaces*. Eastbourne. Leisure Studies Association Publication, 66, 69–82.
- Crow, G. (1989). The use of the concept ‘strategy’ in recent sociological literature. *Sociology*, 23 (1), 1–24.
- Deem, R. (1987). Unleisured lives: Sport in the context of women’s leisure. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 10 (4), 423–432.
- Edwards, R. & Ribbon, J. (1991). Meanderings around ‘strategy’: A research note on strategic discourse in the lives of women. *Sociology*, 25 (3), 477-485

- Evetts, J. (1994a). Gender and the concept of career: The occupational challenge. In: J. Evetts (Ed.) *Women and career; themes and issues in the analysis of change*. *Sociology*, 26, (1), 1–21.
- Evetts, J. (1994b). Career and motherhood in engineering, cultural dilemmas and individualistic solutions. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 3 (2), 177-185
- Evetts, J. (1996). *Gender and career in science and engineering*. London. Taylor and Francis
- Freeman, P., Potter, T., Duenkel, N. & Zabriskie, R. B. (2002). The role of outdoor recreation in family enrichment. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, 2(2), 131-146.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity*. London. Sage.
- Halford, S., Savage, M. & Witz, A. (1997). *Gender, career and organisations*. London: MacMillan.
- Hogarth, T., Hasluck, C., Pierre, G., Winterbotham, M. & Vivian, D. (2000). *Work-life balance 2000: Baseline study of work-life balance practices in Great Britain*. Warwick: Institute for Employment Research. Warwick University
- E. C. Hughes (1937). Institutional office and the person. In: S. J. Adamson., N. Doherty & Viney, C. (1998), *The meaning of career revisited*. *British Journal of Management*, 9, 251–259
- Humberstone, B. (1994). Gender and outdoor education. *Perspectives in Education*. Exeter: University of Exeter, 50, 80–93.
- Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York. Basic Books.
- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy within the postmodern*. London: Routledge.
- Ledwith, S. & Manfredi, S. (2000). Balancing gender in higher education: A study of the experience of senior women in a 'new' UK university, 7, 7-33
- Lugg, A. (2003). Women's experiences of outdoor education: Still trying to be 'one of the boys'. In: B. Humberstone, H. Brown & K. Richards (Eds.), *Whose journeys? The outdoors and adventure as social and cultural phenomena*. Institute for Outdoor Learning, 33-48
- Loeffler, T. A. (1995). *Factors influencing women's career development in outdoor leadership*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Minnesota.
- ONS. (2003). Available at URL www.statistics.gov.uk Social Trends 33 (date accessed, 15 June 2004)
- The Guardian. (2001). 'The debate nobody wants...working hours'. Madeleine Bunting Thursday May 17
- UK 2000 Time Use Survey. (2003). Available at URL www.statistics.gov.uk/TimeUse (date accessed 15 June 2004)
- Rowbotham, S. (1997). *A century of women: The history of women in Britain and the United States*. Hammondsworth: Penguin.
- Sikes, P. J. (1988). Growing old gracefully? Age, identity and physical education. In: J. Evans (Ed.), *Teachers, teaching and control in physical education*. London. Falmer Press, 21–40
- Sikes, P., Measor, L. & Woods, P. (1985). *Teacher careers; crises and continuities*. London: Falmer Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. London: Sage.
- Templin, T. J., & Schempp, P (1991). *Socialisation into physical education: Learning to teach*. London: Benchmark Press
- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. Oxford. Basil Blackwell.
- Woodward, K. (1997). Motherhood: identities, meanings and myths. In: Woodward, K. (Ed.), *Identity and difference*. London: Sage, 240–285.

About the Author

Linda Allin is programme leader of sports development and coaching at Northumbria University, UK. She teaches in the area of community sports development and equal opportunities and is responsible for co-ordinating the outdoor summer fieldwork. Linda has been kayaking since 1984 and completed her Phd in 2003, exploring women's career identities in outdoor education. Current research interests include gender and embodied identities in sport and the outdoors, evaluation projects relating to social inclusion, and employability. She is a member of the editorial board of JAEOL.

Email: Linda.allin@unn.ac.uk

Phone: 0191 227 3851

Fax: 0191 227 4713