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WOMEN'S MOUNTAINEERING TOURISM EXPERIENCES: THE CONSTRAINT NEGOTIATION PROCESS AND BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION

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A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that:

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2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.
3. I am aware of and understand the University's policy on plagiarism and certify that this thesis is my own work. The use of all published or other sources of material consulted have been properly and fully acknowledged.
4. The work undertaken towards the thesis has been conducted in accordance with the SHU Principles of Integrity in Research and the SHU Research Ethics Policy.
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Abstract

Participation in recreational mountaineering and mountaineering holidays continues to grow in the UK, however, participation rates are higher for men than women. Despite women's under-representation, little has been done to understand women's experiences of mountaineering. This study employed a mixed-methods approach to examine the experiences of female mountaineer tourists. In doing so, it utilised concepts related to participation constraints, constraints negotiation and participation benefits, which have previously been examined independently of each other. The qualitative component of this study involved one-month of phenomenology-based ethnography fieldwork in Nepal where I, the author, participated in a commercially organised mountaineering expedition. An observant participant role was adopted, and data were generated by my own practical co-participation and combined with other data collection methods. The quantitative component consisted of an online survey, which produced 307 usable responses.

The findings revealed that intra-personal constraints, in particular self-doubt in one's fitness and climbing ability, were key constraints for female mountaineer tourists. Moreover, the negotiation of intra-personal constraints is a complex process and efficacy plays a pivotal role and is central to successful participation. The identification of a fourth category relating to family constraints independent to the three familiar constraint categories (intra-personal, inter-personal and structural) represents a theoretical contribution to literature and an additional barrier to women's participation in mountaineering tourism. The findings also demonstrate how women utilise a range of negotiation strategies to ensure participation and, regardless of the mountaineering tourism activity they participate in, seven core participation benefits were present. New constraint negotiation and benefit categories were also quantitatively verified and new in-situ constraints and negotiation strategies specific to the context of commercially organised high-altitude expeditions emerged in the qualitative data. In addition, the findings of this study also contribute to our understanding of women's empowerment through their participation in mountaineering tourism. A conceptual model illustrates these key findings and the interrelationships between women's participation constraints, constraints negotiation and participation benefits of mountaineering tourism. Some of the findings reinforce previous research on the experiences of female adventure participation, in particular those relating to constraint negotiation and benefits. Therefore, this conceptual model not only enhances our understanding of female mountaineer tourists, it also contributes to adventure tourism and adventure recreation literature more broadly. The originality of this study is also present in the ethnography approach employed. Through my own practical co-participation, I was able to understand the meanings and record an embodied account of a mountaineering expedition, which would have been undetected through observation by a non-experiential ethnographer. The implications for adventure tourism management and future research are also considered.

Key words: constraint, constraint negotiation, benefits, women, mountaineering tourism

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1.0 Introduction

This doctoral study employed a mixed methods (MM) approach to understand women's experience of mountaineering tourism. In doing so it utilised concepts related to participation constraints, constraints negotiation and participation benefits. Therefore, this study contributes to knowledge building that centres on the experiences of female tourists. This chapter provides an introduction to the study by offering a background to the research, together with a rationale for studying women's participation in mountaineering tourism. The aim of the research, the research questions and the research objectives are presented, and consideration is given to how these evolved during the doctoral study. The methodological approach applied in this study is briefly outlined and the study's contribution to scholarship and practice is presented. Finally, the structure of the thesis is described with a summary of the contents of each chapter.

1.1 Research Context

Why mountaineering tourism?

Mountaineering includes 'soft' and 'hard' adventure activities making it appealing to a broad range of tourists (Ewert & Jamieson, 2003). The former includes hill walking and moderate exertion trekking and these activities are attractive to beginners. By comparison, the latter pursuits often involve high levels of skill, stamina and fitness for activities such as rock, snow and ice climbing, which require specialised equipment and guides. In a tourism context, both 'hard' and 'soft' mountaineering activities are packaged into adventure holidays to satisfy the increasing demand in the UK market (Mintel, 2015). In parallel with this growth, participation in recreational mountaineering is also increasing year on year in the UK and at a greater rate than participation in traditional sports (Mintel, 2018; Sport England, 2016). Despite this increase in both tourism and recreation settings, accurate figures on gender differences are difficult to obtain. However, studies suggest that in both settings women's participation rates are equal to their male counterparts when partaking in soft

mountaineering activities, but they are greatly reduced when participating in hard mountaineering activities (Mintel, 2015; Outdoor Industries Association, 2015a). What is unclear from these studies is why softer forms of mountaineering are more appealing to women than harder forms. In view of this, this study focused on the participation of women in hard mountaineering tourism activities, specifically rock, snow and ice climbing, mountaineering skill courses and high-altitude mountaineering. As the key activity is climbing in each of these hard forms of mountaineering, the terms 'climbing' and 'mountaineering' are used interchangeably, both by the mountaineering community and in this doctoral study.

Distinguishing between recreational and tourism adventure activities, including mountaineering, is difficult as there is an inextricable link between them. Adventure tourism activities often develop from non-commercial recreational adventure activities; they share the same resources and facilities and evoke similar social and psychological benefits (Carr, 2001; Pomfret, & Bramwell, 2014; Tangeland, 2011). The primary difference between adventure recreation and adventure tourism is the necessity for adventure tourism to be undertaken within a natural environment away from the participant's home region, whereas adventure recreation activities are undertaken within a commutable distance from home (Buckley, 2007; Ewert, 2000; Hall, 1992; Pomfret & Bramwell, 2014; Weber, 2001). Due to this indivisible link, some studies have included both adventure recreation and tourism participants in the same investigation and they have not distinguished between these two types of participants (e.g. Little & Wilson, 2005).

Why female mountaineer tourists?

Although numbers of female mountaineers have increased in recent years, academic studies have almost exclusively investigated women's participation from a recreational perspective (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b), while women's mountaineering tourism experiences have been neglected. The reason for this is unclear, although, as aforementioned, it may

be attributed to the lack of rigor distinguishing the differences between the two settings. Furthermore, whilst there is a growing body of literature on women's experiences of adventure tourism, scholars have largely focused on softer forms, for example women's experiences of travelling by themselves or backpacking (e.g. Elsrud, 1998; 2001; 2005) and women's experiences of adventure tourism in general (e.g. Myers, 2010; 2017). Activity-specific research and participation in hard forms of adventure tourism is scant, with the exception of Fendt and Wilson's (2012) study of female surf tourists, and scholars have neglected to investigate why women participate less in harder forms of adventure tourism than softer forms.

Why constraints and constraint negotiation?

Despite the documentation of women's constraints and negotiation processes in leisure and tourism activities, very little exploration has been done concerning these concepts in traditionally male-based activities (Fendt & Wilson, 2012), such as mountaineering. This doctoral study appears to be the first contribution to literature examining mountaineering tourism through a gendered lens, in particular women's participation in hard forms of mountaineering tourism, and the first to examine the constraints and the constraint negotiation processes of mountaineer tourists in general. Accordingly, this study provides female mountaineer tourists, a marginalised group of hard adventure tourists, with an opportunity to have a voice and to share their tourism experiences. Furthermore, this study answers Fendt and Wilson's (2012) call to acknowledge that discussion of constraint negotiation is not over as soon as a person has decided to participate. Indeed, this study is uncommon in that it looked at how constraints affect the entirety of the tourism experience, rather than purely looking at what stops women from participating. In particular, this study examined how women negotiate participation constraints before, but also during the activity, and the influence this process of negotiation has on creating a rewarding mountaineering tourism experience. In doing so, it also examined the empowering benefits of constraint negotiation for women participating in mountaineering tourism, something which has received little academic attention

in adventure recreation and adventure tourism literature (see Harris & Wilson, 2007; Little & Wilson, 2005) and is petitioned by Fendt and Wilson (2012) as warranting investigation.

Why benefits?

Understanding what women choose to participate in and what they gain from participation gives adventure tourism providers some information on which they can structure their activities, how to promote their products and target women (Myers, 2010). It also provides academics with insights into the importance and feelings associated with women's participation in adventure tourism activities (*ibid*). Despite this, little research has considered women's experiences of participation in adventure tourism activities and the ensuing benefits (see McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Myers, 2010). Consequently, this doctoral study furthers understanding of female mountaineer tourists and female adventure tourists more broadly, particularly those participating in harder forms of adventure tourism, by also investigating the benefits of their participation. Hence, ultimately, the findings of this study have the potential to inform industry practice and increase women's participation in mountaineering tourism and other hard forms of adventure tourism.

1.2 Research Aim, Questions and Objectives

The overall aim of this study was to explore women's constraints to participating in mountaineering tourism, the negotiation strategies women use to overcome these constraints and the benefits they can gain from participation. At a general level the study aimed to provide insight into the barriers that can prevent women from participating before and during their mountaineering tourism experience. However, and more crucially, rather than considering female mountaineer tourists as passive victims of constraints, the study considered these women as active agents who are motivated to pursue their mountaineering aspirations despite these challenges. Therefore, the study explored the strategies women use to negotiate these constraints and the benefits they can gain from this

process of negotiation and through participating in the activity of mountaineering tourism itself, including feelings of empowerment. Consequently, the study adopted a holistic approach to appreciate the relationship and journey a woman might take between constraints, negotiation and the benefits of mountaineering tourism.

The study was designed around the following research questions and sub-questions (Table 1).

Table 1: Research questions

RQ1	**What are the constraints to participating in mountaineering tourism for women?**
RQ1a	Do constraints prevent participation?
RQ1b	Are constraints largely inter-personal, intra-personal or structural?
RQ1c	Are constraints connected to one another?
RQ2	**How do women negotiate these constraints?**
RQ2a	Which negotiation strategies are most successful?
RQ3	**What are the benefits of participating in mountaineering tourism for women?**
RQ3a	Are benefits experienced through the constraint negotiation process?
RQ3b	Can women gain empowerment from participating in mountaineering tourism?
RQ4	**What is the relationship between the constraints that are encountered, the negotiation strategies that are used and the benefits that are gained in this context?**
RQ4a	Is constraint negotiation a linear process?
RQ4b	How are constraints, negotiation and benefits interrelated and interdependent?

To achieve the doctoral study's aim and research questions the following research objectives were developed (Table 2).

Table 2: Research objectives

RO1	Based on current literature on women's participation in adventure tourism and adventure recreation create a set of assertions concerning women's constraints to mountaineering tourism, the negotiation of these constraints and the benefits of mountaineering tourism for women.
RO2	Develop a conceptual model based on the aforementioned assertions to guide the research design and data collection of this study.
RO3	Use the conceptual model as a frame of reference to analyse the lived experiences of female mountaineer tourists through ethnography fieldwork.
RO4	Empirically test the aforementioned conceptual model and its applicability within a mountaineering tourism context.
RO5	Progress academic research in this field and contribute towards professional practice.

1.2.1 How the Research Questions Evolved During the Study

Initially, I planned to participate in a woman-only and a mixed-gender commercial mountaineering holiday to see if women's experiences differed within each setting. My intention was also to adopt an ethnographic approach to data collection as this methodology is underused by adventure tourism scholars (see section 4.3.3). However, I was unable to find a tour operator that offered a women-only mountaineering holiday. Instead I found three tour operators that provided women-only rock climbing holidays. Consequently, I decided to focus on women's experiences of rock climbing, rather than mountaineering, commercial holidays. Sadly, each of the three tour operators were not offering these holidays the year I planned to collect data. This was due to the first business ceasing to operate, another terminating their women-only climbing holidays and the third operator postponing their annual women-only climbing holiday to the following year. I then decided to investigate the opportunities for collecting data by participating in mixed-gender commercial mountaineering holidays. This began with me participating in a one week mixed-gender mountaineering holiday to pilot my research approach and develop my research skills. During this pilot study I encountered a number of challenges when collecting data. While this is explained in more detail in the Methodology Chapter (section 4.3.4.1), this was largely due to the difficulties of collecting data when physically engaged in the activity of mountaineering and the lack of opportunities to collect data during the evening due to participants staying in different accommodation. In addition, I was the only women participating in this mountaineering holiday and in the six mountaineering holidays that the company operated that week or in the six they ran the following week. Consequently, I realised that if I wished to conduct ethnography fieldwork, I would need to adapt my initial research inquiry from the experiences of women to the experiences of both men and women. I then contacted all the leading UK mountaineering tour operators and only one holiday had more than one woman participating within a year time frame. This was a one-month mountaineering expedition to Nepal with three female participants. Whilst this gender imbalance

was not ideal, it was the best I could find. Details of this ethnography study are provided in the Methodology Chapter (section 4.3.4.2).

Despite successfully collecting data on the experiences of both men and women through this ethnography fieldwork, my research interests still rested with the experiences of women. Subsequently, I collected quantitative data regarding women's participation constraints on a range of mountaineering tourism activities, their constraint negotiation and the benefits of participation in both commercially and independently organised mountaineering holidays. While this deductive approach is in contradiction to the inductive ethnographic approach that I adopted in my first data collection, it makes an additional contribution to the dearth in our understanding of women's experiences of mountaineering tourism and it supports this doctoral study's research aim and objectives.

For the purpose of this doctoral thesis and in accordance with the study's aim, research questions and objectives, the data collected from the male expedition participants during the ethnography fieldwork has been omitted from this thesis. However, the findings related to their constraint negotiation, alongside the female participants, can be found in one of the publications produced from this study (see Appendix 4/Publication 4). The findings on their participation benefits will form part of a future publication (see Table 20 in the Conclusion Chapter).

1.3 The Personal Importance of the Study

My interest in women's experiences of masculine adventure sports began when I was a snowboard instructor in America. As a woman I was often in a minority when snowboarding with friends and in my role as an instructor. Furthermore, teaching female-only groups and participating recreationally in female-only groups was distinctly different than being in a mixed-gender group ('mixed' being that I was normally the only female, hence it felt like it was a male-only group and I was an intruder) and a much more rewarding, supportive and fun experience. When I returned to the UK, unable to snowboard daily, I looked for

an alternative adventure sport to participate in recreationally and I joined a climbing club. However, all the club members, with the exception of one, were male and much older than me, and club meets were scarce. To overcome this, I visited a local climbing wall and added my name to a 'find a climbing partner' list. The list consisted of only male names and the men that I met through this were either looking for a relationship or they were looking for a 'belay bunny', a term that refers to a woman who belays their male partner, who is happy to follow them up a climbing route and not lead a route, and who asks for very little in return. The latter were often men who were wishing to accumulate experience to contribute towards their climbing instructor awards. Undeterred I looked for female-only climbing experiences. Some indoor climbing walls offer women-only sessions, however the nearest wall was one hour away. I then turned to social media and I came across a group called WomenClimb. This group had just begun, and I joined some of their organised events to meet other likeminded women, however none of the women lived in my area, therefore my hopes of finding a climbing partner and climbing frequently were scuppered. Reflecting on my experiences in both adventure sports, I realised there were similarities. In both settings I felt marginalised as a woman and I felt that I experienced constraints to my participation that men may not have. This led me to review the literature on women's participation in masculine-dominated adventure sports and subsequently this doctoral study was born.

1.4 Research Methodology

As aforementioned, a MM approach was not selected *a priori*. Rather, this study began with a qualitative ethnographic component. This is deemed to be an important contribution of this study, as ethnography is under-employed in adventure tourism research, despite it lending itself well to researching the intense experiential nature of adventure tourism (Buckley, 2014) and it being 'imperative if we want to meaningfully expand our understanding of the tourist experience' (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008, p.5). Furthermore, this doctoral study is unique in its use of phenomenology-based ethnography. To hear the individual stories of female mountaineer tourists and to appreciate the subjective meaning

they attach to their experiences, I participated in their everyday lives during a one-month mountaineering expedition in Nepal and adopted a participant-as-observer role in the field. In addition, this study answered the call to explain how the ethnography was operationalised in the field (O'Gorman, MacLaren & Bryce, 2014), which is currently lacking in many published adventure tourism and tourism ethnographic studies (see section 4.3.3). Accordingly, this study also offers a methodological contribution to adventure tourism literature.

Whilst the ethnography fieldwork provided rich data, it included a very small sample of women and it was limited to one type of mountaineering. To reach a larger and more representative sample which encompassed a wider range of mountaineering activities a survey was added to the research design as a quantitative component which allowed me to explore the research questions further. The qualitative and quantitative data were collected in parallel, analysed separately and then merged, hence a convergent mixed methods design was adopted (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), as illustrated in Figure 4 (section 4.2). Both sets of data were compared for consistencies and interpretation of these findings looked for multiple understandings from both sets of data. Accordingly, in adopting a convergent mixed-methods research design this study was able to explore the multiple realities of female mountaineer tourists and give voice to their experiences.

1.5 The Study's Contribution to Scholarship and Practice

To date, four publications have been produced from this doctoral study. Table 3 provides a summary of the main contributions these publications make to both academic and industry practice. A detailed explanation of the study's contribution is provided in Chapter 5 when explaining the development each publication. Further publications are anticipated from the findings of this doctoral study, which are outlined in the Conclusion Chapter of this thesis (section 7.5) and where their contribution to scholarship and practice explained.

Table 3: The study's contribution to scholarship and practice

	Publication	Summary of Contribution	Appen-dix
P1	Doran, A. (2016). Empowerment and women in adventure tourism: A negotiated journey. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, *20*(1), 57-80. Journal's impact factor: 1.35 Google Scholar citations: 8	A conceptual model is presented that illustrates constraints, negotiation and benefits as interrelated and interdependent elements, rather than independently of one another, which other scholars have done. New all-encompassing constraint, negotiation and benefit categories and sub-categories are presented.	1
P2	Pomfret, G., & Doran, A. (2015). Gender and mountaineering tourism. In Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. (eds.) Mountaineering Tourism (Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. Google Scholar citations: 5	This publication explores the role of gender in mountaineering, which has been neglected in prior research. In particular it considers the key issues around gender and mountaineering tourism, as previous studies have primarily focused on recreational mountaineers. Gaps in knowledge are exposed and opportunities for further research on this topic are presented. Presented at the Adventure Research seminar, an academic and industry networking event, which I co-organised at SHU	2
P3	Doran, A., Schofield, P., & Low, T. (2017). Women's mountaineering tourism: An empirical investigation of its theoretical constraint dimensions. *Leisure Studies, 37*(4), 396-410. Journal's impact factor 2.247 Google Scholar citations: 2	Uniquely, this study examined women's participation in a range of mountaineering activities and how their recreational mountaineering experiences influence their perceived mountaineering tourism constraints. A fourth and new constraint category relating to family constraints emerged. Therefore, this study makes an important theoretical contribution to the understanding of women's constraints on mountaineering participation in both recreation and tourism contexts.	3
P4	Doran, A., & Pomfret, G. (2019). Exploring efficacy in personal constraint negotiation: An ethnography of mountaineering tourists. *Tourist Studies.* DOI: 10.1177/1468797619837965 Journal's impact factor: 1.889	This paper highlights the role of self-efficacy in the constraint negotiation process of mountaineer tourists. To illustrate the key findings and to show the originality of this research, a conceptual model is presented. This model also develops understanding about the constraint negotiation process for other types of adventure tourist. In addition to this study's theoretical contribution, it also makes a methodological contribution in its application of phenomenology-based ethnography, and underused approach to adventure tourism research.	4

1.6 Thesis Structure

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature on women's participation constraints, the negotiation strategies they employ to overcome constraints and the participation benefits of mountaineering tourism specifically, and then in relation to adventure tourism and adventure recreation activities more generally. Within each of these three areas of inquiry, key themes are identified and consolidated to create integrative categories of constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits to enhance our understanding of female mountaineer tourists. The perception that mountaineering is a masculine activity is a recurring theme which is highly influential in each of these three areas of inquiry, hence, this chapter begins by examining the role of gender in mountaineering to provide context for the chapter.

Chapter 3 presents a conceptual model that illustrates the relationships and processes between women's participation constraints, constraint negotiation and the benefits of mountaineering tourism. In doing so, it responds to the need for their integration and presents a model that illustrates the opportunities for women's empowerment.

Chapter 4 offers a rationale for and a detailed explanation of the mixed method approach this study adopted, as well as a comprehensive overview of the steps involved in the data collection and analysis process of both qualitative and quantitative sets of data.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the development of each of my published work and explains how each publication relates to the research objectives and questions of this doctoral study, and how they contribute to theory and management practice.

Chapter 6 discusses the main findings from the data analysis in relation to previous studies identified in the literature review (Chapter 2). A revised

conceptual framework which incorporates the research findings is presented and how the study has successfully fulfilled the research objectives and questions is discussed.

Chapter 7 revisits the chapter summaries to draw conclusions, areas for future research are proposed and the limitations of this study are considered.

2.0 Review of Literature

This chapter sets out to provide a critical discussion of the relevant literature on women's participation in mountaineering tourism. Specifically, it reviews literature pertaining to women's participation constraints, the strategies used to negotiate constraints and the benefits women gain from participation. Due to the word limit of this thesis, tourism literature on these three areas of inquiry has been omitted from this review of prior research. However, a review of tourism literature was included in P1 (see Appendix 1) alongside adventure tourism and adventure recreation literature to develop a conceptual model that provides a general overview of a woman's journey through the process of constraint negotiation to participation in a rewarding adventure tourism experience. As this study aims to explore the experiences of female mountaineer tourists, the following review of literature builds on the general context presented in P1 and focuses specifically on women's mountaineering experiences. Accordingly, literature on mountaineering in both tourism and recreation settings is included, together with literature on women's experiences of other adventure activities in both of these settings. Examining women's experiences of adventure activities more generally is important, as constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits that manifest themselves in other adventure activities may help us to understand how women experience these when participating in mountaineering.

Like P1, the literature search began by using the keywords constraint, negotiation and benefit in Google Scholar, Scopus and Web of Science. Articles written in English that included these keywords in relation to women's experiences of mountaineering in both tourism and recreation contexts were reviewed. However, this produced a limited set of data and the search criteria were broadened to include these keywords in relation to women's experiences of other adventure activities in these settings. Whilst this produced a larger set of data, articles that did not include the keywords, but focused on women's general experience of mountaineering and adventure activities in these settings were also analysed in the anticipation that they included some reference to

women's constraints negotiation and participation benefits. In total, 28 articles were identified.

The articles were then reviewed using content analysis, defined by Krippendorff (2013, p. 10) as 'the systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter'. As the articles did not always adopt the same terms to describe the experiences of women, a quantitative approach to content analysis was rejected as it was difficult to record the frequency a word or term appeared. Instead, the content analysis began with a qualitative approach, which involved reading and annotating the articles, followed by the creation of categories based on themes within the data (articles) relating to constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits (Jennings, 2010). However, to illustrate the frequency of these categories in the literature and to compare those found in a mountaineering tourism context with those noted in the broader recreational mountaineering and adventure literature, a matrix for each area of enquiry was developed. Therefore, the review of literature also adopted a quantitative approach to content analysis.

The masculinity of mountaineering is a reoccurring theme in the literature which is highly influential in each of these three areas of inquiry. Therefore, first, the role of gender within mountaineering is discussed to provide context for the chapter and literature examined in P2 and P3 (see Appendices 2 & 3) is drawn upon. Second, women's constraints to participation in mountaineering and other adventure activities, in both tourism and recreation settings, is identified. Here, literature examined in P1, P2 and P3 (see Appendices 1, 2 & 3) are utilised. Third, women's negotiation of constraints in these activities and settings is presented and some of the literature reviewed in P1 is incorporated into this discussion. Finally, the benefits of their participation in these activities and settings are examined, again drawing on literature from P1. In particular, P1 and P2 provide a wealth of literature to utilise in this chapter as their focus was to review prior research and conceptualise the research problem. By comparison, P3 and P4 present the research findings, hence why they are less prominent in this chapter and they are particularly pertinent when discussing the findings in Chapter 6.

2.1 Gender and Mountaineering

A review of literature identified three key themes regarding the role of gender within mountaineering. First, how gender is represented in mountaineering narratives and media. Second, the role of gender amongst recreational mountaineers and how it determines the expectations male and female mountaineers have of one another, and third the role of gender within the mountain guiding profession. Each will now be discussed in turn.

2.1.1 The Representation of Gender in Mountaineering Narratives and Media

Mountaineers are a highly literate group who write volumes of personal accounts of their expeditions (Frohlick, 1999). However, these narratives are largely written by men, reflecting the disproportionately high numbers of male mountaineers compared to female mountaineers. Some scholars (Frohlick, 1999; Moraldo, 2013; Rak, 2007) have drawn on these narratives to illustrate their claim that mountaineering, particularly high-altitude mountaineering, is a masculine activity. These scholars (*ibid*) describe a hegemonic masculinity in mountaineering which consists of behaviours associated with western men (e.g. risk-taking, bravery, competitiveness and physical strength). However, this assumes that a man is a man everywhere, and everywhere this means the same thing (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994), thus ignoring the plurality of masculinities in any particular setting. From her interpretations of mountaineering literature, Frohlick (1999) provides alternative readings of these narratives. For example, she notes the rarity of male authors of personal mountaineering accounts referring to their bodies in gendered terms, even in narratives regarding their successes (i.e. the first to summit), and they are assumed to be male. By comparison, narratives of ascents by female mountaineers are worded in gender-inflected terms (i.e. the first British female). Consequently, Frohlick (1999) argues, the practice of male mountaineers reaching the summits and claiming their titles in gender-neutral terms (i.e. first without oxygen) produces a masculinised landscape women are not expected

to occupy. In addition, Frohlick (1999) draws attention to the use of sexist language which pervades the male mountaineering narratives she analysed. Mountaineering peers are assumed to be male and 'man' is used as a universal term. While she recognises that some of the texts she analysed were written in the 1970s and earlier, 'these texts remain important because they form the mediating textual ground on which younger climbers and authors make their own connection between masculinity and mountaineering' (p.85). This can also be said for the present day, as more recent mountaineer narratives draw from the accounts of previous mountaineers, and consequently they reproduce, but at the same time modernise, this masculine landscape.

In addition to mountaineer biographies, the mountaineering community, including mountaineer tourists, turn to other forms of media, such as magazines and films, for information and inspiration. However, the dominance and perceived superiority of the white, able-bodied male perpetuates (Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010) and displaces women and non-white men to the periphery of the adventure imaginary (Frohlick, 2005). For example, one study (Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010) analysed female rock climbers' representation in *Climbing*, the leading climbing magazine in the United States. Of the 421 articles assessed, only 3 per cent focused on women. Similarly, men predominate as cultural producers of mountain-based films (Frohlick, 2005). Mountain film festivals are popular events for soft adventurers and target men and women who are well-educated, high-earning with discretionary income to spend on adventure travel, who buy organised travel packages and see the films each year (*ibid*). However, the majority of filmmakers, speakers and subjects starring in the films are men. As the films echo and formulate older versions of the hegemonic male adventure hero - white, male, heterosexual, courageous and risk taker - the female viewers felt bombarded with a hyper-masculinity. Consequently, they characterised adventure in terms of extreme bodily risk and they preferred the films where hyper-masculinity (the hardcore male adventurer) was not present and they could see themselves doing what the subjects of the film were doing.

The scarcity of coverage given to women in both films and magazines and the resultant lack of female role models is unlikely to encourage women to consider climbing as an acceptable recreational or tourism endeavour. Similarly, the way women are portrayed in in the media may also discourage participation. For example, Vodden-McKay & Schell (2010) found that women's physical appearance and size, especially in terms of how her appearance measures up to patriarchal standards of beauty and attractiveness (white, long haired, petite, lean, tanned and with fine facial features) was highlighted in the magazine articles they reviewed, and, as such, ignoring the diversity of female climbers who may consider climbing. Furthermore, women's heterosexuality as a wife, mother or girlfriend was emphasised in the articles, which, they argue, sends the message that women cannot be legitimized based solely on their athletic capabilities and instead greater value is placed on them as wives, mothers and objects of stimulation, thus disempowering women as athletes. Moreover, research has found that mountaineering is narrated as a place in opposition to home and motherhood (Frohlick, 2006). This study found that within mountaineering motherhood provokes scrutiny in ways that fatherhood does not with moral questions levelled at women but not at men. While it is generally acceptable for men to travel freely on mountaineering expeditions without responsibility as fathers, women are expected to remain at home with their children. Therefore, female mountaineers are placed at the 'intersection of two clashing discourses - mountaineering travel as a discourse about men's escape from home and motherhood as dominant discourse about 'good mothers' remaining close by their children' (p.478). In particular, Frohlick refers to Alison Hargreaves, who, after her death climbing K2 in Pakistan in 1995, was called a 'bad mother' for leaving her two young children (in the care of their father) to pursue her 'selfish desires' and to embark on such a risky and lengthy expedition (p.486). This criticism comes not only from the media but also from the mountaineering community. Through such discourses, mountains are re-inscribed as places not for mothers. Furthermore, 'sacrificial motherhood' is expected, whereby mothers must forgo mountaineering, adventure and travel, and focus exclusively on their children (p.486).

Whilst these studies provide interesting insights into mountaineering discourse, it is worth noting that they were conducted some time ago and they may not reflect contemporary mountaineering discourse. To the author's knowledge, no recent studies have examined the representations of women, motherhood or gender in popular mountaineering media, therefore it is unclear if popular media continues to misrepresent female mountaineers and reinforce a hegemonic masculinity and traditional gender roles.

2.1.2 The Role of Gender in Recreational Mountaineering Activities

While the aforementioned studies focused on the representation of gender in narratives and the media, which are often written by or about professional mountaineers, the following examines gender amongst non-professional recreational climbers and mountaineers.

Research has found that gender determines the expectations male and female mountaineers have of one another (Kiewa, 2001a; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008; Robinson, 2008). Women expect men to be more focused on mountaineering, have greater involvement in clubs and associations, with greater physical strength and to be more concerned about their self-image. At the same time, men expect female mountaineers to be masculine, yet less physically capable, prioritise family rather than the sport, more focused on the social aspects of mountaineering and less involved in clubs and associations. These gendered expectations play a part in shaping the behaviour of climbers, in that some male climbers would choose never to climb with women, as they expect women to hold them back and expect them to be less motivated (Kiewa, 2001a). Similarly, some female climbers choose not to climb with men as they find men impede their progression. Women feel that men have low expectations of them, and men's enthusiasm to climb up a route quickly and complete as many routes as possible creates unwanted pressure and impacts negatively on their experience. In addition to using gender stereotyping to exclude women from the practice of mountaineering, male mountaineers use other methods to prevent women from mountaineering. These are explored further in section 2.2.1 where the constraints to women's participation in mountaineering are discussed.

Furthermore, because females are expected to underperform compared to their male climbing partners, when this does not happen, their success is discussed in relation to their gender (Rickly-Boyd, 2012). Moreover, skilled female climbers who develop a muscular body to be strong enough to overcome challenges are described as masculine. These practices are adopted by both male and female climbers alike and create an environment where femininity and masculinity are in opposition for the female climber.

While these studies provide insights into the gendered expectations between men and women, they also adopt a binary approach, one that stresses differences between men and women rather than similarities. They also disregard differences among groups of women and groups of men. Kiewa (2001a) suggests integrating these two perspectives, claiming that men could gain from focusing more on relationships, while women could benefit from focusing more on the activity of climbing. However, Plate (2007) argues that in a patriarchal society, androgyny will require women to take on more masculine traits, requiring fewer changes for men. Furthermore, as mountaineering is male dominated, masculine traits are already valued and respected in the climbing community, therefore it is likely that women (and men) will be expected to take on masculine traits. In addition, it also assumes that men will possess these masculine traits and women the feminine, when in fact studies have found that the boundaries which have been conventionally associated with masculinity and femininity within mountaineering are becoming more blurred. Studies (Kiewa, 2001a; Plate, 2007; Robinson, 2008) have reported that some male and female climbers are equally focused on the activity, while others prioritise the spirituality and nature-based elements of climbing or concentrate on the relationships that develop and enhance their climbing. Male and female climbers have also reported no difference between climbing with men and climbing with women, and some male climbers regard women climbers as their equals. Some male climbers avoid climbing with people who have a competitive attitude, while some female climbers choose to climb with men as they expect to be challenged and to be pushed by them.

What this demonstrates is the complexity of participants' expectations and, subsequently, their gendered experiences of mountaineering. While gendered expectations can limit engagement in mountaineering, these studies have shown that men and women are also challenging stereotypical gendered expectations and benefiting from participation with their gender opposites. These studies were conducted some time ago and since then the climbing community has continued to grow and change. Therefore, further research is needed to explore how hegemonic masculinity and femininity have transformed in mountaineering in respect to its changing culture and how relationships between genders accentuate participants' experiences of mountaineering.

2.1.3 The Role of Gender within the Mountain Guiding Profession

The final topic to be considered is gender and mountain guides, as guides have considerable influence over the client's experiences of packaged mountaineering tourism. Very few studies have specifically researched mountain guides (Beedie, 2003, 2008; Martinoia, 2013) and to my knowledge, there is no known research which focuses on mountain guiding from a gender perspective. However, Martinoia's (2013) study on the guide-client relationship provides a unique insight into the experiences of male mountain guides and it confirms gendered expectations and reinforces masculinity within guiding. The study reveals that male guides appreciate female clients who underestimate their abilities, seek pleasure rather than performance and obey authority. Therefore, supervising female clients contributes to the construction of a masculine identity for male guides. Similarly, these female clients give male guides opportunities to cultivate their masculinity. However, the study found that the guides did not share this preference for female clients with other guides as they feared being labelled as a 'guide for the ladies' and they did not want their professional mountaineering skills to be feminized and downgraded. Instead, in order to gain the recognition of peers and secure employment, guides show a profile that conforms to the mythical guide - man, the adventurer, highly responsible, physically irreproachable risk-taker (Martinoia, 2013).

Female guides also face challenges within their profession. Similar to the under-representation of women in mountaineering, the guiding profession also sees few women qualifying. Conversely, in Aconcagua, Argentina, of those women who do qualify, few will become guides or even assistant guides within the Argentinean mountaineering tourism industry. This is because agencies are unwilling to place female guides in positions of authority over the male counterparts (Logan, 2006).

What is clear from this review of literature on gender and mountaineering is that mountaineering was, and possibly still is, associated with the idea of masculinity, which distances women from this activity. However, the majority of these studies were conducted over a decade ago and their findings may not reflect the contemporary mountaineering culture and discourse. Furthermore, these studies highlight how little we know about the role that gender plays in mountaineering tourism. P2, which focuses on this subject (see Appendix 2), proposes a number of suggestions for further research which we believe are important if we are to more fully understand the role that gender plays in mountaineering tourism. In an attempt to address this shortfall in our understanding, this doctoral study explored how female mountaineers participating in a range of mountaineering activities interpret and experience the masculinised mountaineering culture and discourse. Furthermore, it examined women's experiences, feelings of empowerment and expressions of femininity in a range of different mountaineering tourism activities. Accordingly, it is hoped that the findings of this study will help develop improved mountaineering experiences for women.

2.2 Women's Constraints on Adventure Participation

Several studies have examined the constraints faced by women participating in adventure recreation activities (Coble, Selin & Erickson, 2003; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Little, 2000; 2002a; 2002b). More specifically, there is a growing body of literature which examines female participation in mountaineering and climbing activities, although this is almost exclusively from a recreational perspective (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b), while women's

mountaineering tourism experiences have been neglected. Carr (1997) and Allison, Duda and Beuter (1991) identified a number of constraints faced by women participating in 'hard' and 'soft' mountaineering adventure tourism activities, respectively, but, to my knowledge, no other studies in the last 28 years have assessed the extent to which these constraints, and any other constraints, are experienced by women. Furthermore, studies on women's participation in hard forms of adventure tourism is scant (see Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000) and scholars have largely focused on softer forms of adventure tourism, for example female backpackers (e.g. Elsrud, 1998; 2001; 2005) and women's experiences of adventure tourism in general (e.g. Myers, 2010; 2017). Instead, women's experiences of travelling independently and by themselves has been of academic interest (e.g. Harris & Wilson, 2007; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Pennington-Gray & Kerstetter, 2001; Wilson & Little, 2005; 2008). However, these studies examine women's broad travel experiences, including package holidays and business travel, and it is unclear if they also include backpacking. For this reason, these studies are not included in this review of literature. Nonetheless, a review of literature regarding women's constraints on tourism participation can be found in P1 (Appendix 1), which was written to appeal to a broad readership with an interest in the subject of women's adventure tourism participation.

Only two of the reviewed studies chose to categorise women's constraints. Hudson (2000) adopted Crawford and Godbey's (1987) widely cited intra-personal, inter-personal and structural leisure constraint model when examining both male and female skiers. By comparison, Fendt and Wilson (2012) adopted personal, socio-cultural and practical constraint categories in their study of female surf tourists. As the components of each constraint category are largely the same, it would appear that Fendt and Wilson's categories re-label the existing categories. The latter approach was used in P1 of this doctoral study (see Appendix 1) as it was considered to be clearer and more self-explanatory than Crawford and Godbey's earlier conceptualisation. However, after consultation with my co-authors of P3 (see Appendix 3), it was decided that we would adopt Crawford and Godbey's constraint model for this article as it is

more widely cited. Subsequently, I decided to adopt this earlier conceptualisation in this doctoral thesis.

To address the research questions and objectives (RQ1, RQ1a, RQ1b, RQ1c & RO1) of this doctoral study, the following discussion examines each of these constraint categories (intra-personal, inter-personal and structural) as they relate to mountaineering and mountaineering tourism specifically, and then in relation to adventure tourism and adventure recreation activities more generally. As explained in the Introduction of this thesis, it is important to examine women's experiences of adventure activities from both recreational and tourism perspectives, because engaging in such activities for longer periods of time within a tourism context may result in the exacerbation of existing constraints experienced recreationally. Furthermore, a tourism setting might present additional or alternative challenges than those faced at a purely recreational level of engagement.

2.2.1 Women's Constraints on Mountaineering and Mountaineering Tourism

As aforementioned, to date only one study (Carr, 1997) has examined women's experiences of hard mountaineering tourism and this has focused on guided mountaineering for both men and women more generally, rather than specifically on women and their constraints to participation. By comparison, Allison et al.'s (1991) study has a female only sample and examines their experiences of a trekking holiday, a softer form of mountaineering tourism, but, like Carr's (ibid) study, the barriers to participation are not the focus of the study. Nevertheless, constraints are present in the findings of these studies. The majority of constraints were *intra-personal.* These include fear, anxiety, doubt in one's own abilities, fatigue and physical health, including altitude sickness and minor injuries. *Inter-personal* constraints were limited to not having a climbing partner or travel companion and tensions between the group members. Finally, the *structural* constraints included frustration with the lack of local knowledge, having inexperienced or unfit partners, or irritation with the weather conditions that prevent climbing or affected the trekking experience.

Despite these studies being nearly 30 years old and possibly not reflecting the contemporary mountaineering landscape in which female mountaineers now participate, there are similarities in the constraints experienced by women participating in recreational mountaineering activities, in particular rock climbing, which have been reported more recently (e.g. Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; Dilley & Scraton, 2010).

Unlike Carr's (ibid) study, *intra-personal* constraints were found to be the least significant of the three categories for recreational female mountaineers. One study identified fear as a core intra-personal constraint, in terms of not being able to participate due to doubts in their physical ability and technical skills (Kiewa, 2001b). In contrast, *inter-personal* constraints are the most prevalent for women participating in recreational mountaineering activities. Specifically, family commitments constrained time for climbing due to an unequal division of caring labour with women's partners (Dilley & Scraton, 2010) and, as introduced in section 2.1.2, gendered expectations where, for example, women are not invited to climb with men because they are expected to be more interested in social aspects of climbing (Kiewa, 2001a). Similarly, women hold the same gendered expectations and chose not to climb with men because they are too focused on the activity. However, constraints relating to male climbing partners were more prominent in the literature (Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008; Plate, 2007). Most of these studies reported women viewing their male climbing partners negatively due to their patronising, domineering, condescending, impatient and competitive behaviour. Furthermore, one study found that male climbers actively impeded female climbers by supporting stereotypes of masculinity and femininity (Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008). For example, female climbers were expected to make the travel arrangements, purchase food and climb after men. Consequently, this limits women's opportunities to develop their mountaineering skills and constantly places them in second position. Not having control over what they were climbing led to feelings of frustration and anger, and a sense that the male partner did not respect them as a climber (Kiewa, 2001b). Plate (2007) also found that some men preferred women to be less proficient at climbing so that males can be perceived as better climbers, hence reducing women's

confidence. A final inter-personal constraint is the masculine portrayal of adventure in the media (Frohlick, 2005), which does not match their perceptions and experiences of adventure, and consequently can deter women from participating believing that they are simply not adventurous (or masculine) enough (see section 2.1.1). By comparison, *structural* constraints to recreational mountaineering activities include a lack of time (Dilley & Scraton, 2010) and a lack of role models (Rak, 2007; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010).

2.2.2 Women's Constraints on Adventure Tourism Participation

As few scholars have examined women's participation in hard forms of adventure tourism, the following discussion will largely present constraints which were encountered by women when participating in soft adventure tourism activities and it is unknown if a different set of challenges are experienced by women when participating in hard adventure activities whilst on holiday.

First, *intra-personal* constraints were based on two interlinked themes, self-doubt and fear. Doubt in one's ability to travel alone or participate in the adventure activity has been a recurrent theme in the extant literature with a number of studies consistently finding this to be a constraint for women (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little & Wilson, 2005; Myers, 2010). These feelings of self-doubt can be interwoven with a sense of fear. Women can be fearful of the physical demands and dangerous nature of the adventure activity, which can make them question their existing doubts in their abilities (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; Little & Wilson, 2005; Myers, 2010). Whilst some women believe they are ill-equipped to participate in particular environments, especially if unguided, in contrast, they recognise that if they were a man, they would have felt more confident and taken risks (Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Elsrud, 2005; Little & Wilson, 2005; McKercher & Davidson, 1994). Compounded by their existing self-doubts and fears, some women believe themselves to be unadventurous and withdraw from the adventure tourism activity, believing it to be inaccessible and masculine. Furthermore, fear in adventure tourism is exacerbated by being away from home and travelling in unfamiliar destinations, especially if travelling alone. For example, some women have concerns for their

safety regarding host male attitudes and differing cultural values, which may cause women to be cautious when choosing certain destinations or restrict their movements while in the destination (Little & Wilson, 2005; Myers & Hannam, 2008). Women may also fear being lonely or in a minority as a woman, particularly if participating in a male dominated adventure activity whilst on holiday (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little & Wilson, 2005).

Second, five *inter-personal* constraints were identified in the literature: social expectations, lack of companions, unwanted male attention, the masculine portrayal of adventure and experiencing localism, although experiencing localism was only found in one study. Social expectations, in terms of being expected to place household duties and family commitments first before their personal adventure tourism desires have been noted (Fendt & Wilson, 2012). A lack of travel companions and not knowing anyone that participates in the chosen activity can also be a significant deterrent for women (Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; McKercher & Davidson, 1994). Women have also cited struggling to 'fit in' to different cultures as a woman (Fendt & Wilson, 2012), which reinforces women's existing fears. The media's masculine portrayal of adventure, showing images of men mountaineering and skiing in avalanches, and the outdoors to be a scary, uncomfortable and intimidating place does not match women's perceptions and experiences of adventure and this can deter women from pursuing adventure tourism (Little & Wilson, 2005). Finally, experiencing localism, through territorialism and in some cases bullying from locals can further exasperate the feeling of being in a minority as a woman (Fendt & Wilson, 2012).

Finally, *structural* constraints are also noted as barriers to participation in adventure tourism, including a lack of time and money due to family commitments, travelling to the destination and the high cost of equipment, the logistics of organising an adventure holiday (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000), unfamiliarity of the destination (its language, culture and geography) and poor promotion of the benefits and opportunities of adventure tourism for women (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; McKercher & Davidson, 1994) are also found to constrain women's participation in adventure tourism.

2.2.3 Women's Constraints on Adventure Recreation Participation

Whilst many of the studies on women's participation in adventure recreation were conducted some time ago and may not reflect the current experiences of women, there is some notable overlap with the constraints cited by women in more recent studies.

First, *intra-personal* constraints such as self-doubt in one's abilities were evidenced in a number of studies. Women doubt their athletic capability, their ability to develop competent skills within the activity, their knowledge of the natural environment and their ability to operate in remote settings (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Little, 2002a; Warren, 1996). Similarly, fear was felt by women participating in adventure recreation, with regards to getting lost and being hurt (Coble et al*., 2003), as well as a lack of experience and their perception of being unadventurous and incongruent with the portrayal of adventure, which limited their participation (Little, 2002a). Unlike the studies on women's barriers to adventure tourism participation, guilt in relation to the reduced amount of time spent with family and friends has been expressed by women participating in adventure recreation (Little, 2002a; Warren, 1996).

Second, *inter-personal* constraints have also been found to affect participation in adventure recreation. Like participation in adventure tourism, social expectations (Bialeschki & Henderson, 2000; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht & Schuler, 2006; Little, 2002a; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996), a lack of companions (Little, 2002a) and the media's masculine portrayal of adventure (Little, 2002a) have been noted to constrain women's participation in adventure recreation. Moreover, experiencing sexist attitudes and behaviours, being made to feel unwelcome by male counterparts (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008) and activities that maintain gender stereotypes (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Shaw, 1994) have emerged from the literature on adventure recreation that was not found in the adventure tourism literature. For example, ritualised and (hetero)sexualised expectations of women to display parts of their bodies in order to be able to continue participate in skydiving are noted as significant constraints to

participation in the sport (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). As noted in studies on recreational climbing, women participating in other recreational adventure activities have cited stereotypical task delegation (e.g. men carrying heavier packs and equipment and women expected to cook) constraining them from fully experiencing the adventure activity (Warren, 1996).

Finally, *structural* constraints are also noted as barriers to participation in adventure recreation, including a lack of time due to employment and family commitments, lack of money due to the cost of equipment to participate in adventure activities, and the need for certain equipment, which can be expensive and require specific skills (Bialeschki & Henderson, 2000; Henderson et al.*,* 2006; Little, 2002a; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996). Unlike women's constraints to adventure tourism, a lack of role models has been noted in the adventure recreation literature as a constraint to women's participation, as this reinforces women's perception that adventure is an inaccessible, masculine domain (Warren, 1996). Women may look to different forms of adventure media to find role models (see P2 in Appendix 2). However, women are underrepresented and misrepresented in adventure media, reflecting an untruth that their participation in adventure is remarkable, rather than the norm, and their athletic ability and accomplishments are often overlooked in favour of describing their physical appearance, home lives and relationships (Rak, 2007; Stoddart, 2010; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010).

Table 4 provides a summary of the types and frequency of constraints identified in the extant literature. With the exception of fear, there are no constraint similarities between the constraints noted in the mountaineering tourism and the recreational mountaineering literature. However, there are only two mountaineering tourism studies to draw from (Allison et al., 1991; Carr, 1997). Furthermore, the focus of these studies was not women's constraints, consequently providing very limited data on which to draw comparisons. However, there are similarities between the constraints noted in the recreational mountaineering and adventure recreation studies, for example, fear, family commitments/social expectations, masculine portrayal of adventure and lack of role models. By comparison, and in parallel with the definitional similarities

between adventure recreation and adventure tourism, the types of constraints women face to participation in these two settings are similar. However, a different set of challenges have also emerged from adventure tourism compared to adventure recreation literature due to the extended time away from home, organising the adventure tourism experience and the unfamiliarity of the destination. These tourism related constraints are also present in the broader tourism literature (see P1). Therefore, female adventure tourists, including mountaineer tourists, may have to overcome two sets of constraints, one relating to the adventure activity and another to the travel element of their participation.

When comparing the constraints to mountaineering tourism with those noted in the broader adventure tourism literature only self-doubt, fear and lack of a climbing partner or travel companion constraints are similar. What is evident, despite the activity or setting, is the prominence of self-doubt and fear in constraining women's participation. The matrix also highlights how little is known about women's mountaineering tourism participation constraints, as they largely do not reflect any of the constraints noted in the other three quadrants. This highlights the need for further investigation into women's constraints to mountaineering tourism, particularly as currently the only known studies that can be drawn upon are more than 20 years old and do not specifically investigate women's constraints to participation. Moreover, whilst participants of hard adventure activities (Carr, 1997; Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008; Plate, 2007) experienced similar constraints to those women who participated in softer activities, in both settings, constraints relating to social expectations, gendered expectations, feeling unwelcome or being in a minority as a woman, and experiencing sexist attitudes were more pertinent to those participating in harder forms of adventure activities. This is likely due to these activities still being male dominated and the dominance of the white male extreme adventurer in popular media. It is also worth noting that, regardless of the context (recreation or tourism, mountaineering or another adventure activity), there is a notable overlap with the constraints women have cited in both older studies and those that were conducted more recently, implying that

women's participation constraints have not reduced or changed in the last 30 years. Consequently, dissemination of this doctoral study's findings with adventure tourism providers is imperative, as this may help them to develop and promote their products more effectively to target this marginalised group and help them to overcome constraints.

Table 4: Constraints on adventure participation matrix

	Recreational		Tourism	
	Constraint (No. of Papers = 8)	**Freq.**	**Constraint** (No. of Papers = 2)	**Freq.**
Mountaineering Activities	Time	1	Bad weather	2
	Male climbing partner	5	Climbing partner	1
	Family commitments	1	Self-doubt	1
	Gendered expectations	2	Fear	1
	Fear	1	Lack of local knowledge	1
	Masculine portrayal of adventure	1	Fatigue	1
	Lack of role models	1	Physical health	1
			Tensions between group members	1
	Constraint (No. of Papers = 9)	**Freq.**	**Constraint** (No. of Papers = 9)	**Freq.**
Adventure Activities	Self-doubt	3	Self-doubt	5
	Fear	2	Fear	5
	Perception of being unadventurous	1	Perception of being unadventurous	4
	Guilt	2	Social expectations	1
	Social expectations	5	Lack of companions	3
	Lack of companions	1	Masculine portrayal of adventure	1
	Masculine portrayal of adventure	1	Experiencing localism	1
	Sexist attitudes & behaviours	1	Lack of time	2
	Gendered expectations	2	Lack of money	2
	Lack of time	5	Logistics of organising holiday	2
	Lack of money		Unfamiliarity of destination	2
	Need for certain equipment	2	Poor promotion to women	3
	Lack of role models	1	Lonely/Being a minority as a woman	2

Despite these challenges, women are using adventure spaces, in both recreation and tourism contexts, to resist, rather than submit to constraints. To overcome these barriers women are employing a range of negotiation strategies to enable participation and in doing so challenging traditional gendered discourse. These will now be discussed.

2.3 Women's Constraint Negotiation in Adventure Participation

Attention will now be given to the negotiation strategies that women use to overcome constraints. Negotiation strategies have been defined as 'specific

actions, behaviours and mind-sets' (Fendt & Wilson, 2012, p.10). Like constraints, negotiation strategies are comprehensive and complex, and an attempt has been made to categorise these in both adventure tourism and adventure recreation literature (see Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Little, 2000; 2002a). In P1 of this doctoral study (see Appendix 1) three negotiation categories were presented after a thematic analysis of the negotiation strategies reported by women in the extant adventure tourism, adventure recreation and tourism literature. These categories were determination, planning and preparing, and prioritising participation and making compromises. To address the research questions and objectives (RQ2, RQ2a and RO1) of this doctoral study, like constraints, the following discussion examines the negotiation strategies used by women as they relate to recreational mountaineering and mountaineering tourism activities specifically, and then in relation to adventure tourism and adventure recreation activities more generally. Consequently, for the purpose of this discussion, tourism literature has been excluded, however a discussion of women's constraint negotiation in their tourism participation can be found in P1 (Appendix 1). Nevertheless, despite the omission of tourism literature and this chapter providing a more comprehensive review of the literature relating to female mountaineer tourists' constraint negotiation, the same three broad negotiation categories which were found in P1 were identified. The following discussion will examine each of these categories. To conclude, the negotiation strategies identified in the extant literature are presented in a matrix to identify the similarities and frequencies.

Compared to the constraint literature, very few studies have examined women's negotiation of constraints and to date, as far as I know, no studies have examined women's constraint negotiation in mountaineering participation, in either tourism or recreation settings. Moreover, with the exception of Fendt and Wilson's (2012) study of surf tourists, women's negotiation in adventure tourism participation has also been neglected. By comparison, women's constraint negotiation in adventure recreation has received some, albeit limited, academic attention (e.g. Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Little, 2000; 2002a). Despite this dearth in specific studies on women's constraint negotiation, insights can still be

gained from looking at women's experiences of adventure activities more alternative perspectives. Like before, as there is limited research on women's experiences of mountaineering activities, it is important to examine the negotiation strategies to participation in other adventure activities, in both tourism and recreation contexts, as the constraint negotiation strategies that manifest in other adventure activities may be relevant to mountaineering. As women can encounter a number of constraints simultaneously, before and during their mountaineering experience, likewise they can also use a range of strategies to negotiate these constraints at any one time and at different points in their mountaineering tourism experience. It is not within the scope of this chapter to discuss the temporal nature of constraint negotiation and the potential differences between pre-travel negotiation and those which may arise during the travel experience. However, this has been explored in P1 and P4 of this doctoral study (see Appendices 1 & 4).

2.3.1 Women's Constraint Negotiation in Mountaineering and Mountaineering Tourism

Due to a lack of literature, this section draws from only a few studies. Firstly, negotiation strategies relating to *determination* have been identified in the extant literature on recreational rock climbing. For example, simply ignoring stereotypical gendered behaviour was cited. Rather than adopting stereotypical female traits (focusing on teamwork and relationships) within climbing, some women choose to adopt traits associated with male climbers (focusing on the activity) as they believe this has enabled them to achieve more within the sport and greater acceptance (Kiewa, 2001a). Furthermore, these women have also reported a preference for climbing with men, as they expect male climbers to share the same focus on achievement (*ibid*). Therefore, whilst they ignore female gendered expectations, they also conform to male gendered expectations, as they expect male climbers to be more focused on the activity than their female counterparts.

Furthermore, female climbers have also used this negotiation strategy by deliberately trying not to look attractive so that the male climbers would regard

them more as climbers (*ibid*). By comparison, female climbers have also reported conforming to stereotypical gendered behaviour in climbing by accentuating their femininity and appearing to be vulnerable as they believe male climbers will be attracted to them and they would receive more attention from them, which ultimately, in addition to developing a romantic relationship with them, would help them improve their climbing (*ibid*). For other women, gendered expectations are negotiated by climbing with female climbing partners, which they find to be more compatible with similar expectations and objectives (Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; Plate, 2007) and educating male climbing partners on their needs and concerns. For example, asking them not to tell them how to climb a route, as this removes the ability of the female climber to exercise their own competence, resulting in a loss of self-control (Kiewa, 2001b). As it is the experience of being in control and utilising personal skills to overcome stressful climbing situations that leads to exhilaration, it is not surprising that women (and men) resent any interference that destroys that process. Other constraint negotiation strategies employed by women as a consequence of their determination to climb include avoiding challenges that evoke fear or negotiating fear through a process of self-control (e.g. breathing, self-talk and concentration) based on the knowledge that they possessed the ability to perform in these stressful situations (Kiewa, 2001b). In these stressful situations female climbers have described 'digging deep', 'pushing through', repressing negative emotions and retaining personal control during the negotiation process so that they can use their skills to good effect and complete the climb successfully (Kiewa, 2001b, p.373). Through successful performance a sense of competence can arise, which leads to feelings of exhilaration and control (of the activity and of oneself).

Secondly, *planning and preparing* strategies to negotiate constraints include the development of climbing skills and the use of protective equipment to ensure their safety and gain control, both of the activity and their emotions, which reduced self-doubts and fears (Kiewa, 2001b). Training has also been noted as a strategy to overcome self-doubts in their physical capability and climbing skills, including building makeshift training facilities in their homes (Dilley & Scraton, 2010). Furthermore, hiring a guide has been reported to negotiate

constraints relating to doubts in one's ability to operate safely in unfamiliar environments and the associated fear, as well as a lack of necessary equipment (Carr, 1997).

Finally, negotiation strategies relating to *prioritising participation and making compromises* to ensure climbing is part of their lives have been noted in the extant literature. For example, choosing to live near climbing areas and climbing communities, prioritising time with climbing friendship groups over non-climbing friendship groups in the evenings, weekends and on holidays, and using climbing walls as the central focus of their social lives (Dilley & Scraton, 2010) enables women to overcome constraints relating to a lack of time and not having a climbing partner. Furthermore, it has been noted that some female climbers delay having children or choose not to have children to further their climbing careers. For these women, their identity as a mountaineer and climber enabled them to resist traditional society notions of femininity, which is constructed in relation to their position as wives or mothers (Dilley & Scraton, 2010). By comparison, climbing mothers have reported finding it difficult to negotiate their caring roles as mother and wife with their identity as climbers. For example, mothers have reported having less time to commit to climbing and consequently they either suspended their climbing and returned later when their children were older (although their husbands returned to climbing before them), they stopped climbing completely or they changed their activity (e.g. running) during this period in their lives when their time is more limited (*ibid*). Other climbing mothers have attempted to negotiate constraints relating to having a family by participating in the activity with their children. However, this comes with challenges, as having to look after children in a climbing environment negates what women value in climbing (e.g. time for themselves). Consequently, in these instances negotiation does not necessarily enable women to access the kind of outdoor adventure experience they desire. The aforementioned interruptions in women's climbing as a result of the constraints of family commitments and expectations can result in the loss of strength, skill and confidence, creating frustration and a deep sense of loss in terms of physical capabilities and climbing identity (*ibid*). Negotiating the demands of work, for example reducing work hours, reducing the travel time to work, going

part-time, changing careers and taking a career break, have been noted as strategies to ensure more time to climb (*ibid*). Moreover, some women choose to only have romantic relationships with climbers so that they do not have to make a choice between climbing and spending time with partners (*ibid*). By comparison, others prioritise their climbing by choosing not to climb with the partners they are in romantic relationships with (*ibid*). In doing so a sense of control, independence, self-sufficiency, and responsibility has been noted. For some this was achieved by climbing with other women. This ensured that the power dynamics of heterosexual relationships were not transferred to the rock with the women automatically taking a secondary role (Dilley & Scraton, 2010).

2.3.2 Women's Constraint Negotiation in Adventure Tourism

As aforementioned, due to the limited research in women's experiences of hard adventure tourism activities, the following discussion largely reviews the experiences of women participating in soft forms of adventure tourism. First, a negotiation strategy relating to *determination* has been identified. For some women, maintaining a positive attitude about the benefits adventure tourism provides is strong enough to act as a negotiation strategy in itself and women accept the challenges they encounter (Fendt & Wilson, 2012).

Second, *planning and preparing* is a pertinent strategy articulated by women. Researching the destination prior to departure helps women to negotiate a number of intra-personal constraints and concerns regarding their unfamiliarity of the destination they are visiting. For example, transport, accommodation and tour arrangements are made, and the environmental conditions and locations the activities will take place in are researched (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers & Hannam, 2008). Whilst in the destination, women have reported avoiding spaces identified as being male domains, such as bars, pubs and specific activities, for fear of feeling vulnerable and receiving unwanted male attention (Myers & Hannam, 2008). Another negotiation strategy women use to overcome concerns regarding safety or loneliness when travelling alone is to develop adventure connections with like-minded fellow adventurers and travel in a group (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers & Hannam, 2008). Participating in a commercially

organised and guided adventure tour has also been noted to enable women to participate in an adventure activity they might otherwise be excluded from (McKercher & Davidson, 1994). The convenience of purchasing a packaged tour negotiates any safety concerns and the time that would be spent planning and researching a trip, but also negates the need for a travel companion and in some cases the need for certain equipment. Furthermore, although unique to female surf tourists, training prior to the adventure tourism experience to develop skills, fitness and knowledge helps women to negotiate their personal fears and develop greater awareness of their capabilities and boundaries (Fendt & Wilson, 2012). In turn, this helps women make critical decisions in the planning and participation of their surfing holiday and provides a sense of achievement which can lead to feelings of empowerment.

Finally, *prioritising participation and making compromises* to negotiation constraints have also been noted. Women have described making time in their lives and prioritising backpacking, as they view it as their last opportunity to travel before becoming wives and mothers (Elsrud, 1998). Like female climbers (see Dilley & Scraton, 2010), these women are resisting traditional society notions of femininity by prioritising their adventure travel desires and delaying 'settling down'. Similarly, emancipative stories are told by female backpackers to claim that adventurous women are just as competent as adventurous men, and in doing so challenging adventure as a traditional masculine arena and stereotyped femininity of home (Elsrud, 2005). Therefore, adventure travel becomes a means of taking charge over identity without being restricted by expectations upon gender. For those women with partners and/or families, making compromises to their adventure tourism participation to incorporate the needs of their partners and/or family (Fendt & Wilson, 2012) or suspending their adventure tourism desires until their children are older (Myers & Hannam, 2008) have been noted.

2.3.3 Women's Constraint Negotiation in Adventure Recreation

Like adventure tourism, women's negotiation of constraints to participation in adventure recreation has received limited academic attention (Coble et al.,

2003; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Little, 2000; 2002a). However, insights can still be gained from studies which have examined women's experiences from alternative perspectives. The negotiation strategies identified in these studies will now be discussed in relation to the three broad negotiation categories.

First, negotiation strategies relating to women's *determination* to participate in adventure recreation regardless of constraints have been noted in Laurendeau and Sharara's (2008) study on female skydivers and snowboarders. Recognising that they are marginalised in these sports, the women in this study found that they could empower themselves and negotiate gender discrimination by discounting gender and seeing themselves first as skydivers and snowboarders with abilities equal to men. Other female snowboarders discount gender and their femininity by choosing to wear the baggy clothing style that dominates snowboarding. This diverts attention from their sexuality, as they prefer to be mistaken for men. It also enables them to blend into this masculine space and create anonymity that allows them to just snowboard without the attention they may get if their femininity was more obvious. By negotiating their feminine image and emphasising their skills, they hope to change perceptions so that women are taken seriously as skilled snowboarders. By contrast, and similar to female climbers, other female skydivers within this study reported conforming to stereotypical gendered behaviour by using their femininity to receive attention and guidance in the sport by men for being attractive. These women recognised they are treated differently in the male dominated sport of skydiving and rather than challenging this they used it to their advantage.

Second, *planning and preparing* as a strategy to negotiate constraints has been described in a number of studies. For example, protective strategies to equip them for an emergency situation were evidenced in Coble et al.'s (2003) study of solo hikers, such as packing a first aid kit and extra food, water and clothing, as well as leaving their itinerary with others. Participating with more competent companions (usually men) for navigational assistance and researching the hiking destination to negotiate fears of getting lost and for their personal safety have also been noted by female solo hikers. Whilst on the trail, the female hikers in this study have also reported avoiding perceived threats (especially

male hikers,) by either removing themselves from the trail or limiting their encounters with others, to negotiate some of their fears. Like female adventure tourists, female snowboarders have described avoiding spaces where women are treated differently, most notably the terrain park (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). Connecting with female-only groups is often sought by women to overcome self-doubts, especially for those who perceive mixed-gender groups to be competitive, goal driven environments prevailed by men (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Loeffler, 1997; Nolan & Priest, 1993). They have also been found to assist women in the development of both their actual competence and their sense of competence because it removes the socialisation that women should be less competent than men (Loeffler, 1997). Learning new skills and training for participation has also been noted (Little, 2000; 2002a). Finally, planning and preparing is used by women who have not participated in adventure recreation for some time to anticipate future adventures (Little, 2000; 2002a). This lack of participation is seen as a temporary state, as while they raise their children, work full time or recover from an injury, they continue to plan future adventures and set goals. This enables women to maintain an emotional connection with adventure and maintain their adventure identity (Little, 2000; 2002a).

Third, *prioritising participation and making compromises* has been recorded in the extant literature to negotiate constraints to women's participation in adventure recreation. To overcome fear, female solo hikers have described modifying their participation by hiking at certain times of the day, limiting the distance they travel from home, decreasing the distance they hike from a road, only hiking on marked trails or ceasing to hike alone (Coble et al*.,*2003). Like female mountaineers, women who participate in adventure recreation have also described making changes to their employment by reducing their work hours or taking employment that provides adventure through the job (Little, 2000; 2002a). For other women, making time and prioritising adventure is difficult and instead they compromise on the time spent participating in adventure recreation, the level of challenge or the activity itself (*ibid*). Being flexible with time dedicated to adventure recreation by extending or shortening time, or altering the frequency of participation, can be a useful negotiation technique for

women in ensuring continued participation (Little, 2000; 2002a). Similar to participation in recreational mountaineering and adventure tourism, women who participate in adventure recreation have also described suspending participation, particularly those with children or dependents, or those who have lost some of their ability due to lack of practice (Little, 2000; 2002a). Likewise, rather than permanently ceasing their participation in their chosen adventure activity, women adjust their preferred form of adventure to involve their family or friends. For others, due to injury, re-location or having a family, the only means of negotiation is to stop participation and replace their activity of choice for alternative forms of adventure (*ibid*).

The extant literature shows women as proactive and creative participants who, driven by a desire and commitment to adventure participation, seek to overcome barriers by utilising a range of negotiation strategies to ensure satisfying adventure experiences. Table 5 illustrates the creativity and variation in the negotiation strategies used by women in both adventure recreation and adventure tourism contexts. Many women prioritised their participation and made time for adventure, ensuring their participation went unchanged. Others engaged in strategies in advance of their participation, preparing themselves for potential constraints through training, developing skills and obtaining protective equipment. For some, compromises are made and their participation, in terms of where, when, for how long and with whom they participate, must be altered to ensure continuing engagement with adventure.

Table 5: Constraints negotiation in adventure participation matrix

	Recreational		Tourism	
	Negotiation Strategies (No. of Papers = 4)	**Freq.**	**Negotiation Strategies** (No. of Papers = 1)	**Freq.**
Mountaineering Activities	Ignore stereotypical gendered behaviour	1	Hire a guide	1
	Conform to stereotypical gendered behaviour	1		
	Female climbing partners	4		
	Educate male climbing partners	1		
	Avoid challenges	1		
	Believe in ability to perform	1		
	Development of skills	1		
	Use of equipment	1		
	Training	1		
	Live near climbing areas/communities	1		
	Prioritise climbing friendships & groups	1		
	Climbing walls central focus of social life	1		
	Resist hegemonic femininity	1		
	Suspend or stop participation	1		
	Participate with family	1		
	Reduce travel time to work	1		
	Make changes to employment	1		
	Climb with/do not climb with partners they are in romantic relationships with	1		
	Negotiation Strategies (No. of Papers = 9)	**Freq.**	**Negotiation Strategies** (No. of Papers = 5)	**Freq.**
Adventure Activities	Discount gender	1	Positive attitude	1
	Conform to stereotypical gendered behaviour	1	Research the destination	2
	Protective strategies	1	Avoid certain spaces and places	1
	Participate with more competent companions	1	Develop adventure connections	2
	Research the destination	1	Participate in commercially organised adventure tourism	1
	Avoid perceived threats	1	Training	1
	Avoid certain spaces	1	Resist hegemonic femininity	2
	Connect with women-only groups	3	Suspend participation	1
	Training	2	Participate with family	1
	Anticipate future adventures	2		
	Modify participation	1		
	Make changes to employment	2		
	Be flexible with time	2		
	Suspend or stop participation	2		
	Participate with family and friends	1		

Despite there being limited data on women's constraint negotiation in mountaineering tourism, there are parallels with women's negotiation strategies when participating in adventure recreation activities, including climbing, and other forms of adventure tourism. Therefore, inferences can be drawn on how women's constraints negotiation manifest when participating in mountaineering

tourism. For example, ignoring hegemonic femininity and associated traits is a popular negotiation strategy used by women (e.g. Kiewa, 2001a; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). However, within the adventure recreation literature, including climbing, there is also evidence of women conforming to stereotypical gendered behaviour by accentuating their femininity to progress in the sport (e.g. Kiewa, 2001a; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). Similarly, seeking women-only groups was used by women across adventure settings to overcome constraints (e.g. Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; Loeffler, 1997; Plate, 2007). Likewise, training, suspending participation and choosing to participate with one's family are all popular negotiation strategies used by both female adventure tourists and women who enjoy recreational adventure (e.g. Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2000; 2002a; Myers & Hannam, 2008).

Compared with constraints, only a few of the negotiation strategies which are identified in this review, specifically within the adventure tourism and recreation literature (e.g. Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Myers & Hannam, 2008), have also been reported by women in a tourism context (e.g. Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wilson & Little, 2008) (see P1). These are motivation and passion, researching a destination to identify and then avoid male domains, and to travel with others. Given the identification of these negotiation strategies across the three subject areas, it can be assumed that these may also be used by women when negotiating participation constraints in a mountaineering tourism context.

While a positive and active approach to their participation is evident, it is also apparent that women are still operating within a set of constraints and opportunities when participating in adventure in both recreation and tourism settings. Despite the women in these studies having found strategies to negotiate their participation in these male-dominated spaces, Laurendeau and Sharara (2008) argue that they have not, for the most part, engaged in strategies that fundamentally challenge the institutional context that marginalises and trivialises them, and may very well do the same to future generations of women in these sports. They describe this as 'radical resistance'

(p. 44) and there is very little evidence of this in the other studies reviewed which is likely to result in significant change and challenge hegemonic ideas about gender in these sports. However, change might be occurring incrementally and further examination of the longer-term impacts of the negotiation strategies highlighted in this review may reveal this. Moreover, strategies that appear to support stereotypical gendered behaviour, through further investigation, may in fact in some way contribute to social change. Furthermore, research could also explore if the level of resistance and negotiation changes as life situations change through a woman's life course, which some of the reviewed studies imply. Finally, with the exception of Fendt and Wilson's (2012) study, the reviewed studies were conducted more than a decade ago and they may no longer reflect women's contemporary experiences of adventure.

As previously indicated, through the process of constraint negotiation women are actively empowering themselves, which enhances their experiences and encourages their self-confidence and to develop as individuals. Without these challenges their adventure experience was of less value. This suggests that women's resistance to constraints is driven by their desire and commitment to adventure and the expected benefits they will gain from participation. The benefits of adventure for women participating in both recreation and tourism contexts will now be explored.

2.4 Benefits of Adventure Participation for Women

Few studies have specifically focused on the benefits of adventure tourism and adventure recreation for women (see McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Myers, 2010; Whittington, Mack, Budwill & McKenney, 2011) and, to the author's knowledge, no studies have investigated the benefits of mountaineering for women in either of these contexts. However, like constraints and negotiation, insights can be drawn from studies that have researched women's general experience of mountaineering and other adventure activities in these settings. P1 (Appendix 1) proposes five comprehensive benefit categories with subcategories based on the key benefits expressed by women within the extant

adventure tourism, adventure recreation and tourism literature. These are a sense of freedom, self-development, social encounters, heightened bodily experience and female company. Subsequently, a review of mountaineering literature also revealed that benefits can be categorised within the aforementioned categories. However, a new benefit category also emerged during the literature review process which relates to packaged adventure tourism experiences. This has been included in the following discussion. The benefits identified in the literature are largely experienced during participation, however, as previously discussed in 2.2 and highlighted in P1, women may also experience the unexpected benefit of feeling empowered from negotiating constraints. As above, the following discussion examines the benefits of recreational mountaineering and mountaineering tourism activities specifically, and then in relation to adventure tourism and adventure recreation activities more generally and addresses RQ3, RQ3a, RQ3b and RO1. Consequently, for the purpose of this discussion, tourism literature has been excluded. To conclude, the benefits identified in the extant literature are presented in a matrix to identify the similarities and frequencies.

2.4.1 Benefits of Mountaineering and Mountaineering Tourism for Women

Women have commented on the *sense of freedom* mountaineering activities provide. Rock climbing has been described as something of their own, which they treasured (Kiewa, 2001b) and mountaineering tourism as an opportunity to escape life's pressures, experience the beauty of nature, encounter wilderness, and experience remoteness and solitude (Carr, 1997).

Benefits relating to *self-development* have been found to be some of the most pertinent benefits for women participating in mountaineering activities. Guided mountaineering tourism has been described as enabling women to challenge themselves and to experience and minimise risks, whilst learning and testing new skills (Carr, 1997). The physical exercise mountaineering provides and overcoming challenges in the natural environment, which provides women with a sense of achievement, have also been noted as key benefits to mountaineering tourism (*ibid*). By comparison, in a recreational context, rock

climbing has enabled women to have an increased understanding of themselves, in particular their physical capabilities and their specialist skills (Dilley & Scraton, 2011). Developing an identity has also been found to be important to female mountaineers. This identity unites mountaineers by a common lifestyle, removed from societal norm, based on values which reflect contact with nature, personal development, challenging experiences, excursions to specific climbing locations, and human relations (Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008).

Social encounters and inter-personal interactions experienced whilst rock climbing have also been noted as a benefit of participation, especially for continued participation. As women become increasingly involved with climbing and its subculture, they cease to value mainstream culture where they feel they do not 'fit in' (Dilley & Scraton, 2011). Climbing provides these women with a space in which they feel accepted and an empowering sense of belonging. Women have also described using climbing to challenge traditional notions of gender not only through climbing, but also in other areas of their lives (*ibid*), and this made the women feel different from other women. They did not see themselves as 'normal' women, nor did they want to be. Therefore, some women climb to differentiate themselves from traditional femininity and, by doing so, they construct their climbing and mountaineering identity (*ibid*). By comparison, some women wish to maintain their femininity and use climbing as a means to prove themselves as a climber equal to their male counterparts (Plate, 2007).

Benefits relating to *embodied experiences* have also been identified in the extant literature. Female rock climbers recollect their climbing experiences through bodily movement. Climbing makes them feel strong, fit and physically active, and emphasis was placed on what their body could do, rather than how it looked (Dilley & Scraton, 2011). Consequently, women expressed feeling empowered by their alternative physique to other women. Heightened and different emotions have also been noted. Women have commented on the enjoyment of controlling their fear whilst climbing, enabling them to use their skills to good effect so that the climb is completed successfully (Kiewa, 2001b).

This leads to a sense of exhilaration and immense personal satisfaction from the knowledge that they are good at performing under stress. A sense of joy and exhilaration of climbing and reaching the summit has also been expressed by female mountaineer tourists (Carr, 1997).

Finally, *female company* when climbing is considered essential for some women to ensure an enjoyable experience. Alongside self-development, this is one of the key benefit categories in the extant literature. Women are considered less competitive and more supportive than their male counterparts (Kiewa, 2001a; Plate, 2007). Feeling part of a team, both contributing and learning from each other, has also been noted as being crucial to the enjoyment of the climbing experience, and for some women, this desired sense of equality can only be achieved when climbing with other women (Kiewa, 2001a). Furthermore, women have reported finding they climb harder with other women, they are more confident in leading a climbing route, they are inspired more, and they feel they can be more themselves (Plate, 2007). Therefore, women's preference to climb with other women is not simply about the social or relational aspects, although these are still important to some, but they must occur within the challenging context of the rock climbing experience (Keiwa, 2001a; Plate, 2007). As fewer women than men participate in mountaineering activities, by default, it is more common for women to climb with men. Therefore, all women climbing groups and events and organisations specifically for women are appealing, as they give a space for women to connect with one another and experience a new dynamic whilst climbing (Plate, 2007).

2.4.2 Benefits of Adventure Tourism for Women

Unlike mountaineering, women have cited a *sense of freedom* as being a key benefit of their participation across a range of adventure tourism activities. The sense of freedom is not simply a result of taking time out from everyday life, although this has been recorded as a benefit of participation (Elsrud, 1998; McKercher & Davidson, 1994). Rather, adventure tourism represents time for themselves. In particular, adventure travel has been described as a space of freedom where women can take time out from familial constraints and domestic

responsibilities (Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2017; Obenour, 2005). This pause from duties provides women with a period to gather strength and self-esteem before returning to their responsibilities (Elsrud, 1998; 2005) and it gives women an opportunity to experience out of the ordinary activities, which can result in increased self-actualisation (Myers, 2017). Older women in particular have noted being able to challenge their historical inherited gendered roles through their participation in adventure tourism and consequently they were able to experience the feeling of empowerment and a strong sense of freedom and personal achievement (Myers, 2017). In addition, some women have described adventure tourism as a way out of stereotypical femininity and an act of emancipation, resulting in them feeling stronger, more independent and self-reliant (Elsrud, 2005). Backpacking journeys are expressed as periods of freedom and of personal choice. Women have benefited from the freedom of structuring their own days, planning their route of travel and choosing their company (Elsrud, 1988; Obenour, 2005). Women have also noted the anonymity that backpacking provides, where they are unrecognisable from the local residents, their culture and from fellow travellers, which induces a sense of freedom (Obenour, 2005). Finally, participation in adventure activities whilst on holiday has been cited by women as an opportunity to recharge their batteries, relax and improve their mood through fresh air and scenery (Myers, 2017). Being in the natural environment provoked reflective awareness of self. It provided time to self-assess their reactions to the challenges and achievements they have experienced during their adventure travels, which lead to a sense of freedom of body and mind (Myers, 2017).

The opportunity that adventure tourism provides for *self-development* is a prominent theme within the extant literature. In particular, a number of studies have identified adventure travel as a means for women to explore aspects of their self-identity and accumulate capital. For example, backpacking has been used by women to challenge the masculine adventure discourse and to affirm that women are just as competent at adventurous travel as men are. In doing so, women have constructed their own adventurous identity (Elsrud, 2005). Women have also used the destination where participation occurs and the adventure activity itself to gain adventure capital whilst travelling and to reaffirm

their adventure identity (Myers, 2010). For instance, bungee jumping at the place of its origin in New Zealand, or, for some adventure capital is gained by participating in less popular adventure destinations as they are deemed more authentic. Regardless, participation helps women construct their adventure identity and narrative, which they share through storytelling to others, and consequently, female travellers have noted feeling different from those back home (Myers, 2010). Similarly, female backpackers have also commented on accumulating cultural capital through visiting 'must see' prominent cultural attractions (Obenour, 2005). These sights were important for the traveller to relate their adventures to family and friends at home, and as a source of advice for fellow backpackers on areas such as logistics of visiting the sights. Accordingly, in addition to gaining cultural capital through participating, cultural capital was also accumulated from these audiences.

Specific to commercially organised adventure tourism, the opportunity to learn new skills, be challenged, take risks, overcome fear and be physically active whilst on holiday are key self-development benefits of participation (McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Myers, 2010). Women have described a strong sense of achievement, pride and self-development from their participation as they are able to push themselves beyond their previous limit, which makes their participation fun and enjoyable and leads to increased confidence, a sense of empowerment and a wealth of narrative to be retold to others (Myers, 2010; 2017). It is of note that risk taking is not the key objective of participation in organised adventure tourism, rather it is seen as a necessity of participation (*ibid*). Nevertheless, risk taking formed part of their adventure stories, which were to be repeated and used as a tool to construct a new adventurous identity (*ibid*). Travelling to new and natural areas to enjoy the outdoors whilst challenging themselves and having an adventure were also regarded of high importance for a beneficial adventure tourism experience. For some women, self-development was gained by becoming more independent (Elsrud, 1998)

Unlike recreational adventure activities, *packaged adventure tourism experiences* provide women with a number of unique participation benefits. The convenience, ease and simplicity of this type of holiday where an itinerary has

already been designed, dates have been set, trip components have been packaged and other participants have been found is very appealing to women. When combined with the expertise and local knowledge of the guides and leaders and the equipment provided, this enables women to overcome a number of social, time and societal barriers (McKercher & Davidson, 1994). This makes women feel safer and secure, especially if travelling in an unfamiliar area and participating in an unfamiliar activity (McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Myers, 2010). Consequently, women feel comfortable trying something new and different, whether that is the activity itself or travelling to a new area or new natural environment. Women have also commented on feeling that these commercially organised adventure experiences were as accessible to them as to their male counterparts (Myers, 2010). Therefore, participating in an organised adventure experience is both a benefit and a negotiation strategy.

Social encounters have been particularly noted by female backpackers as a key benefit of their participation. Encounters with local residents, particularly indigenous people who are untouched by modernity, has been described as providing an authentic experience, where they can regain some of what they have lost by living in Western society (Elsrud, 1998) and it is the only way they feel they can truly learn about a culture (Obenour, 2005). This also distinguishes them from other forms of travel, in which participants were referred to as tourists who engage in sightseeing, and it strengthens their backpacker identity. Interacting with the locals elicited enduring memories that enriched their identity as independent backpackers (Obenour, 2005) and symbolic capital was gained if they travelled 'off the beaten track' to visit these people (Elsrud, 1998). Another prominent form of social interaction is with other likeminded fellow backpackers. A sense of community is formed when travelling, which provides important travel advice and prevents periods of loneliness (Obenour, 2005). Some women have told of close friendships developing in a few hours and honesty among other travellers, which they have not experienced before in their everyday lives (Elsrud, 1998). Commercially organised adventure tourism has also been described as providing women with the opportunity to socialise with likeminded people, be it with old friends or meeting new friends (McKercher & Davidson, 1994). This was one of the most

highly ranked benefits of participation in this study. Similarly, the relationship with a guide is considered critical to the success of a packaged adventure tourism holiday. The women in McKercher and Davidson's (1994) study spoke of their nurturing ability, their encouraging comments, their ability to provide a non-threatening learning environment and the positive rapport they developed with them to be important factors of a successful adventure tourism holiday.

Finally, adventure tourism has also been described as an *embodied experience.* Through their participation female adventure tourists have described their bodies and emotions being awakened (Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2017) as they absorbed elements of both the natural environment around them and the specific emotional and physical feelings associated with the activity they were performing (Myers, 2010). Therefore, adventure tourism participation provides women with time to listen to their bodies (Elsrud, 1998). Firstly, women have recollected their adventure experiences through bodily movements. Demands on the body, such as the ache during long bicycle rides and bus journeys, as well the feeling of falling and the force of water against their body, are remembered positively and add value to the travelling experience (Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2010). A second theme is the sensual experience, with women reflecting on the visual sight, but also the sounds (the crisp sound of snow and the ocean), smells (salt water, animals, flowers and market places), taste (food and drink) and touch (the weather, wind in their hair, the smoothness of the rock and the comfort of the accommodation), which enables women to put their experiences into context and feel connected with the activity and the environment they are in (Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2010). Simultaneously women can experience heightened and different emotions through adventure tourism. For example, the beauty of the landscape and the sounds whilst participating has been described as emotionally moving (Myers, 2010). Furthermore, experiencing fear and excitement during participation, especially if participation takes place within natural landscapes, can give women a deep sense of satisfaction, increased confidence, self-perception and self-development, special moments to treasure and moments of pleasure where bodily senses were activated and heightened (*ibid*).

2.4.3 Benefits of Adventure Recreation for Women

In parallel with female adventure tourists, the profound *sense of freedom* that adventure provides is also a central benefit to women participating in adventure recreation. In particular, the opportunity to be removed from everyday responsibilities, expectations and distractions and to have time for oneself is of particular importance to women participating in adventure recreation (Boniface, 2006; Henderson, 1996; Mitten, 1992; Pohl, Borrie & Patterson, 2000). Being in the outdoors with only limited possessions is considered to be a liberating and rewarding experience which elicits a sense of freedom (Boniface, 2006). A sense of freedom is also achieved through the beauty, peacefulness, isolation and solitude of the outdoors, which some find to be their spiritual home, and it can make them feel rejuvenated (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Pohl et al., 2000). Wilderness settings have also been found to induce self-reflection, offering one insight into self-purpose and self-worth, and a shift in perspective. The deep connection with nature can provoke women to re-evaluate their priorities, critique materialism, body image and acceptable social conduct (Pohl et al., 2000). As such, adventure recreation is seen as valuable in terms of its benefits to women's mental health (Boniface, 2006).

The opportunity for *self-development* is also of high importance to women participating in adventure recreation. Like female adventure tourists, a great sense of satisfaction and achievement after successfully completing a demanding mental and physical challenge, particularly if it required controlling one's fear, has been reported (Boniface, 2006; Pohl et al., 2000). As 'challenges in the outdoors test emotional, physical, intellectual and spiritual competence to personal limits seldom experienced in everyday life, actions have more significance and achievements become more meaningful' (Boniface, 2006, p.17). Accordingly, women have expressed feeling different to other women who do not participate in adventurous activities as their lives appear lacking in stimulation and are inconsequential (*ibid*, 2006). Thus, participation enables women to develop an adventure identity that differentiates them from 'outsiders' of a high-risk sporting subculture and, simultaneously, a sense of belonging and being an 'insider'. The opportunities that adventure recreation provide for

personal challenge also enable women to realise their own abilities, strength and self-reliance, which leads to increased confidence and self-esteem (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Boniface, 2006; Pohl et al., 2000). A sense of gender role empowerment may also arise as women begin to realise that they are not less capable, less physically skilled or poorer in decision-making than males, which, through socialisation, they have been led to believe (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Loeffler, 1997).

For some women a positive adventure recreation experience is more meaningful when shared, thus *social encounters* with other likeminded people are central to the experience. Many women value the shared and supported experience that participation can provide (Boniface, 2006; Pohl et al., 2000), sometimes considering the social aspect of adventure recreation to be the more important than other aspects of the experience, such as the physical challenge (Boniface, 2006). The type and intensity of experiences that can be found in adventure recreation participation can lead to the formation of close bonds between participants and result in meaningful long-term relationships (Boniface, 2006; Pohl et al., 2000), which in turn can heighten a sense of belonging (Boniface, 2006) and create memories which continue to be an important part of their lives (Pohl et al., 2000).

Similar to the other adventure settings, an *embodied experience* has been described, particularly with regards to bodily movement and heighted and differing emotions. For example, placing one's body in physically demanding situations, such as carrying heavy equipment over a long distance, provide women with an opportunity to feel connected to one's body in a way that one would not normally, to feel an empowering sense of physical confidence and competence and to experience gender resistance, allowing one to be aware of their body in a way that transcended simply that of scrutinising her appearance (McDermott, 2004). In these situations, women have described realising that they had underestimated their physical abilities and skills. Feelings of excitement and euphoria when they are able to control their mental and physical skills in challenging situations, which makes them feel alive, has also been reported (Boniface, 2006).

The benefits of *all-female groups* in adventure recreation have been studied extensively by scholars (see Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Hornibrook, Brinkert, Parry Seimens, Mitten & Priest*,* 1997; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al.*,* 2011). Women have reported preferring all-female groups as they provide women with the freedom to be themselves, and not judged by their male counterparts (Whittington et al., 2011), and to be able to express their feelings in a supportive and non-competitive environment where they can work on their fears and focus on developing their skills (Hornibrook et al., 1997; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Pohl et al., 2000; Whittington et al., 2011). By comparison, women have commented on 'performance pressure' involved in mixed-gender settings, whereby they felt they had to prove their competency if males were there, which they wanted to avoid (McDermott, 2004). Consequently, all-female groups are considered to be less intimidating than mixed groups, particularly when participating in an activity for the first time. Women enjoy the perceived sense of equality within all-female groups and are able to escape imposed gender roles (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Hornibrook et al., 1997; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Pohl et al., 2000; Whittington et al.*,* 2011), particularly in relation to the division of labour during the experience (e.g. women cook and men take charge of activities requiring physical strength and technical skills) (McDermott, 2004).This allows women to participate more fully in the experience, rather than becoming 'a non-participating observer in their experiences' had there been men present (McDermott, 2004, p.290). Women desired to be active rather than passive agents within their adventure recreation experiences, inducing increased self-understanding, particularly their confidence, self-esteem, self-belief, independence and their physical abilities, 'characteristics traditionally gendered masculine' (McDermott, 2004, p.291), which can lead to feelings of empowerment (McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al., 2011).Women have also noted being able to challenge themselves and stretch their physical limits in these groups compared to mixed-gender groups, providing empowering lived-experiences of physical competence and confidence (McDermott, 2004). In addition, all-female groups guided by caring

female leaders has also been noted as contributing significantly to making their experience more positive (Mitten, 1992).

Another prominent theme for these women is the importance of shared experiences, in terms of the sense of community, meeting like-minded people and the friendships that arise from participation in all-female groups (Hornibrook et al., 1997; McDermott, 2004; Whittington et al., 2011). Women discover how enjoyable and powerful it feels to be part of an all-female group, resulting in a desire to participate again (Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al., 2011). Choosing to do an all-female adventure experience in a historically masculine practice, points to a gender resistance (McDermott, 2004). 'Women's individual and collective actions and their overt independence challenges traditional concepts of what constitutes women's behaviours and abilities' (Humberstone & Pedersen, 2000, p. 104) and 'challenges women's perceptions of themselves' (*ibid,* p. 106). Furthermore, all-female groups provide women with an opportunity to explore their physicality in a shared way and enable them to collectively resist dominant gender constructions of the physically active female body (McDermott, 2004). This, in turn, has empowering consequences for women as participation presents them with alternative understandings of their physicality and enables them to recognise they are physically capable, competent and strong, which McDermott (2004) argues, would not have occurred in the company of males. While a women-only approach to adventure recreation can empower women physically and socially, paradoxically, Humberstone and Pedersen (2000) argue it can also contribute to the reproduction of dichotomised gendered ways of thinking if used as the main or only strategy for change. However, as adventure is largely participated in by men, women-only experiences provide an opportunity to meet other likeminded women, which can be difficult in mixed-gender settings.

Table 6 provides a summary of the types and frequency of participation benefits identified in the extant literature. For female mountaineers, the opportunity for self-development was a key benefit of participation in both settings. However, the sense of freedom that participation provides is more important to female mountaineer tourists than their recreation counterparts. This is likely due to the

remote locations in which mountaineering tourism can take place, whereas rock climbing crags (the focus of the recreation studies) are often close to roads and habitations and may not elicit as much of a sense of freedom. By comparison, the other benefit categories have been noted more by female recreation mountaineers, rather than tourism equals. However, as this review of research is only able to draw on one mountaineering tourism paper, this provides a limited source of information.

When looking at other adventure activities, women have expressed more participation benefits of adventure tourism than adventure recreation, despite their being fewer adventure tourism studies to draw from. These benefits largely relate to a sense of freedom and self-development, although a number of benefits have been specifically attributed to their participation in commercially organised adventure tourism. Interestingly, participation in all-women recreation groups is of importance, yet participating with other women was not mentioned in the adventure tourism literature.

The matrix reveals that there are commonalities amongst all of the studies, most notably the opportunity to have time away from everyday life, for self-reflection and to realise one's capabilities. Participation, particularly if challenging, leads to heightened emotions, increased confidence and a sense of achievement. Furthermore, each of these settings enables women to challenge traditional notions of femininity and gender roles.

When comparing the reviewed benefit literature to the tourism literature presented in P1, a number of similarities in women's participation benefits are apparent. In particular a sense of freedom, time for self, empowerment, increased confidence, personal development and the opportunity to educate themselves through travel were identified as key benefits for women who travel independently and by themselves (e.g. Harris & Wilson, 2007; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wilson & Little, 2005; 2008; Pennington-Gray & Kersetter, 2001). As aforementioned, whilst these benefits are similar to those reported by female adventure tourists, these studies were not included in this review as they include the experiences of women participating in package holidays, business

travel and independent travel, and not adventure tourism. Nevertheless, these findings strengthen the likelihood that these participation benefits may also be experienced by female mountaineer tourists.

Table 6: Benefits of adventure participation matrix

	Recreational		Tourism	
	Benefit (No. of Papers = 5)	**Freq.**	**Benefit** (No. of Papers = 1)	**Freq.**
Mountaineering Activities	Space of their own	1	Escape everyday life	1
	Sense of self	1	Nature, wilderness & remoteness	1
	Appreciation of capabilities & skills	1	Solitude	1
	Climber/mountaineer identity	2	Challenge	1
	Sense of belonging	1	Experience & manage skills	1
	Challenge traditional notions of gender	2	Learn & test skills	1
	Bodily movement	1	Sense of achievement	1
	Heightened & differing emotions	1	Physical exercise	1
	Female climbing partners	2	Heightened emotions	1
	Benefit (No. of Papers = 10)	**Freq.**	**Benefit** (No. of Papers = 6)	**Freq.**
Adventure Activities	Escape everyday life	4	Escape everyday life	2
	Time for yourself	4	Time for yourself	3
	Isolation	1	Increased self-esteem	2
	Solitude	2	Increased self-actualisation	1
	Beauty, peacefulness & spiritual home	1	Experience something different	1
	Rejuvenation	1	Challenge traditional gender roles & femininity	3
	Time for self-reflection	1	Independence and self-reliant	2
	Sense of achievement	2	Make own decisions	2
	Adventure identity	1	Anonymity	1
	Challenged	3	Relaxation	1
	Increased confidence	1	Self-reflection	1
	Self-reliance & independence	3	Adventure identity	3
	Realise abilities & strength	3	Accumulate adventure capital	4
	Increased self-esteem	2	Learn new skills	2
	Escape gender roles	8	Be challenged	2
	Meet likeminded people	2	Take risks	2
	Shared & supportive experiences	2	Overcome f ear	2
	Form meaningful relationships	2	Physically active	2
	Sense of belonging	1	Increased confidence	2
	Heightened & differing emotions	1	Sense of achievement	2
	Bodily movement	1	Sense of empowerment	2
	Freedom to be themselves	1	Adventure narrative to share	2
	All-female groups	7	Participation in packaged adventure	2
			Experience local culture	1
			Sense of community	1
			Meet likeminded people	2
			Bodily movement	2
			Sensual experience	2
			Heightened & differing emotions	1

By reviewing the literature, it is apparent that constraints, negotiation and benefits have been examined independently of one another, with the exception of Little's (2000; 2002a) and Fendt and Wilson's (2012) work, which examined together the constraints and negotiation strategies of women participating in adventure recreation and adventure tourism respectively. By comparison, this doctoral study recognises these as important interrelated elements of a woman's mountaineering tourism experience and a conceptual model is presented in the following chapter to illustrate this and to achieve RO2.

3.0 Conceptual Model

A conceptual model is presented (Figure 1) to illustrate the relationships and processes between women's participation constraints, constraint negotiation and the benefits of mountaineering tourism (RO2, RQ4, RQ4a & RQ4b). Earlier conceptualisations of women's experiences of mountaineering and other adventure activities in both tourism and recreation settings are combined to exemplify the model. By bringing together these studies, integrative categories of constraints, negotiations and benefits are proposed to enhance our understanding of female mountaineer tourists. The conceptual framework presented in P1 illustrates a woman's negotiated journey to adventure tourism and was developed to appeal to a broad audience with an interest in the subject of women's adventure tourism participation. To reflect the mountaineering tourism focus of this doctoral thesis, Figure 1 is an adaptation of this earlier conceptual framework. This has largely resulted in re-labelling original categories, however, the review of literature presented in Chapter 2 revealed a sixth benefit category (packaged adventure tourism) which has been included in Figure 1.

The model reveals that a woman's journey through constraint negotiation to a beneficial mountaineering tourism experience is not a linear process, but a multi-dimensional one. Women can encounter constraints before they travel, but also at different stages of their mountaineering tourism experience. These constraints have been broadly categorised into intra-personal, inter-personal and structural constraints, yet each category should not be considered in isolation. Each constraint category informs and influences the other, producing a series of interconnected constraints that women can encounter simultaneously. For example, a lack of time due to the social expectation of placing family needs before personal mountaineering tourism aspirations, and the consequent sense of guilt can make women question their ethic of care and prevent them from pursuing mountaineering tourism (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Fendt & Wilson, 2012). Similarly, if family and friends believe it to be unsafe to travel alone, visit a certain destination or participate in a particular

adventure activity, this can cause or contribute to a woman's personal fears and self-doubt, which can be exacerbated if they are unable to find a travel companion (e.g. Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little & Wilson, 2005). It has also been reported that male climbers support traditional gender roles and restrict women from making decisions whilst climbing and leading routes, thus not allowing women to realise their capabilities. Consequently, women continue to doubt their abilities (Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008; Plate, 2007).

Figure 1: Conceptual model: A woman's negotiated journey in mountaineering tourism

Women's Constraints on Mountaineering Tourism Participation

Intra-personal | Inter-personal | Structural

Experienced Before & During Participation

Unable or unwilling to overcome constraints

Does not participate

Accepts constraints and engages in negotiation

Women's Constraint Negotiation in Mountaineering Tourism

FEELINGS OF EMPOWERMENT

Determination | Planning & Preparing | Need to Prioritise & Make Compromises

Experienced Before & During Participation

Negotiates constraints and participates in mountaineering tourism

Women's Benefits of Mountaineering Tourism

FEELINGS OF EMPOWERMENT

Sense of Freedom | Social Encounters | Packaged Adventure Tourism

Experienced Before & During Mountaineering Tourism

Self-Development | Embodied Experience | All-Female Groups

Post-Participation Reflection & Revaluation

While women's intra-personal constraints are embedded and thus mirror their inter-personal constraints, inter-personal constraints are strongly associated with the structural constraints women may encounter when planning for mountaineering tourism. For example, the media's masculine portrayal of adventure does little to inspire women to participate in mountaineering tourism (e.g. Frohlick, 2005; Little, 2002a). Instead, this can inadvertently strengthen women's perception that they are unadventurous or that mountaineering is a masculine domain and therefore deters women from participating. For some, constraints act as a barrier to participation and they are either unable or unwilling to overcome them. Consequently, they will not participate. For others, who are committed to the benefits of mountaineering tourism, constraints are challenged and resisted. Accordingly, they enter a process of negotiation.

Like constraints, this process of negotiation can take place before and during the mountaineering tourism experience. For some women, their passion for mountaineering and their determination to participate is a strong enough negotiation strategy in itself. For others, they need to engage in more challenging strategies, such as intensive planning and preparation or compromising on their preferred mountaineering holiday, to ensure participation. What is apparent is the agency demonstrated by women in the act of negotiation, inferring that there is a clear relationship between motivation and constraint negotiation. Moreover, if one is highly motivated to participate, fewer constraints are perceived and therefore fewer negotiation strategies are employed (Fendt & Wilson, 2012). Whilst constraints can be restricting and prevent participation, if negotiated, they can also be very enabling and have clear empowering benefits as, through the process of constraint negotiation, women can discover how resourceful and capable they are. In doing so, women can gain a deep sense of achievement and empowerment, enhancing their journey and making it more meaningful. Accordingly, women can begin to experience benefits before participation. As aforementioned, the relationship between constraint, constraint negotiation and benefits has been neglected in past research, likewise so has the empowering benefits of this negotiated journey. Fendt and Wilson (2012) call for an examination of the empowering benefits of constraint negotiation to women participating in adventurous

activities. Similarly, as motivation plays a significant role in the way women deal with constraints, they propose that the interrelationship between motivation, constraint and negotiation needs further inquiry. While this doctoral study did not explore the latter, it did endeavor to provide insight into the former, specifically by examining the opportunity for women's empowerment through their participation in mountaineering tourism (see RQ3b). Still, the majority of benefits are experienced during participation and, similar to Pohl et al.'s (2000) study, the benefits reported in the extant literature appear to be closely aligned to the constraints cited by women, as participation positively affected the women intra-personally, inter-personally and more broadly. For example, women gained confidence and were able to develop and test their skills and explore their mountaineering identity (inter-personal). Participation also allowed women to meet likeminded people and form close friendships through shared experiences (inter-personal). These intra-personal and inter-personal benefits affected women more broadly as their participation enabled them to challenge gender norms. Therefore, participation can shape an individual, but also the very system in which they live and interact with others (Pohl et al., 2000). Although, Laurendeau and Sharara (2008) would argue that there is little evidence of radical resistance to gender discrimination in adventure sports that is likely to result in a sweeping change.

While six broad benefit categories have been proposed, what permeates through these categories is the sense of empowerment women can gain from their participation. The World Tourism Organisation (2008; 2010) define empowerment as a critical aspect of gender equality where men and women can take control over their lives, gain skills, have their skills and knowledge recognised, enjoy the same opportunities, increase self-confidence and develop self-reliance. Whilst not all of the studies reviewed explicitly refer to women gaining empowerment through their participation, many report the characteristics which form this definition, such as increased confidence and skill development. This sense of empowerment is palpable through much of a woman's negotiated journey to participation in mountaineering tourism, suggesting that mountaineering tourism can be used as an act of empowerment by women, which can lead to a strong desire to participate again.

After experiencing the benefits of mountaineering tourism and feeling empowered by the experience, which can induce the motivation to participate again, women may reflect on their negotiated journey and begin to view more positively the constraints they previously overcame. Some constraints may no longer be considered as a barrier and are rejected the next time a woman pursues mountaineering tourism. Other constraints may be considered less of a barrier, making them easier to negotiate next time. Accordingly, constraint, negotiation and benefit categories are not fixed and can change each time a woman engages with mountaineering tourism. Therefore, these findings also suggest that a woman's negotiated journey to mountaineering tourism participation is not a static, linear process but a cyclical process, one of constraint negotiation, reflection and revaluation throughout their lives. By adopting an integrated non-linear approach, rather than examining constraints, negotiation and benefits separately, insights can be gained into the opportunities for women's empowerment through mountaineering tourism. However, this model has emerged from largely reviewing literature on women's experiences of other adventure activities in tourism and recreation settings, as little mountaineering specific research exists. Furthermore, past studies have predominantly adopted a qualitative approach, except for Hudson (2000). Therefore, to achieve RO3 and RO4, the applicability of this model was tested within a mountaineering tourism context utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods.

4.0 Methodology

This chapter presents the philosophical and theoretical process that I went through as part of my doctoral studies and my experience of data collection and analysis. First, the philosophical perspective that this study adopted and how this changed throughout the doctoral study will be presented. The chapter will then turn to the mixed methods (MM) approach of this research and each methodology will be discussed in turn, first the qualitative phenomenology-based ethnography component, followed by the quantitative survey component. Here the data collection methods and analysis procedures for each methodology will be discussed and how RO3 and RO4 were achieved. Finally, the strategies used to merge the two sets of results to enable the interpretation of the collective findings are presented.

4.1 Research Philosophy

At the start of my doctoral research journey I considered myself to be a qualitative researcher influenced by the interpretive paradigm. I believed that the social world was complex and that there were multiple explanations or realities to explain a phenomenon (Jennings, 2010). Therefore, whilst I did not completely reject the positivist and objectivist approach to social inquiry, which sets out to explain social behaviour by the testing of theories (Jennings, 2010), I struggled to find an affinity with this approach to this specific study. Instead, I believed that the research process was subjective, and that the social world could only be understood from the point of view of those who operate in it. To gain an insider or 'emic' perspective in order to develop inductive explanations of phenomena, i.e. to hear the individual stories of female mountaineer tourists, I planned to conduct ethnographic research during a number of commercially organised mountaineering holidays. However, when I began to design my fieldwork some challenges emerged, most notably women's low participation in these types of holidays and an absence of women-only commercially organised mountaineering holidays, thus providing limited opportunities to collect ethnographic data with female mountaineer tourists. Whilst I did identify a

commercially organised mountaineering expedition that unusually had more than one or two female clients registered (four in total), this only provided a limited sample. In order to achieve the study's overall aim, which is to explore women's constraints on participation in mountaineering tourism, their process of negotiating these constraints and the benefits of participation, it was necessary to explore alternative settings and methodologies. Consequently, a MM approach was adopted as it was deemed that a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches would provide a more complete understanding of the research problem than qualitative methods alone (Creswell, 2014), as it allows for the measurement of both the frequency and the experiential significance of the phenomena (Greene & Hall, 2010). The intention was not to juxtapose etic with emic data, but to synthesise the theory driven etic data with the emic contextualised individual narratives of meaning to provide a more complete picture of the phenomena (Greene & Hall, 2010).

As I had no experience of conducting or analysing quantitative research, I was apprehensive about incorporating this into the study and moving away from an interpretivist paradigm. However, rather than adjusting the study's research aim and objectives to suit the problem, thereby removing the focus on women and exploring the experiences of both genders, I decided to stay true to this study's aim and research objectives and focus on the research problem. By focusing on the research problem, rather than a specific methodology or philosophical worldview (i.e. interpretivism/ethnography or positivism/survey research) and drawing on a range of methods to derive knowledge about the problem, a pragmatic approach was taken, which is considered to be the philosophical underpinning for MM (Creswell, 2014; Greene, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality, and researchers draw liberally from both quantitative and qualitative assumptions, which opens the door to multiple methods, different perspectives and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2014). Consequently, Greene (2007, p.20) believes that MM research provides 'multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple ways of making sense of the social world and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued and cherished'.

Before deciding on pragmatism, time was spent considering the role and value of different paradigmatic assumptions and stances, and the practicality of mixing paradigms when mixing methods in relation to the aim, objectives and research questions of this study. Specifically, two MM stances were evaluated: the dialectic stance, which advocates the mixing of different philosophical assumptions in dialogic fashion, and the alternative paradigm stance, which endorses pragmatism when mixing methods in social inquiry and places importance on the research question, rather than the method and the philosophy that underlies the method (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Green & Hall, 2010). A dialectic stance was rejected as it seeks to generate insight and understanding through meaningfully engaging with difference, and valuing and seeking dissonance across data sets as a means to deeper insight. Therefore, a dialectic inquirer is 'specifically attuned to philosophy and to the assumptions, stances, and values underlying the multiple philosophical frameworks that are guiding the inquiry' (Green & Hall, 2010, p.138). In contrast, the pragmatist rejects dualism and difference, and mixes knowledge to inform solutions to the problem being studied. Therefore, while pragmatists recognise the different data sets, they are attentive to the actionable value of it in addressing the problem being studied. The intention of this doctoral study was not to explore the experiences of women participating in mountaineering tourism by seeking differences and 'conversations' among the MM data sets. Instead, it aimed to understand female mountaineer tourists by gathering multiple perspectives and sets of data to inform the practical problem, which is to explore women's barriers to mountaineering tourism and how they negotiate them, to understand the importance of mountaineering tourism to women and the benefits they enjoy from participation, and ultimately to inform practice and increase female participation in mountaineering tourism.

4.2 Mixed Methods Research

As previously discussed, a MM design was not selected *a priori*. Rather, this study began with a qualitative ethnographic component that consisted of overt observations, informal discussions, group discussions, interviews and my

personal reflective accounts of co-experiencing. However, due to the small female sample and the fieldwork being limited to one type of mountaineering, a quantitative survey was added to the research design to explore women's experiences of a range of mountaineering activities. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010, p.8) refer to the selection and integration of the most appropriate techniques to more thoroughly investigate a phenomenon of interest as being 'methodological eclecticism', which Biesta (2010, p.96) purports as being just simply 'sound pragmatism'. Adopting a pragmatic approach allowed for different paradigms to influence each phase of the study, namely an interpretive phenomenology theoretical perspective influenced the qualitative ethnography research and a positivist theoretical perspective influenced the quantitative survey. The paradigms that influenced both the qualitative and quantitative components of the study will be discussed in the following sections when the practical and methodological approaches to each component of the study will be discussed.

A key characteristic of MM research is to not view qualitative and quantitative methods as two opposing stances. Rather, emphasis is placed on how they can coexist in a multidimensional continuum to achieve the study's research questions and objectives (Niglas, 2010). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) developed a framework to illustrate the most important methodological components of a research design and placed them on a continuum from purely qualitative to purely quantitative, which they called the multidimensional continuum of research projects. Figure 2 presents an adaptation of this model for this study, extending its original design by incorporating the philosophical and methodological continua of this doctoral study.

Figure 2: Multidimensional continuum of the study's research methodology

Sphere of Concepts (the study's aim, research questions and research objectives)		
Deductive questions (do I have these?)	← →	Inductive questions (do I have these?)
Objective purpose	← →	Subjective purpose
Seek confirmation	← →	Seek understanding
Seek explanations	← →	Exploratory
Sphere of Philosophy and Methodology (informed by pragmatism)		
Positivism	← →	Interpretivism (phenomenology)
Survey	← →	Ethnography
Sphere of Concrete Processes (methods, data collection and data analysis)		
Preplanned survey design	← →	Emergent research design in the field
Structured/closed-ended questions	← →	Open-ended questions
Numeric data	← →	Narrative data
Statistical analysis	← →	Thematic analysis
Probability sample	← →	Purposive sample
Sphere of Inferences and Explanations (interpretation)		
Deductive inferences	← →	Inductive inferences
Objective inferences	← →	Subjective inferences
Etic representation	← →	Emic representation

Source: Adapted from Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009

As MM research includes both qualitative and quantitative methods, an interactive and cyclical process of deductive and inductive logic is adopted in the same study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). This cyclical process in regard to this doctoral study is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Mixed methods research: a cyclical and interactive approach to research

Within the context of this study, the cycle of research began from personal observations identifying the underrepresentation of women participating in mountaineering tourism (1). A review of literature reinforced these observations and although there was scant research on women's participation in mountaineering, in both recreation and tourism contexts, research on women's experiences in other forms of adventure tourism and adventure activities revealed that women can face unique barriers to participation within these contexts and that through a process of negotiation they can overcome these challenges and experience the benefits of participation (2). Moving from a review of literature through to inductive logic, generalisations and assertions were made regarding women's constraints to participating in commercial mountaineering tourism, the negotiation of these constraints and the benefits that they may gain by overcoming these constraints and through their participation (3). From these generalisations and assertions, a conceptual

model was developed (4). This model was then used in both inductive and deductive contexts. First, it continued on an inductive path and the model provided a frame of reference for the ethnography fieldwork to explore (5a). Here there is an element of deduction as the conceptual model helped me to establish what to study when I was out in the field, i.e. to focus on constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits (RO3). However, the ethnography fieldwork was still inductive in nature as the categories, patterns and explanations relating to these three areas of inquiry were induced from the data. Second, the cycle followed a deductive path and the conceptual model was tested through a survey (RO4) (5b). The two strands are distinct and independent of one another, even during analysis, as employed by a convergent MM research design (see Figure 4). Findings from both sets of data were then merged and interpretation looked for multiple understandings from the two data sets to gain a more informed appreciation of the research problem (6). Finally, theory was then modified, but also constructed based on the merged results (RO5). During this time, the extant literature was reviewed again to identity any new findings or propositions on this subject, after which, future research is proposed.

As this study obtained different but complementary data on the same topic to best understand the research problem and the two data sets were not merged until the interpretation stage once the analysis had taken place, this study can be classified as having a convergent research design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Figure 4 illustrates how this study has used a convergent research design to develop an understanding of women's experiences of mountaineering tourism and to address this doctoral study's aim. First, the conceptual model developed in Chapter 3 was explored with participants during a commercially organised mountaineering holiday and then tested through a survey. Second, the ethnographic data from the mountaineering holiday and the survey data were analysed separately and independently from one another using qualitative thematic analysis and means and exploratory factor analysis quantitative procedures. Third, key themes identified in both data sets were compared, contrasted and combined. Finally, the merged results were interpreted and assessed to determine the extent to which the results from the two types of data converge, diverge and relate to one another, and how they produce a more

complete understanding of the research problem (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Figure 4: Convergent mixed methods research design

	Research Problem 1. What are the barriers to mountaineering tourism for women? 2. How are these negotiated? 3. What are the benefits of participating?		
STEP 1	**Qualitative Strand** • A commercially organised mountaineering holiday with female participants was identified (4 out of 12 were women). • Questions were developed to explore the conceptual model. • Ethnography data was collected through individual interviews, small group discussions, ad-hoc conversations, overt observations and through my personal lived experience. • Data was recorded in an electronic journal and a hand-written journal. • The experiences of both male and female participants were explored.	AND	**Quantitative Strand** • Online survey shared at the Women's Climbing Symposium, through Jagged Globe's and Mountain Training's social media, on the UKC online forum and WomenClimb's website and social media (n = 307) • Questions designed to test the conceptual model. • Female sample. • Women's experiences of mountaineering tourism were measured on five-point agreement/disagreement scales.
STEP 2	**Analyse Qualitative Data** • Findings from each data source triangulated. • Data thematically analysed using NVivo software. • Constraint, negotiation and benefit categories and sub-categories developed.	AND	**Analyse Quantitative Data** • The key constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits identified based on the mean values of the respondents' agreement/disagreement ratings. • Exploratory factor analysis using SPSS 24 and confirmatory factor analysis using AMOS 24 tested the categories of constraints, negotiation and benefits.
STEP 3	**Use Strategies to Merge the Two Sets of Results** • Themes identified in both data sets are compared, contrasted and/or synthesised and presented as a discussion. • Both data sets are given equal priority and considered to play an equally important role in addressing the research problem. • Category and sub-category labels are reviewed to ensure they reflect the essence of each theme.		
STEP 4	**Interpret the Merged Results** • Interpretation of the results looked for multiple understanding from both data sets and if they converged, diverged and related to one another. • Qualitative narrative and quotes used to support quantitative findings. • Complementary quantitative and qualitative results are synthesised to develop a more complete understanding of a phenomenon. • A revised conceptual model is presented to illustrate the key findings and include the new and relabelled categories and sub-categories. • The benefits and limitations of a convergent MM research design in producing a better understanding of the research problem are considered. • Future research is suggested.		

As a consequence of the MM design and the pragmatic approach this doctoral study took, my role as a researcher moved between emic (insider) and etic (outsider), in terms of data collection, my role in the study and my interpretations and analysis of the empirical data (Jennings, 2010). Initially, and as part of the qualitative component of this study, I adopted an emic perspective when in the field collecting ethnographic data. This insider's view provided me with the best lens to understand the phenomenon that I was studying (*ibid*), i.e. the lived experiences of the mountaineer tourists. However, data analysis began in the field with analytic notes. This required an etic perspective to make sense of these notes, which then fed into the data collection. Consequently, my role in the field was not static, rather it was fluid, and I found myself switching between emic and etic positions throughout the expedition. This presented both challenges and opportunities, which are outlined in sections 4.3.5 and 4.3.6. Once I left the field, I continued to move between roles. For example, when analysing the qualitative data, I adopted an etic perspective to make sense of the data and to place it within a scientific perspective. Yet, during the analysis when I listened to my e-journal and digital recordings the familiar sounds of the camp and teahouses were clear in the background and I often found myself being transported back to the setting and my emic embodied experiences. Likewise, when analysing the photographs that were taken by myself and the other expedition participants reminded me of the quietness and the remoteness of the areas that we travelled through and I was briefly taken back to those moments, the embodied experience and the conversations I had with the participants. Although the ethnographic data was analysed from an etic perspective, to ground the data in emic understanding of the situation and group, the participants voices are included in the discussion of the findings alongside my etic voice as a researcher. Therefore, I have used both emic and etic perspectives to make sense of the data, thus responding to the call by Fetterman (2010, p.22) that 'good ethnography requires both emic and etic perspectives'.

By comparison, when collecting and analysing the quantitative data my role was static and situated in an etic perspective and I positioned myself outside of the cultural setting. For etic purposes, a structured and systematic set of rules to

interpret the study from an outsider perspective (Jennings, 2010) was adopted. Specifically, by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyse the data and identify frequencies, ranking order and categories of constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits.

The theoretical and practical approach to both the qualitative and quantitative components of this doctoral study will now be discussed.

4.3 Qualitative Component: Phenomenology-Based Ethnography

The use of phenomenology-based ethnography (PBE) to collect data was first piloted during a commercially organised mountaineering skills development holiday prior to the commercially organised mountaineering expedition where the qualitative data was collected. Therefore, this section will include details of both the pilot study and the main ethnographic fieldwork. Before a detailed account of the fieldwork is presented, including the methods and analysis techniques employed, ethnography and PBE will be defined. An appraisal of ethnography and PBE practices in adventure tourism studies is also presented, as these guided the design of this ethnography fieldwork. Finally, the ethics and limitations of this study will be considered.

4.3.1 Defining Ethnography and Phenomenology

Ethnography is the study of people in everyday contexts, rather than under conditions created by the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It involves the researcher participating in people's daily lives, overtly or covertly, in order to collect data that captures social meanings, for example, shared patterns of behaviour, language and actions of a cultural group, in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time. An ethnographer will 'watch what happens, listen to what is said and ask questions through informal and formal interviews' (*ibid*, p.3), typically relying on verbatim quotations and a thick description of events (Brewer, 2000; Fetterman, 2010). Therefore, while participant observation characterises most ethnographic research (Fetterman, 2011), data is also gathered from a range of other sources, including informal

conversations, interviews and documentary evidence of various kinds (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Unlike ethnography, which aims to describe and interpret a cultural or social group, a phenomenological researcher aims to understand and describe a particular experience of an individual. Therefore, a phenomenological researcher is interested in the lived experiences of individuals and aims to explain the subjective meanings that individuals construct to explain their experience about a phenomenon (Jennings, 2010). Typically, in-depth semi-structured interviews are used. By studying the perspectives of multiple participants, a researcher can make generalisations regarding the lived experience of a certain phenomenon (Creswell, 2014).

The emic perspective - the insider's or native's perspective of reality - is at the heart of both ethnography and phenomenology research, as it is instrumental to understanding and accurately describing situations and behaviours (Fetterman, 2011). Consequently, both ethnography and phenomenology recognise that people think and act in different ways, and thus accepts there are multiple perspectives of reality and multiple behaviour patterns in a given study (*ibid*). While both methodologies utilise participant observation to examine the emic perspective, it is considered to be the centrepiece of ethnography fieldwork (Honer & Hitzler, 2015). By becoming a participant observer, rather than simply an observer, the ethnographer can overcome the difficulties of being a stranger in the group and instead be accepted as a group member fully participating in the experience (Pfadenhauer & Grenz, 2015). Furthermore, as an observer you would be considered a stranger to the group and you would lack knowledge of the culture and have no scheme of reference to interpret the meanings that elements of the culture have for the group members. Moreover, the stranger would also lack the schemes of expression they would need to make the meanings of their actions understandable to others (*ibid*). However, Honer and Hitzler (2015) believe that this key ethnographic method should be supplemented, and not replaced, with a reflective form of co-experiencing, which they term 'observant participation'. Like participant observation, data were collected through observation. In addition, data were also collected on the lived

experience. This is achieved by the researcher co-participating and gaining an 'existential inside view through subjective lived experience, rather than an outside view' (*ibid*, p.9), yet maintaining the ethnographic method and research goals (Sands, 2002). Hence combining both ethnography and phenomenology stances.

4.3.2 Phenomenology-Based Ethnography: The Ethnographer as an Observant Participant

Phenomenology-based ethnography (PBE) is about 'doing it yourself' and participating in the everyday lives of the people you are studying (Pfadenhauer & Grenz, 2015, p.599). Therefore, the ethnographer is adopting an observant participant role in the field. This phenomenological orientation to ethnography is also referred to as experiential ethnography (Sands, 2002) or life-analytical ethnography (Honer & Hitzler, 2015). The aim of PBE is to investigate the subjective perspectives or lived experience of other people. It is based on the premise that researchers cannot understand the subjective meaning people attach to their experiences unless they have experienced it themselves. Therefore, unlike other forms of ethnography, data is generated by the researcher's own practical co-participation in the social context whereby the researcher attempts to be like those people they are studying, which 'can contribute to the reconstruction of the internal viewpoint by uncovering the essence of a phenomenon' (Pfadenhauer & Grenz, 2015, p.599). Unlike autoethnography, the ethnographer's lived experience is not the central focus of the ethnography, but it is combined with other data collection methods to authenticate the experience and behaviour of those who are being studied. Consequently, the researcher may find themselves switching between being an emic member of the cultural group to being an etic outsider. Accordingly, in acknowledging they are part of the social world being studied and active participants in the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hertz, 1997; O'Reilly, 2005; Pfadenhauer & Grenz, 2015) I have written myself into the qualitative findings. As suggested by Sands (2002), the research is presented as a narrative in P4, the Discussion Chapter, and later in this chapter when I reflect on my experiences as an observant participant (see 4.3.5 and 4.3.6).

The intention here is to capture the interaction of the ethnographer with the cultural members, and to authenticate the cultural actuality for the readers by using the ethnographer's lived experiences. As mountaineering engages the whole body, I experienced the same kinaesthetic experiences and feelings as the cultural group members. By experiencing the physical hardship and intense emotions associated with trekking for multiple weeks, climbing at altitude, overcoming challenges and summiting mountains, my whole body was immersed in understanding the meanings and recording an embodied account of a commercially organised mountaineering skills development holiday (pilot) and expedition. These sensations and emotions would have been undetected through observation by a non-experiential ethnographer (Sands, 2002). Instead, this embodied and participatory approach to research allowed for an immediacy of insight into the liminal experience, and it facilitated meaningful engagement with the mountaineer tourists (Fullagar & Pavlidis, 2012; Spinney, 2006).

4.3.3 Ethnography in Adventure Tourism Studies

According to Buckley (2014), there is a particular gap in using ethnography in adventure tourism research, despite ethnography lending itself well to researching the intense experiential nature of adventure tourism. Consequently, studies which use ethnography, including autoethnography, to understand the experiences of adventure tourists make an important contribution to adventure tourism research. Moreover, in doing so, adventure tourism research can gain broader academic recognition and become relevant to, and cited within, other academic disciplines (*ibid*). Table 7 presents the key ethnography studies identified in the extant adventure tourism literature and the methods they have utilised in their fieldwork. It also illustrates how under-employed ethnography is as an approach to research.

Participant observation is the hallmark of good ethnography as it enables the researcher to study the activities of people in their everyday settings and understand the world from the view point of those being studied (Graburn, 2002; Honer & Hitzler, 2015). Whilst all of the authors in the reviewed studies were participant observers, none of the authors explained if they were

observing overtly or covertly. However, as some have described interviewing the participants during the adventure tourism experience, it can be assumed that some of their time spent in the field was in an overt capacity. Furthermore, although all ethnographers claimed to be a participant observer, only the autoethnographers described their emic experience of being a fully immersed participant and, in doing so, they provide rich insights into the benefits and challenges of having 'insider' status. For example, Buckley (2012) describes obtaining insights into his own as well as the participants' behaviour and motivations as a result of being a fully immersed participant, which, he argues, are critical to comprehension. Similarly, Houge Mackenzie and Kerr (2012) describe being able to identify and empathise with the authentic emotions experienced by the participants, while conceptually analysing data through the theoretical lens of reversal theory. In doing so, they believe they were able to uncover otherwise overlooked insights and illuminate perspectives on subjective experiences.

Table 7: Ethnography methods in adventure tourism studies

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Participant observation	x	x	x	x	x	x
Researcher immersed participant			x	x	x	x
Interviewed in adventure setting	x	x				x
Interviewed after adventure participation		x				
Focus group						x
Informal conversations	x	x	x	x		
Field diary/journal (inc. digital)				x	x	x
Field notes	x			x	x	x
Emails				x	x	
Autoethnography			x	x	x	x
Online ethnography	x					
Experiential diagrams				x		

1. Rickly-Boyd (2012)
2. Beedie (2003)
3. Buckley (2012)
4. Houge Mackenzie & Kerr (2012)
5. Houge Mackenzie & Kerr (2013)
6. Kennedy et al. (2018)

Unique to Kennedy, MacPhail and Varley's (2018) autoethnography is the focus on the methodological challenges the researcher faced in the field and the management of the insider-outsider role of the researcher, as the ethnographer was an expedition member, a longstanding friend of the participants and a researcher. Consequently, and unlike the other studies, this ethnography

provides a more detailed account of the data collection process. For example, due to the physical and social demands of being an expedition participant, the ethnographer describes the difficulty of finding time and space to gather and record data as she had initially planned. When opportunities to engage as a researcher did arise, she often found her fellow participants were resting and enjoying their own, and hard earned, personal time. Similarly, in these instances she herself was tired. Consequently, the researcher grew anxious that she may not be able to interview all the participants, which, on reflection, she describes as nearly 'blinding me to what was unfolding within the rich, cultural and social spaces of the broader expedition setting' (p.7). To overcome these challenges, the researcher attached a digital voice recorder in the cockpit of her kayak and, in addition to recording observations, she was able to conduct interviews with some of the group members whilst paddling. The recorder captured their vocal responses, which were often strained from the physical exertion of paddling, as well as the natural interruptions of being on the water. Furthermore, because the participants were immersed in the activity of paddling, this recording technique was less apparent, and the researcher describes her identity as a friend and expedition member eclipsing her role as a researcher during these water recordings.

Evidently, interviews were not the dominant method of eliciting information, perhaps due to the general assertion that in-depth interviews are not necessary in ethnography, as people's lived experiences of the world and their constructions of reality are difficult to elicit through this means (Graburn, 2002; Honer & Hitzler, 2015). Likewise, the challenging natural environments in which the ethnographies took place (e.g. on water or in the mountains), the physical demands of the adventure activities and the participants being mobile may have also constrained opportunities and the ability to conduct interviews, although the studies reviewed do not explicitly state their reason. Instead, the researchers in the majority of the reviewed studies, in addition to participant observations, preferred to use informal conversations, with the exception of one study. Rather than attempting to follow travelling climbers, Rickly-Boyd (2012) based herself in a popular American climbing destination during the peak season to collect data and interview this hypermobile community. In addition,

and in preparation, this study also used a popular climbing website to observe the diversity of the climbing community and how they maintained and developed communication with one another. These forum conversations informed the qualitative methods employed in the field at the climbing destination. Therefore, this ethnographic study engaged in two manifestations of climbing destinations - the actual climbing destination as well as the online destination. By comparison, others used informal conversations to gather data, although, how this method was operationalised in the field and the challenges and opportunities of using this method are not assessed in any of the studies. For example, Buckley (2012) explains that events and emotions which were experienced during participation were 'recorded at the time', but how this was done is unclear. This is of note because he states that he chose not to use recording devices and note-taking visible to participants to avoid biasing their behaviour, restricting their conversation and interfering with his ability to identify with the participants' experiences.

Other methods have been noted, although again details of how these methods were used in the field, why they were chosen and their appraisal is often missing, i.e. how they were 'operationalised' (Fetterman, 2011, p.32). For example, Beedie (2003) comments on using interviews after the fieldwork, but he does not state why they were needed nor is it clear how many of the interviews (conducted both during and after the fieldwork) were with the mountain guides and with the adventure tourists. Similarly, how the data was recorded is also not explained. Emails have also been noted in two studies (Houge Mackenzie & Kerr, 2012; 2013), but in both cases it is unclear if these were collected pre or post trip, although it can be assumed that they were collected post trip in the former study as the email narratives describe the experiences of a participant. Nonetheless, both studies do not state who the email conversations were with. Unique to Houge Mackenzie and Kerr's (2012) early work is the clear indication of the source of the data which is being presented, for example, [email], [experiential diagram notes], [diary] and the participants name, for example, [Scott], when drawing on the data from conversations with participants which were recorded in the field notes. Furthermore, and unlike any of the other studies, this study also utilised

experiential diagrams, which were spontaneously developed in the field to visually represent the key emotional changes the author was experiencing.

A field diary or journal is another popular method, but, like the other methods, an explanation of how this method was operationalised in the field has not been provided, with the exception of Kennedy et al.'s (2018) study. For example, Houge Mackenzie and Kerr (2012; 2013) do not explicitly state the purpose of the field diary/journal in their ethnographies, although, based on the narratives included in the former paper, it can be assumed that the ethnographer recorded their observations and personal experiences. While the former paper provides a useful denotation of where the data was sourced, e.g. [field diary], the latter does not. Therefore, it is not clear if the data came from their field journal, emails or field notes, which were their methods of choice. By comparison, Kennedy et al. (2018) provide a more detailed explanation of how the ethnographer recorded a digital journal. The ethnographer describes planning to make regular morning and evening recordings, but, as aforementioned, the physical, social and environmental demands of the expedition dictated otherwise. Nonetheless, the voice recorder allowed the ethnographer to 'verbalise my inner dialogue' (p.10). However, she also recognises that digitally recording her field journal and interviews may have inadvertently 'de-natured' particular experiences as it detached both her and the other participants from the moment (p.10). Equally, she also recognises that gathering data in a remote, nature-based seascape environment limits the researcher's choices. Therefore, the ethnographer believes that the resultant data not only provided a rare immediacy of the embodied experiences of the sea kayakers, but also a methodological insight into the adventurer-researcher's challenge of investigating this cultural group in their specific environment.

Field notes have also been noted to record participant observations (Rickly-Boyd, 2012) and conversations with other participants (Houge Mackenzie & Kerr, 2012), and whilst field notes have also been used in Houge Mackenzie and Kerr's (2013) later autoethnography, they have not explained how this method was used, i.e. to record observations, personal reflections or conversations with participants. Similarly, it is unclear from Kennedy et al.'s

(2018) study how field notes were used, however the narratives denote the journal to be their field notes (e.g. 'Field Notes (digital journal) 25 June 2014'), therefore it can be assumed that they use the terms field notes and field journal (written or digital) interchangeably and it is unclear how, and if, the two differentiate from one another. Furthermore, at times the ethnographer refers to diary entries and personal recordings, rather than one of the methods they listed in the Methodology, making it unclear where they recorded this data. However, it can be assumed they are actually referring to their journal (written and digital)/field notes. Finally, Kennedy et al. (2018) state that they used a focus group, however, the purpose of, and the results from, this method have not been supplied.

A discussion of the data analysis process has only been provided by some of the reviewed ethnographies. For example, Rickly-Boyd (2012) describes using discourse analysis of the website's forums. The forum conversations were then coded, and themes and sub-themes were identified. These then formed the basis of the preliminary theories, which subsequently informed the data collection at the climbing destination. Whilst in the destination, data analysis began and a series of key conceptual categories emerged, for example existential authenticity, which is the focus of this article, as well as several categories and sub-categories relating to this concept. Houge Mackenzie and Kerr (2012) also describe identifying key themes in their data, but instead they used textual analysis. Raw quotes were grouped together within an experiential diagram and scrutinised for distinct themes. The multiple data sources were used to triangulate and verify the consistency of interpretations, and repetitious themes were identified in each data source. In their later study (2013), these authors adopted a similar methical approach to data analysis by coding and reanalysing to detect themes and potential inconsistencies. Furthermore, 'patterns were also assessed by ordering coded data chronologically to identify repetitive themes and changes over time' (p.87). In both studies, the second author then independently analysed the data and the authors compared and discussed their analyses. During this process, any discrepancies or inconsistencies were resolved and clarified by critical probing of the autoethnographer by the second author for further contextual details and

perspectives. In the latter study, this also required them to refer back to literature on the theoretical model that they were using to analyse the data.

What is pertinent in each of these studies, with the exception of Kennedy et al.'*s* (2018) research, is how the findings take precedence, yet how these findings were elicited is largely ignored. Indeed, how the ethnographic methods were operationalised and the challenges and opportunities of conducting them in the adventure setting are not assessed. Likewise, detail of the ethnographer's role as a participant observer is often neglected. This is not unique to adventure tourism research. O'Gorman, MacLaren and Bryce (2014) argue that many published tourism ethnographies have failed to state how particular approaches were operationalised, which they believe is a misuse of ethnography. As quantitative methods are commonly contested, and their findings qualified by their users, O'Gorman et al. (2014) argue that ethnographic methods should be subject to similar academic scrutiny. A preliminary review of tourism ethnographies supports this (e.g. Palmer, 2009; Sorensen, 2003; Wijingaarden, 2016), with the exception of Palmer's (2001; 2009) and Harrison's (2008) research which provides a practical discussion of doing ethnography and the limitations of the methods used. Having said that, the preliminary review only identified one tourism ethnography post O'Gorman et al.'s (2014) study, therefore it is likely that this and O'Gorman et al.'s (2014) review included the same studies and consequently the same conclusion was drawn. Therefore, it would be useful to do a similar review of tourism, likewise adventure tourism, ethnographies in the future when more have been published. However, this limited pool of studies points to a preference not to adopt an ethnographic approach to tourism and adventure tourism research and it may take time to gather a sufficient number of ethnographies to extend this review. Furthermore, the findings are also often presented as individual cases with little explanation of how they contribute to theory or wider understanding of the contextual phenomena (*ibid)*. Consequently, they 'call for a double-reflexivity in ethnographic research in tourism that accepts both the specific situational nature of individual studies and the wider discursive frames within which they are embedded' (p.46). In particular, they warn us of 'over-privileging' single stand-alone studies and using individual interpretations as infrequently

questioned 'truths'. While they recognise that ethnographers may know that their personal biography influences their interpretations, they argue that 'this is rarely demonstrated in appraising the operationalisation of method or in making clear the tentative and contingent qualities of the representations gleaned from the studies used'. Therefore, they propose that multiple tourism ethnographies on the same society or sub-group are needed to explore alternative interpretations. Fetterman (2011) also found benefits in conducting multiple fieldwork. This approach allowed him to pull back and make sense of what he had observed and recorded, and then return into the field to test his hypotheses. In doing so he was able to see patterns of behaviour over time. While this approach was beneficial to Fetterman's study, he recognises that in many contexts, limited resources compel the researcher to conduct ethnography within a specific timeframe.

The ethnography component of this study attempted to address some of the issues raised by O'Gorman et al. (2014). Furthermore, unlike the studies reviewed, both in an adventure tourism and tourism context, this study is unique in its approach to assess the experiences of myself and the participants through a phenomenology lens. Time and financial resources limit the ethnography fieldwork to two sites (the pilot study and the expedition), however, this study illustrates academic rigour through my reflections on my lived experience (reflexivity), the application of PBE in my research (operationalism) and by comparing and building on existing knowledge of ethnography fieldwork within adventure research (see P4 and the Conclusion Chapter for future publications). In many ways Kennedy et al.'s (2018) study has begun to address some of these issues and the experiences of the ethnographer as a participant observer would have been useful to draw upon when I was planning my data collection, however, this study was published after I conducted my fieldwork. Nevertheless, the purpose of Kennedy et al.'s (2018) study was to explore the adventurer-researcher role and the conditions within which it is played out, which they believe is under-developed within expedition literature. However, based on this review of adventure tourism ethnographies, I would also argue that this can be extended to adventure tourism research as well and, in addition to the role of the researcher, the methodological challenges and opportunities

experienced in the field (operationalised) is also under-developed. Accordingly, Kennedy et al. (2018) hope that their research may guide prospective researchers in their study design and investigative strategy, which is also one of the aims of this doctoral study (RO5).

4.3.4 The Qualitative Data Collection Process

The overall purpose of this ethnographic study was to explore the experiences of mountaineer tourists on an organised mountaineering holiday. However, recognising that a pure inductive approach to research was impossible and that I will be entering the field with preconceptions based on the literature I had read and the theories I had considered on adventure tourism participation, I adopted what O'Reilly (2005) refers to as an iterative-inductive approach (iterative meaning a loop or a straight line, and inductive implying as open minded as possible and letting the data speak for itself). Unlike deductive research where existing theory is tested and new theories that challenge existing ones cannot emerge, iterative-inductive research recognises that theory is a precursor, medium and outcome of ethnographic study and writing (*ibid*). Data is not forced into theory. Rather an iterative-inductive approach requires the researcher to 'enter into an on-going simultaneous process of deduction and induction, of theory building, testing and rebuilding' (*ibid*, p.27). While I entered the field using constraint negotiation and participation benefits as a frame of reference for this ethnographic study (RO3), I kept an open mind about the mountaineers I was studying and let the data emerge naturally.

Ethnography studies have traditionally involved the researcher spending a year in the field, however the study of tourists does not allow for this as accessing tourists can be challenging. They are often mobile, permitting only the briefest opportunity for ethnographers to carry out in-depth fieldwork, and they may not have time and interest to participate in research as this can disrupt the touristic experience (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008; Graburn, 2002; Harrison, 2008; Wijingaarden, 2016). However, I was able to overcome these challenges by joining a mountaineering holiday where I, as a fully immersed observant participant, travelled with the group for a sustained period of time. In doing so, I

created 'contact zones where meaningful and sustained encounters with tourists will transpire', rather than conducting multiple repeat observations and questions with hundreds of tourists, which inevitably would lead to massive quantitative data of no great depth (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008, p.5). Commercially organised mountaineering holidays generally range from being one weekend up to six weeks. Taking into account the tradition of ethnographers spending an extended period of time in the field and the call by critical scholars for multi-site ethnography, I decided to participate first in a one-week mountaineering holiday in France and second in a one-month mountaineering expedition in Nepal. The purpose of the first ethnography fieldwork was to pilot my research design and to develop my research skills, whilst simultaneously developing the mountaineering skills I would need to participate in the second ethnography fieldwork. Furthermore, many of the expedition group members would have participated in a similar skills development holiday in preparation for the expedition, and, in addition to being an educated white European woman with a shared interest in mountaineering, this made chatting and blending in with the other mountaineer tourists easy. Each ethnography fieldwork will now be discussed in turn.

4.3.4.1 Ethnography Site 1: One-Week Mountaineering Skills Development Holiday, France, August 2012 (pilot study)

This skills development mountaineering holiday was organised by Icicle, a company based in Chamonix. The holiday is designed to make people with some mountaineering experience more autonomous in the Alps. While this was a commercial packaged mountaineering holiday, it was promoted as a skills development course and participants were regarded as led mountaineers rather than guided tourists. Due to the technical content of this trip and the need for a low client to guide ratio (2:1), there were only six participants, including myself. The participants were all in their 30s and, with the exception of one participant from Russia, all were from the UK. Unbeknown to me, I was the only female participant.

The focus of this fieldwork was to develop tools for collecting data and to check that they worked in a mountaineering tourism setting. In particular, I wanted to test the suitability of conducting interviews, informal conversations and overt observations, as well as the methods I would use to record my findings whilst simultaneously being a fully immersed participant and climbing alongside the other participants. I immediately identified two mountaineers who I felt I could easily engage with as they showed the most interest in my research. Consequently, I initially focused my observations on them, I sought opportunities to have informal conversations and I arranged interviews with them. As the week progressed and the relationships amongst the group members developed, a further two mountaineers showed an interest in my research and they were happy to discuss their past mountaineering experiences with me, their expectations of the trip and their experiences so far. The fifth member of the group spoke very little English and left the course after two days. Despite the small sample, it soon became apparent that data collection would not be easy, and I needed to be flexible in how I applied the different data collection tools. As we were roped up to one other person, which was the same person each day, it provided little opportunity to observe others and to conduct informal conversations. Furthermore, we were staying in different accommodation throughout the town, therefore providing limited time to observe and speak to the mountaineers during the evening and to develop relationships with them. Moreover, as the holiday was focused on intensive skills development, the participants, including myself, were often tired after a day of physical exertion and it felt inappropriate to ask questions during the evening when they wanted to relax. Similarly, the opportunity to ask questions did not arise during our rest breaks, as the group were focussed on discussing what they had learnt and the route that we were climbing, and I felt that I would be invading their holiday time if I began to ask questions. Taking this into consideration, I decided that the only opportunity that I would have to speak to all of the participants as a group or individually would be during the evening on the day that we stayed in a mountain hut. Accordingly, I prepared questions that I could use if I got the chance to conduct a group discussion and/or for individual interviews during this hut stay. Fortunately, the group were not tired, and they happily agreed to participate in a group discussion. However, due to

my inexperience and the pressure of this being perhaps my only opportunity to speak to the group, I relied too much on my list of questions, rather than memorising some the key questions and letting the conversation develop and flow naturally. This was exacerbated by my inexperience of being an observer participant. Thus far, due to necessity, I had predominately focused on being a mountaineer, rather than a researcher, due to the demands of the climbing and only being roped to one other group member. However, despite knowing that the group were expecting me to ask them questions during the holiday, I still felt awkward switching to my researcher role, which perhaps contributed to the group discussion becoming more formal, rather than informal.

Accordingly, due to the scarcity of opportunities to conduct individual interviews and group discussions, I switched my research strategy away from structured discussions and interviews, to overt observations of the group members, informal discussions with individuals and small groups/pairs, and transcriptions of my own feelings and comments recorded in a field journal (handwritten) and e-journal (using a Dictaphone). By comparison, the following week after the course finished, I continued to climb with three of the five mountaineers on the course and, as the days were not as structured and intensive, I further developed my relationship with these participants. Subsequently, I interviewed the remaining participants and collected additional data through all of the aforementioned methods.

After reflecting on these pragmatic challenges, there were a number of factors that I needed to consider when planning my next fieldwork to optimise its success. Specifically:

1. I must identify an organised mountaineering holiday with a bigger group size and with a better gender balance.
2. Where I lived during the study was critical, as this would impact dramatically the degree and kind of immersion I would have with the lives of the mountaineering tourists I was studying (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008). I had to stay in their accommodation.

3. The structure of this holiday must provide opportunities to 'hang out' with the mountaineers, whilst also allowing me to 'do the things they do in the ebb and flow of their daily lives' (Harrison, 2008, p.47). This would create an environment where I am accepted as a co-participant, and where casual conversations, a key part of observant participation, are possible. Therefore, the holiday must not involve only spending time with one other mountaineer each day and it must be longer than a week.

4. The physical training that I had previously done was appropriate, however, I may need to adapt this depending on the nature of the next fieldwork.

5. Finally, I must also identify a mountaineering holiday that I have the skills and experience necessary to ensure a PBE approach is taken.

4.3.4.2 Ethnography Site 2: One-Month Mountaineering Expedition, Nepal, October-November 2014

As explained in P4, the expedition was organised by Jagged Globe, a UK tour operator, to climb Mera Peak (6476m), the Ampha Laptsa Pass (5845m) and Island Peak (6189m). The trip was designed to provide an introduction to mountaineering expeditions and was suitable for novice mountaineers who had previously gained basic mountaineering skills in the Alps or Scotland. Like the previous trip, this commercially organised mountaineering holiday was promoted as an expedition and participants were regarded as led mountaineers rather than guided tourists. With the inclusion of myself, there were four female and eight male expedition members aged between 33 and 60 years old from the UK, Norway and Australia. Like other ethnographers studying adventure activity or sport participants (e.g. Buckley, 2012; Sands, 2002), acceptance on this expedition was made possible through the skills I had previously developed and the extensive physical training I had undertaken. As I was a fully immersed observant participant, I needed a high level of fitness to maximise my summit chances and to successfully participate in the expedition while making observations, listening to other participants and asking questions. Therefore, training was essential in physically preparing me for the challenge of researching while mountaineering and it became 'equally important to the

research and methodology, as both a means and object of sight' (Spinney, 2006, p.176).

As we were walking or climbing each day and never stationary, ethnography allowed me to apply different research methods while living and experiencing the social phenomenon. This approach to data collection was particularly effective as, due to unforeseen circumstances (illness, fatigue, participants leaving the expedition early), I was not able to interview all participants, which prior to the expedition I expected to do. In total, six group members were interviewed. While in-depth interviews are not necessary in ethnography (Graburn, 2002; Honer & Hitzler, 2015), there are advantages of including these within ethnography fieldwork. By combining observant participation with methods which allow the researcher to talk to the participants and ask questions, data from each can be used to illuminate the other (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Honer & Hitzler, 2015). For example, observations can make the analysis of interviews more credible and what participants say can lead us to see things differently in observation, and vice-versa. Similarly, observant participation is challenging as it is hard to observe something if you are also participating (Honer & Hitzler, 2015), for example whilst climbing. While I tried to record my lived experiences and observations immediately after they occurred, it was apparent that my data from observant participation had to be supplemented with other ethnographic methods, such as observations and talking to people (Honer & Hitzler, 2015).

Despite the challenges I encountered, I was able to carry out informal discussions with individuals, small groups and the entire group opportunistically, to ask questions when they occurred to me and observe overtly and experience things happening in real time. Therefore, I was able to learn about events, feelings, rules and norms in this context (O'Reilly, 2005) and add emerging themes to my research questions to explore as the expedition progressed. Consequently, data analysis began in the field with analytic notes which fed into the data collection. Data mainly comprised extensive field notes from informal discussions with individuals and small groups, overt observations of the group members, and transcriptions of my own feelings and comments recorded in a

field journal (handwritten) and e-journal (using a Dictaphone). Aware that recording my experiences, observations and discussions would be visible to participants and might bias their behaviour and restrict their conversation, I tried to do this alone during rest breaks or at the end of each day when we were in camp. Recording in my e-journal was sometimes challenging, as the landscape did not always provide a suitable place where the group could not see me, as illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: The landscape sometimes presented challenges to discreetly make records in my e-journal

However, as many of the group members wrote a journal each evening and during rest breaks, I took this opportunity to make entries in my handwritten journal whilst remaining with the group so as not to miss anything (see Figures 6 and 7).

Figure 6: Writing in my journal during a rest day at Island Peak base camp

Figure 7: Writing in my journal after setting up camp

Despite practicing using both types of journals in the pilot fieldwork, Chamonix is not as high or as cold as where we were climbing in Nepal and I did not anticipate my pens and the batteries in my Dictaphone to stop working due to the cold. To minimise the risk of this happening I had to sleep with them in my sleeping bag each night and I had to keep them in my bra whilst we were walking and climbing each day, particularly when we were above 5000m.

Most group members were eager to talk to me about my research, especially during breakfast (see Figure 8), the evening or the rest days when there was little to do, and I soon identified 'key participants' (O'Reilly, 2005, p.41). Suitably, this is also when the interviews and the majority of informal discussions took place, although informal discussions also took place whilst we were walking (although due to the altitude this was quite challenging as we were out of breath) and during rest breaks (see Figure 9).

Figure 8: A typical scene when informal ad-hoc discussions with individuals and small groups would occur over breakfast

Figure 9: Informal conversations and small group discussion would often take place over lunch

Preparing questions for the informal discussions required planning. Each day I focused on one individual and prepared two or three questions in advance. I limited myself to this number of questions so that I could remember them without needing to refer to my notes, thus ensuring the conversation felt natural and informal. Furthermore, it also meant that I would be more likely to remember their answers, as often there was not an opportunity to record the discussion for several hours after it took place. Conscious of the fact that the longer I left recording a discussion the more details I was likely to forget, I tried to find a private area away from the group as soon as possible, usually during rest breaks, to record as much detail as I could remember in my e-journal, which was quicker than recording by hand. Some days were more productive than others and I was able to conduct two or three informal discussions, but on other days, when I was feeling unwell from the altitude or tired, I allowed myself to just be a mountaineer tourist, rather than a researcher. Nonetheless, on these days I still engaged in observation to gather data, although sometimes, I allowed myself a day free of research to simply live the cultural experience. For some participants, these informal discussions provided me with context to develop the questions I would ask them during our interview, whereas for others, I used these discussions to explore things that emerged during their

interview. As experienced by O'Reilly (2005), my field notes began broad, focusing on their past mountaineering experience and their motivations for joining the expedition. As the expedition progressed and I began to develop relationships with the group members, my research became more directed and focused on their personal constraints and negotiation process, as well as their personal perceptions and thoughts of the experience. Like others have cited (e.g. Mathers, 2008), I sometimes felt awkward speaking with some of the mountaineer tourists about my research, in particular those who were more introvert and did not engage in general conversation and banter with the group (e.g. Ron, Ian and Rob). Rather than asking them specific questions during group discussions like I did with other participants, I let them voluntarily contribute. This approach proved to be fruitful and Ian and Rob regularly contributed to discussions. In addition, these participants sometimes brought up the subject of my research whilst we were alone, and it became apparent that they felt more comfortably sharing their experiences and thoughts with me individually, rather than in a group setting.

4.3.5 The Challenges of Being an Immersed Observant Participant

There were a number of challenges that emerged during both ethnography studies that I had not anticipated, and they affected the way the data was collected and my role within the fieldwork. In particular, and as aforementioned, I had not expected the need to have been as flexible with the research methods that I used. Collecting data whilst we were mobile and physically active was challenging during both studies. For example, some days started at 2am and we were physically active until mid-afternoon, during which time there was little respite and it was difficult to adopt anything but a mountaineer role (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Adopting a mountaineer role

This was exacerbated in Nepal where it was much colder, and we were experiencing Acute Mountain Sickness (AMS). Due to these factors some group members left early, which reduced my sample. While at times I was 'hyper-attuned' (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008, p.14) and anxious about spending as much time with the group as possible - observing, listening and asking questions - because of the embodied nature of the experience, I also became unwell (in Nepal) and fatigued (both studies) and found it difficult to prioritise collecting data at times. If I would have a 'morning off', I would then feel guilty and immerse myself back into the fieldwork and gather data. Therefore, I regularly felt pulled between the roles of researcher and mountaineer. Although fatigue did sometimes hinder my data collection, it was sickness that affected it the most, as illustrated in these e-journal recordings:

'I am sick of being ill. I have had diarrhoea, a chest infection, a cough that I can't get rid of, hence why I didn't do a recording yesterday in my e-journal, two courses antibiotics (one for my chest and one for my tummy), and headaches from the altitude. I am so sick of being unwell!'.

'I did not expect that collecting data would be so difficult! I can't believe how unwell I have been, it is literally relentless, and it has been hard for me to find the motivation to collect and record data'.

In particular, AMS posed a real threat to my research, which manifested when we were climbing Mera, the first mountain on the expedition.

'Today I woke up with a headache and I felt sick. I knew it was altitude sickness, which is annoying as I have felt fine so far. I took Diamox and Ibuprofen, hoping that this will help me get through today and reach high camp, but I got to 100m below high camp and I knew I wasn't going to make it. When I was walking, I felt fine, whereas the others were struggling with the pace. It was when we stopped that I felt really sick. I also started to feel a little 'out of it'. I have had this symptom of altitude sickness before and I knew what was coming unless I descend. I experienced this before when I was trekking in the Annapurna. I ignored it and continued, which was stupid, as I began to feel like I was on another planet, which was really scary. I couldn't speak, I couldn't follow conversation and I couldn't eat or drink. So yeah, there was no way I was continuing to high camp. Also, I am still getting over a chest infection and it still hurts to breath' [e-journal].

When I decided to stop climbing and descend Mera I was crying, not because I was sorry to not summit, but because I was worried that this may compromise my ability to continue on the expedition and to complete my research. As soon as I descended, I felt better, however, as explained in P4, I had to decide whether to continue or to leave the expedition. I feared that if I could not acclimatise and summit Island Peak, I would miss valuable insights about the group's summit experience. Consequently, the financial and emotional costs of both the extensive preparation and participation in the expedition, and the potential impact of withdrawal on my research were weighing heavily on my mind. At that moment I felt very alone as a researcher, as noted in my e-journal:

'It is a hard decision to make. It is not a holiday, it is my PhD and I feel that I have a responsibility to stay and try to stick it out. I wish I could speak to one of my supervisors or anyone who has experience of doing research!'.

When the group returned to basecamp Tom (the leader) suggested that I continue on the expedition. He said that I was strong and fit and that reaching 5600m on Mera would have helped me to acclimatise for climbing the pass (5700m) which, in turn, will prepare me for climbing Island Peak. As I felt much better, I decided to continue. This proved to be the right decision as, not only did I not experience any further symptoms of AMS, I was able to continue co-participating and complete the fieldwork (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: On the summit of Island Peak

However, compared with the ethnographic study in Chamonix, in addition to AMS, the main disadvantage of the lived and embodied experience of being with the mountaineer tourists in Nepal was the lack of personal space. As advised by Hume and Mulcock (2004), due to the intensive, embodied nature of participant observation, ethnographers need to draw boundaries for themselves and to create safety zones. Spending one month with the same 12 individuals in a remote location with little, and for the most part no, access to the outside

world, sharing a tent, eating every meal together, and walking or climbing together each day, meant that the only way to spend time alone and reflect on the experience was to leave the camp during the evenings to find a quiet place. However, you are never fully alone as you can always hear the noise of camp. Hence, despite the disappointment and frustration I was feeling from not being with the group and climbing Mera, it did provide me with a rare opportunity to be alone:

> 'I actually quite enjoyed yesterday coming back down to basecamp,
> sleeping, reading and spending some time to myself, as at times I
> feel that there is no escape from the group, we are little in the middle
> of the Himalaya, where would I go?!' [e-journal].

Consequently, when we returned to Kathmandu at the end of the expedition, while the others were sightseeing, I chose to spend two days alone, to be by myself and to not feel the pressures of research. In general, it was very hard for me to be anything but an observant participant during the expedition, particularly when we were engaged in mountaineering activities. However, occasionally we would stay close to a village with teahouses and I would relish the opportunity to withdraw from my role as a researcher and allow myself some time to be a mountaineer tourist.

4.3.6 The Benefits of Being an Immersed Observant Participant

Despite these challenges, the benefits of using ethnography to study tourists are worth their effort (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008). Participants were generally from the UK or northern European countries, and they shared a similar background and education as me. Furthermore, with a shared interest in mountaineering and with similar mountaineering experience, I feel that I was able to understand their subculture and I was familiar with 'the sets of behaviour and vocabulary which are used to mark outsiders from insiders' (O'Reilly, 2005, p.95). Therefore, I feel that my interpretations of these shared experiences would be similar to the participants, but I acknowledge that differences would occur. This personal biography enabled me to be accepted in the group as a

mountaineer and to develop close relationships with these tourists. Consequently, I was able to gather personal and detailed data about their physical, cultural and social experiences whilst on the expedition and develop a deep understanding of their motivations and mountaineering experience.

As noted by Graburn (2002), by becoming a tourist among tourists the researcher can supply a detailed and fairly reliable account of what it is actually like to be a tourist, in this case a mountaineer tourist, and what generally happens in such events. Accordingly, by becoming one of them, I was 'just another informant providing information and experiences to the understanding of culture' (Sands, 2002, p.124). Therefore, narrative has also been used in the Discussion Chapter and in P4 to capture the interaction that I, the ethnographer, had with cultural members during the expedition. In addition, the inclusion of the ethnographer's lived experiences can assist in communicating the experience to readers who may not themselves have lived through it, to generate emotional empathy in the readers and to make cultural realty real to readers (Buckley, 2012; Sands, 2002). Hence, the inclusion of images in this chapter.

As aforementioned, sustaining a dual position of researcher and mountaineer tourist was difficult at times, particularly when climbing because the physicality of the activity required me to ignore my researcher role and become 'one of them'. However, by living through the body – the strain of trekking and climbing each day, being cold and unwell, admiring the scenery and culture and sharing the excitement of developing mountaineering skills and summiting - I was able to internalise the basic beliefs, fears, hopes and expectations of the mountaineer tourists (Fetterman, 2010) not uncovered through participant observation (Sands, 2002). Similar to Fetterman's (2010) experiences, the simple ritualistic behaviours - the daily process of packing our bags in the morning, dismantling our tents, discussing the day's route and altitude gain over breakfast, analysing our health and checking for signs of AMS, arriving at camp after a long day walking or climbing and immediately changing into our camp clothes (the cleanest clothes we had!), putting on every warm layer we have and then counting the minutes until we can eat dinner and then go to the

warmth of our sleeping bags - taught me how mountaineer tourists use their time and space, and how they determined what was important to them.

As the expedition was much longer than the pilot study, time helped me to observe changes and patterns of behaviour. Sands (2002) argues that an extended period of fieldwork allows the ethnographer to travel through a series of doors, or stages, each door providing a deeper understanding of the culture and behaviour of the population.

> 'Unlocking each door and gaining the code to decipher cultural behaviour takes on the trappings of a rite of passage, whether subtle or overt, directly or indirectly acknowledged by both ethnographer and cultural members' (*ibid*, p.124).

For example, reaching the first 5000m pass, climbing Mera Peak, the Ampha Laptse Pass and finally Island Peak, overcoming illness and acclimatising were rites of passage which were socially and publicly celebrated by the cultural members, including myself. They also helped me to develop 'ethnographic intimacy' with the mountaineer tourists I was studying (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008, p.16) and they reinforced my acceptance within the group. As noted by Frohlick and Harrison (2008, p.11), 'tourists can often find themselves lonely, seek others to talk to who might sympathetically respond to their questions, and acknowledge their fears and concerns'. Most of the mountaineer tourists were travelling alone and, due to the intense nature of the expedition, many of us, including myself, confided in others and shared their emotions, fears, concerns and excitement. Consequently, I developed an emotional closeness with the expedition participants. I was entangled in their narratives, I appeared in their photographs, I took photos of them as well, and I am stored in their memories, as they are in mine. Like Sather-Wagstaff (2008), after the expedition I exchanged photographs and jokes about our experiences with the mountaineer tourists. Since then I have also moved into the everyday lives of some of the tourists that I met, and I have spent days walking and climbing with some of the research participants in the UK. Consequently, the fieldwork became deeply

enriching for both myself, as the ethnographer, and the participants (Hume & Mulcock, 2004).

4.3.7 Approaches to Qualitative Data Analysis

As aforementioned (section 4.3.4.2 & P4), data analysis began in the field with analytic notes which fed into the data collection. After leaving the field, the interviews, group discussions, informal discussions and my e-journal, which were recorded using a Dictaphone, were uploaded to NVivo. Due to the volume of data, a full transcription of the digital recordings was not done. Instead, whilst listening to each recording, I made annotations and transcribed verbatim essential sections directly on the media files using NVivo's timespan function. During this process, the data was also organised into analytic themes (categories) based on the constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits experienced during the expedition. However, to ensure that relevant material was not overlooked, 'especially since what will be judged relevant will change over time, and what is on the recordings that has not been transcribed will probably be forgotten (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.150), each recording was segmented into timespans and those that were not annotated or transcribed were nevertheless thematically organised. For example, themes included the tourists' motivation and my methodological approach. By comparison, as the data recorded in my handwritten field journal was much smaller, it was fully transcribed, thematically coded and stored in NVivo. The themes (categories) were then sorted into appropriate constraint, negotiation and benefit sub-categories. As suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), the sub-categories that were used to interpret the data were not formed prior to data collection or built into the data collection process. Rather they were generated out of the process of data analysis. This inductive approach to research allows for multiple interpretations of reality and alternative interpretations of data (Fetterman, 2011). The sub-categories were then further analysed to identify connections and opportunities for convergence and divergence, and insignificant sub-categories were abandoned. For example, weather as a participation constraint was removed as it was inconsequential. Finally, the labels of the sub-categories were refined with more meaningful

labels to ensure that the essence of each sub-category was suitably represented. The categories and sub-categories used in this study are indicated in Tables 12, 15 and 18 in the Discussion Chapter. They are also represented in qualitative narrative, for example, each category and sub-category are discussed in detail and illustrated with the perspectives of different individuals, including the ethnographer's own experiences, and quotations (Creswell, 2014). Interconnecting categories will also be discussed in relation to one another to provide a story line to the experience (*ibid*).

As purported by Creswell (2014), a number of strategies have been incorporated into this study to validate the findings. By employing a range of methods, evidence from each data source was triangulated to build a coherent justification for themes and categories. Rich, thick description is also used to convey the findings and 'transport the readers back to the setting and give the discussion an element of shared experiences' (*ibid,* p.202). A reflexive narrative style has also been adopted (Gobo, 2008; Sands, 2002). For example, I have explained my personal interest in the subject and how my theoretical interests were challenged, owing to the problems I encountered with accessing women-only mountaineering tourism experiences to conduct ethnography fieldwork. I have also disclosed the challenges and benefits that I experienced as an observant participant and I have written myself into the findings. As a participating ethnographer who spent prolonged time in the field, I was also able to appreciate, to some extent, the participants' subjective world, which further validated my interpretation of the data and the resultant constraint, negotiation and benefit sub-categories. Accordingly, the lived experience was extremely useful in describing the constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits experienced by the mountaineer tourists. Finally, I arranged an 'inter-coder agreement' with my Director of Studies (DOS) to enhance the accuracy of my findings (Creswell, 2014, p.203). Specifically, the constraint, negotiation and benefit sub-categories were validated by my inter-coder, who read through the transcripts to check they corresponded with her own interpretation of the data. Where disagreements with the interpretations occurred, these were explored further by both myself and my DOS and, where needed, reintroduced into the data analysis to enhance its rigor and credibility. For example, we discussed

whether AMS is a personal constraint rather than a structural constraint, as this is an inevitable consequence of altitude that people experience (P4).

4.3.8 Ethics

Ethical issues that arose throughout the qualitative component of this study were anticipated, addressed in the research plan and monitored during the data collection and analysis process (Creswell, 2014). For example, I declared my research interests to the participants at the beginning of the expedition. My standard disclosure statement was that I am researching the experiences of mountaineers participating in organised mountaineering holidays and, to gain insight into their experiences, I have joined this expedition. The participants were keen to discuss their mountaineering tourism experiences with me and they gave me permission to use a Dictaphone to record our conversations and interviews. Each participant was also informed that they did not have to answer any questions they did not wish to, and that they could withdraw from participating in the research at any time. To protect the participants, pseudonyms were given. I was also mindful not to disrupt their holiday experiences or risk jeopardising the trust that I had built with them. As the expedition progressed, friendships formed; nevertheless, I was conscious of speaking to all participants and not just those I had developed the most rapport with. Finally, I have also tried to disclose the negative findings of the study, as well as the positive findings. For example, findings that may be contrary to the themes identified in the review of literature and presented in the conceptual model (see Chapter 3).

4.3.9 Limitations of the Qualitative Component

No social group remains static and when one enters or leaves the field is arbitrary, as it provides a limited snapshot of a moment in time documented by the ethnographer (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008). Furthermore, different research strategies may produce different data and, perhaps, different conclusions (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, I am mindful that another expedition in a different setting with another group of mountaineers and a

different research methodology could reveal an alternative experience and reality. For example, the following year I participated in an organised mountaineering expedition with the same tour operator to Peru and, had I collected data then, variation in the constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits may have emerged. Similarly, had the participants been all women an alternative set of constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits may have also emerged.

Furthermore, whilst it is labour-intensive to interview the participants before and after the expedition, I recognise that I cannot expect to be able to interpret the experiences of the mountaineers meaningfully 'without putting them into the whole context of their continuing lives, especially the meaning and mark that such events might (or might not) leave on their ordinary lives' (Graburn, 2002, p.20). In particular, Graburn (2002, p.29) advocates discussing the experience with participants afterwards 'in order to uncover other layers of meaning, or the changing nature of the experience under recall when contrasted with it at the time'.

My experiences within this ethnographic study and my interpretations of the data reflect a female, white and European perspective of a mountaineering expedition's norms and expectations. Male participants and participants from different backgrounds may have experienced the events captured in the data very differently. Although my background may have enhanced data analysis of the experiences of women in mountaineering tourism and provided insights regarding how a white, European mountaineer tourist may experience a commercially organised expedition, it was also limiting. Future research should incorporate female researchers of different ages, with different mountaineering experience, from different cultural backgrounds to broaden the perspectives presented in this study. Similarly, a male researcher may provide alternative interpretations of the data.

4.4 Quantitative Component: Questionnaire Survey Research

The decision to add a quantitative component to this study came from a meeting I had with the organisers of the Women's Climbing Symposium (WCS) regarding cross-promotion of their event with the ATRA event I co-organised in 2015 (see section 5.2). During the meeting I explained my research interests and the challenges I had encountered collecting data. As the symposium was expected to attract 200 female climbers, they suggested that I collect data during the event. Due to the physical environment of the venue and the event requiring the women to participate in activities throughout the day, a qualitative methodology would have been inappropriate. Instead, a questionnaire survey which the women could complete quickly, or, failing that, I could direct the women to after the event, was more suitable. Details of the quantitative data collection process, for which the WCS was a catalyst, will now be discussed, followed by an explanation of the data analysis procedures, the ethical considerations and the limitations of this quantitative component. First, the positivist paradigm which informed the quantitative component of this MM research will be discussed.

4.4.1 Defining Positivism

In the social sciences, positivism explains reality by observing or testing facts from which generalisations can be made to develop theories to explain behaviour or relationships (Jennings, 2010). Accordingly, an objectivist epistemological stance is assumed, in which the researcher sees the phenomena to be studied from the outside, with behaviour to be explained on the basis of data and observations objectively gathered (Veal, 2018). Therefore, it is assumed that the researcher does not impact on or influence the results or findings (Jennings, 2010*)*. In the context of this doctoral study, and in opposition to the qualitative component, I adopted a positivist researcher role, detached from the female mountaineers that I was studying. Following a deductive path (see Figure 3 in section 4.2), a questionnaire was developed to test the conceptual model (see Figure 1 in Chapter 3) and determine its accuracy and

its applicability for explaining women's constraints on mountaineering tourism, the negotiation strategies they employ to overcome constraints and their mountaineering tourism participation benefits (RO4).

4.4.2 The Quantitative Data Collection Process

A self-selected sample of female mountaineers was recruited between October 2015 and March 2016. This began at the WCS, which was held in Sheffield during October 2015. During the welcome speech at the start of the day the event organisers asked me to introduce myself, my research interests and my questionnaire survey. With the agreement of the organisers, I then stationed myself by the café where I believed I would be able to capture the women as they moved between activities and whilst they took a break. I anticipated needing to approach the women and ask them to complete the questionnaire survey, however, they approached me, and I was busy all day speaking to them about my research, hearing about their experiences and monitoring the 20 iPads that I had for the participants to use to complete the online questionnaire survey. Out of the 200 women that attended the event, 152 women self-completed the questionnaire. After the event, female mountaineers continued to be invited to self-complete the online questionnaire survey in the subsequent months through the social media of Jagged Globe, WCS and Mountain Training's (MT) (the awarding body of skills courses and qualifications in walking, climbing and mountaineering in the UK and Ireland) 'Women in Mountain Training' Facebook page, as well as through the online climbing forums WomenClimb and UKClimbing. In January 2016, the response rate became stagnant and after one last attempt at promoting the questionnaire survey, I decided to remove access to it in March 2016. After deleting six incomplete questionnaires, 307 usable responses were obtained. In hindsight, I could have identified specific groups on social media sites, such as Twitter or Facebook, which may have elicited further responses. However, to ensure that I could include a publication based on the findings in this doctoral thesis, we needed to begin analysing the data. Furthermore, it had been six months since the survey was launched and the winner of the prize draw still needed to be announced.

The aim of the questionnaire survey was to test the conceptual model (RO4). Accordingly, the questions related specifically to the constraints, negotiation strategies and participation benefits identified in the Literature Review and P1. It also included questions about subjects' motivation to participate in mountaineering and the type of mountaineering activity respondents engaged in, both recreationally and whilst on holiday: bouldering, rock climbing, snow and ice climbing, and mixed (rock and ice) climbing. Additionally, it gathered information about the level of expertise attained in each activity type and the groups they climbed with in both settings (women-only, mixed-gender or both), together with their frequency of participation and respondents' demographics. The questionnaire was developed using the free online tool Google Forms. This was selected because it is easy to use, it allowed me to collect categorical and interval level data using a variety of response sets, such as multiple-choice questions, verification boxes (e.g. yes or no), agreement/disagreement Likert-type scales and short answers, and I was able to select a design for the questionnaire. Google Forms are also integrated with Google spreadsheets and data can either be stored and analysed in Google spreadsheets or downloaded to Microsoft Excel. Furthermore, Google Forms allowed me to send the questionnaire by email and by using a link in social media posts.

The questionnaire was long, hence why it was decided to predominantly use closed questions which were pre-coded to make the survey quick and easy to complete and easier to analyse. Only five questions were open-ended, as providing a range of answers for these questions would have been too extensive. For example, question 28 asks 'Where do you live?' which could elicit an exhaustive list of locations. The only exception to this is question 15 which asks 'Why?' (do you prefer to climb on holiday with women-only, mixed-gender or both). Here, I hoped respondents would provide rich and varied information which might have been hidden by categories on a pre-coded list (Veal, 2018). The participation constraints, negotiation strategies and participation benefits, sourced from the pertinent literature, were measured using five-point Likert scales ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5), with all intervening options clearly labelled and numbered. The

questionnaire also contained filters, in that, answers to certain questions determined which subsequent questions must be answered (*ibid*).

The questionnaire was subjected to a protocol analysis with three climbing friends who were encouraged to think aloud as they completed each question. The aim was to test the wording and sequencing of the questions, the respondents' understanding of the questions, the layout of the questionnaire, the time it took to complete the questionnaire, the fieldwork arrangements and the analysis procedures (Veal, 2018). The questionnaire was then piloted using a small sample (n = 3) from the WomenClimb, MT and WCS groups. No changes were made as a result. As an incentive to complete the questionnaire, MT kindly offered to provide a prize draw to win a climbing book written and signed by a prolific British female climber, Libby Peters, as well as free registration onto a MT course of their choice. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix 5.

4.4.3 Approaches to Quantitative Data Analysis

Due to the time it would take for me to become familiar with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyse the data, our obligation to share our findings with the organisations that piloted and promoted the questionnaire, together with the limited timeframe to publish the findings and include this within my PhD, my second supervisor, Professor Peter Schofield, suggested that he did the analysis and I interpret the data.

Interpretation began at the beginning of the analysis process when a descriptive procedure was used to calculate the frequency, mean and standard deviation statistics of respondents' agreement/disagreement ratings on the participation constraint, negotiation and participation benefit statements. Specifically, the means of each statement were compared and contrasted. However, whilst writing P3, in addition to analysing the mean of each constraint statement, I suggested that we explore the relationship between the dependent variable (each constraint statement) and the independent variables. Specifically, the type of mountaineering activity the respondents participate in, how frequently

they participate and who they participate with (in both a tourism and recreation setting), their level of experience, how long they have been climbing, their motivation to climb, and if they have independently organised their mountaineering holiday, if they have joined a commercially organised holiday or both. Accordingly, this analysis moved from descriptive to explanatory analysis and both independent sample t-tests and one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used to identify the mean differences in the constraint categories on the basis of the aforementioned respondents' behavioural and demographic variables (see P3). Currently, this level of analysis has not been done with the negotiation and benefit data. However, I intend to do this once this doctoral study is complete and I have the time to develop the necessary statistical analysis skills.

In addition to calculating the descriptive statistics for each constraint, negotiation and benefit statement, the data were subjected to exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to test their dimensionality, which was verified using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using AMOS Version 24. By grouping statements based on their multiple correlations rather than a linear combination of the variables, using a principle components analysis (PCA), new constraint, negotiation and benefit dimensions emerged, and were labelled based on a thematic analysis of the items loading on each dimension. The dimensions, the associated analyses and the contribution of these findings to knowledge are explained in the Discussion Chapter.

It was not possible to replicate this research to establish test-retest reliability and, as noted by Veal (2018), previous research can also not be relied upon to establish reliability, as 'the changing essence of human nature over time and space means that consistency with previous research findings is by no means a guarantee of reliability' (p.485). Therefore, we can only assume that similar results would be obtained if the research was replicated.

4.4.4 Ethics

As suggested by Jennings (2010), to ensure the research was ethically sound the respondents participated voluntarily; informed consent was given by the participants after they were provided with oral and written explanations of the research. The participants had the right to refuse to answer any questions and they could withdraw from the research at any time. Although the respondents were asked to share their email address for the purpose of the prize draw, only the winner's email address was shared with MT. To ensure the participants' anonymity, I selected the prize winner by asking MT to choose a number between 1 and 313. All other email addresses were kept confidential. Similarly, all data was treated as confidential and anonymous and the data set was stored in a secure, password protected location.

4.4.5 Limitations of the Quantitative Component

There are a number of possible threats to the validity of the findings (Veal, 2018). Half of the respondents completed the questionnaire in a busy and distracting environment during the WCS when their focus was on participating in the climbing activities and not on completing the questionnaire. Consequently, inaccuracies or incompleteness may have occurred. Furthermore, some respondents may not have accurately recalled their mountaineering tourism experiences, particularly if they participated some time ago. Similarly, some respondents may have inaccurately completed the survey in an attempt to provide a more favourable report of their experiences and ability. By comparison, some may have down-played their experiences and ability. Whilst these limitations are possible, it is hoped that they are not significant and that, combined with the aforementioned validity measures, the findings are reliable.

Another limitation of this study relates to the sample type and size. A non-probability convenience sampling approach was taken (Jennings, 2010). Specifically, the WCS event and the social media of Jagged Globe, WCS, MT and WomenClimb, together with the forum UKClimbing, were selected to distribute the questionnaire survey. Therefore, women that did not attend this

event or follow these groups are unlikely to have heard about this study and had the opportunity to participate. Consequently, the sample and the results may not be representative of the population. In relation to the sample size, the margin of statistical error was established using a 95% confidence interval. The survey produced 307 usable responses; as such, the interpretation of the results was guided by a 95% confidence interval for a sample of 300 as illustrated in Table 8 (Veal, 2018).

Table 8: Confidence intervals related to a sample size of 300

Finding from the survey	95% confidence interval
50%	±5.7
40% or 60%	±5.5
30% or 70%	±5.2
20% or 80%	±4.5
10% or 90%	±3.4
5% or 95%	±2.5
2% or 98%	±1.6

For example, if 20% of the sample had the same characteristic or agreed to the same statement (and 80% did not), there is an estimated 95% chance that the true population percentage falls in the range 20% ± 4.5%, i.e. between 15.5% and 24.5%. 'This means that, if a hundred samples of the same size were drawn, in 95 cases we would expect the value of the statistic to be within these two standard errors of the population value; and in 5 cases, we would expect it to be outside of this range' (Veal, 2018, p.422). As the population value is unknown, I have to rely on this probability about the likely accuracy of the survey's findings.

4.5 The Merging of Data Sets to Facilitate Interpretation

Now that both sets of data (qualitative and quantitative) have been analysed separately, and in accordance with a convergent design, they must be merged (see step 3 & 4 of Figure 4). This process involves comparing, contrasting and/or synthesising the results in a discussion (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), which will be done in the Discussion Chapter. Interpretation in MM research is

often referred to as drawing inferences and meta-inferences (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Inferences are the conclusions or interpretations drawn from the separate quantitative and qualitative strands of a study, and meta-inferences are those drawn across both the quantitative and qualitative strands. The aim of this process is to produce a more complete understanding of women's constraints to mountaineering tourism, their constraint negotiation strategies and their participation benefits (RO5). Accordingly, only the qualitative data relating to the female expedition participants are included in the following Discussion Chapter. However, some of the findings from the male expedition participants, alongside findings from the female expedition participants, can be found in P4 and they will form part of future publications (see Table 20 in the Conclusion Chapter).

4.6 Summary

This chapter provides details of the research philosophy adopted in this study and the rationale for employing MM research. A MM design was not selected *a priori.* Rather, this study began with a qualitative ethnographic component and, due to unforeseen challenges, it was necessary to explore alternative settings and methodologies in order to achieve the study's overall aim. Consequently, and in accordance with pragmatism, a quantitative component was added to this doctoral study. Despite the call for more adventure tourism ethnography research, few scholars have adopted this approach. Previous applications of ethnography in adventure tourism research were considered and a rational for PBE was given by taking into consideration the propensity to overlook the operationalisation of research methods in other adventure tourism ethnography studies. A discussion of the paradigms which informed both the qualitative and quantitative components was also provided, together with the practical and methodological approaches taken. Here reflections were given on my personal experience of the data collection process. The data analysis process was described in detail, taking into account research validity, reliability and ethics.

5.0 Development of Each Publication

This chapter provides a summary of the development of my published work and explains how each publication relates to the research questions, aim and objectives of this doctoral study. Specifically, each publication will be discussed in terms of its key findings, the contribution each makes to theory and management practice and how they support one another to achieve the overall doctoral study. Furthermore, details of the conferences where each publication was presented (see Table 9) and an explanation of the publication process are provided.

Table 9: A list of conferences where the findings from this doctoral study were presented

Publication	Conference
P1	Doran, A. (2012). A review of the current literature on female adventure tourists. Presented at the Adventure Tourism Research Association's (ATRA) 1st International Adventure Conference, 'Meanings, Markets and Magic', University of the Highlands and Islands, Scotland.
	Doran, A. (2012). A review of the current literature on female adventure tourists. Presented at the Sheffield Hallam University (SHU)/Girona Colloquium, SHU.
	Doran, A. (2014). Empowerment and women in adventure tourism: a negotiated journey. Presented at ATRA's 3rd International Adventure Conference, 'Adventures in Empty Lands - the Difference and Value of Wild Places', Sogndal, Norway.
P2	Doran, A. & Pomfret, G. (2014). Gender and Mountaineering. Presented at the ATRA Adventure Research Seminar, Sheffield Hallam University.
P3	Doran, A. (2017). Women's mountaineering tourism: an empirical investigation of its theoretical constraint dimensions. Presented at the Sustainable Tourism Development Conference, Kathmandu, Nepal.
	Doran, A. (2018). Women's mountaineering tourism: an empirical investigation of its theoretical constraint dimensions. Presented at ATRA's 6th International Adventure Conference, 'Climates of Change: Rethinking the Outdoor Experience', Segovia, La Granja and Valsain, Spain.
P4	Doran, A. (2016). Using phenomenology-based ethnography to examine mountaineering tourism experiences: a critical analysis. Presented at the Sheffield Business School (SBS) Doctoral Conference, Sheffield Hallam University.

5.1 Development of Publication 1 (P1)

The initial aim of this publication was to explore the constraints women encounter and negotiate whilst participating in adventure tourism, and the benefits they gain from participation. However, during the process of writing this

paper it became apparent that constraints, their negotiation and benefits can also provide a way of understanding women's empowerment. Whilst empowerment is a benefit in its own right, empowerment can also be gained through the process of constraint negotiation and incidentally through experiencing other benefits of adventure tourism. Consequently, the aim of this paper shifted slightly and instead of simply examining constraint, negotiation and benefits, it did so through the lens of women's empowerment. As aforementioned, this paper adopted a general approach and focused on women's adventure tourism experiences, as opposed to women's mountaineering tourism experiences specifically, as I believed this would have a broader appeal to journals and their readers. Therefore, tourism literature was reviewed alongside adventure tourism and adventure recreation literature. By examining literature on women's experiences across a range of tourism and adventure settings, this paper presents new all-encompassing constraint, negotiation and benefit categories and sub-categories. Furthermore, this publication, and indeed this doctoral study, is unique as it examines constraints, negotiation and benefits together as interrelated and interdependent elements, rather than independently of one another, which has commonly been adopted by other scholars. Accordingly, the conceptual model presented in this publication raises awareness of the challenges women face when pursuing their adventure tourism aspirations and it highlights how enabling and empowering this journey can be. Although this paper does not present definitive answers supported by empirical research, it does present a model that can be used as a useful tool by others to conceptualise their research in this area, hence contributing to RO5 of this doctoral study.

The general adventure tourism and adventure recreation literature reviewed in this paper was later combined with specific literature on women's mountaineering experiences and presented in Chapter 2 of this doctoral thesis. Through this process the same broad constraint, negotiation and benefit categories (with the addition of Packaged Adventure Tourism) emerged, therefore the conceptual model developed and presented in this publication is largely the same as the one presented in Chapter 3. Accordingly, this

publication contributes to RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4, RO1 and RO2 of this doctoral study.

An early review of the literature, prior to developing the conceptual model, was presented at ATRA's 1st Conference (see Table 9) and the SHU/Girona Research Colloquium. The intention was to gauge the audiences' opinions on the topic, particularly with regards to my intention to focus specifically on female mountaineer tourists, and to receive feedback at this initial stage of my doctoral study. One tourism academic from Girona University suggested that I examine the experiences of both male and female mountaineer tourists. Conversely, a number of adventure academics at the ATRA conference suggested that I only focus on female mountaineers, recognising that this is a marginalised group. Whilst I could see the benefit of comparing the experiences of both genders, I decided to continue focusing on female mountaineers as this is where my interests lay, and it is an area that has received limited academic attention. Nevertheless, the feedback from both audiences was extremely positive and it gave me the confidence to look more closely at the literature and develop the conceptual model presented in this publication. I then presented the conceptual model at the 3rd ATRA conference (see Table 9), during which time this publication was under review with Tourism Management, and again this received positive feedback with members of the audience praising my intention to focus on constraints, negotiation and benefits together. During the conference Dr Tiff Low expressed a keen interest in my work and we discussed extending this research, after I had completed my doctorate, to examine the marketing of mountaineering tourism to women. Subsequently, I invited Dr Low to co-author my next publication as I thought this might provide an opportunity to develop a working relationship with one another. Furthermore, another ATRA member, a colleague from Western Washington University, USA, has since told me that she uses this paper and the conceptual model in her teaching. I also use this paper and the conceptual model in my own teaching, specifically the Level 5 International Adventure Tourism module I created with my DOS.

Writing and publishing this paper took four years and it made me doubt my ability to continue on the article-based route. Reviewing the literature, looking

for relationships and developing the conceptual model, whilst simultaneously developing my academic writing skills to a publishable level, took much longer than anticipated. Furthermore, during this time I had to take on additional responsibilities at work which left little time for my PhD. On reflection I wished I had taken a pause in studies at this time. Publishing this paper was also challenging. Despite my desire to submit this paper to a lower ranking journal that publishes similar research, my supervisors advised me to submit to Tourism Management and after being under review for many months it was rejected. However, this proved to be a useful exercise as I received constructive feedback which helped me to improve the paper. For example, the reviewers asked me to strengthen my discussion on how the different stages of a woman's life-course can influence their adventure tourism participation. Following this I submitted this paper to Current Issues in Tourism. Again, the paper was rejected, this time on grounds that they felt it did not fit within the journal, and they advised me to consider adding some findings to the paper as conceptual papers are very hard to get published. Undeterred, I submitted it to the Journal of Sport and Tourism, the journal I originally wanted to submit to. Fortunately, the journal accepted my paper after I addressed the reviewers' comments to provide an explanation of the methodology I adopted. Subsequently, this paper has gone through an internal 'mini Research Excellence Framework' process and it was graded as a 2*-3* paper.

5.2 Development of Publication 2 (P2)

After receiving affirmation from other tourism and adventure academics regarding this doctoral study's research aim and objectives, and after the successful publication of P1, I began to explore literature on mountaineering. It became evident that men participate more than women in both recreation and tourism settings (see section 1.1), yet the role of gender in mountaineering has largely been neglected in prior research. Furthermore, studies have primarily focused on recreational mountaineers (see Delle Fave, Bassi & Massimini, 2003; Ewert, Gilbertson, Luo & Voight, 2013; Lester, 2004; Lowenstein, 1999) and little is still known about mountaineer tourists, with the exception of a small number of studies (Carr, 1997; 2001; Pomfret, 2006; 2011; 2012; Pomfret &

Bramwell, 2014). Hence, men and women's participation in mountaineering tourism warrants academic attention so as to develop an appreciation of the role that gender plays. In response to this, I co-authored a book chapter (see Appendix 2) with Dr Gill Pomfret (DOS) to explore the key issues around gender and mountaineering tourism, to consider the limited research that exists, to expose the many gaps in our knowledge and to present opportunities for further research on this topic. This contributed to RO5 of this doctoral study. Unlike the literature reviewed in P1, which adopted a broader approach, this publication specifically focused on mountaineering. However, when combined with the literature reviewed in P1, this publication provided context for this doctoral study and informed the development of the conceptual model presented in Chapter 3, in particular the participation constraints and the negotiation strategies elements. Accordingly, this publication contributes to RQ1, RQ2, RO1 and RO2 of this doctoral study.

This is the first textbook to focus specifically on mountaineering tourism and I feel fortunate and grateful to have contributed to this. Not only has this helped me to develop my research profile, it also enabled me to develop alternative academic writing skills beyond writing journal articles. Textbook literature is more appealing to students and this book chapter has also enabled me to easily disseminate my research to our students. This is particularly pertinent as we developed an International Adventure Tourism module for our second year BSc (Hons) International Tourism Management degree in 2016 and an Adventure Tourism route for this same degree in 2018. Thankfully, writing this publication was a much easier and quicker process than P1. This was my first co-authored publication and I learnt a lot from this experience. Writing with someone else provided the opportunity to share and reaffirm my ideas, to divide the work load and to learn from my co-author's practice. My writing style also improved greatly from this experience. By comparison to writing journal articles, the publication process for this book chapter was also relatively easy. We submitted an abstract for our proposed chapter, which was approved by the book editors. We then collected the relevant literature, identified the key themes, created a plan for the chapter and divided the work equally. The editors were happy with our

draft and we did not need to make any amendments. Within six months we had written a book chapter and received confirmation that it would be published.

We also presented this publication at an Adventure Research Seminar which Dr Gill Pomfret and I organised as members of the ATRA on Friday 6th June 2014 at the university. The purpose of the research seminar was to bring regional academics and industry practitioners together to discuss the opportunities and challenges they are facing in their practice and current research, and to explore ways we can work together. The seminar was attended by academics from Sheffield Hallam University, University of Sheffield, Sheffield City Council, Visit Peak District and Derbyshire, Heason Events (who organise national and international adventure focused events which are hosted in the region) and Jagged Globe (a leading UK mountaineering tour operator). This proved to be a useful networking opportunity and subsequently Jagged Globe supported me with my data collection for this doctoral study and many of the participants of this seminar attended the 5th ATRA conference, which Dr Gill Pomfret and I co-organised and hosted in September 2015. The conference, albeit very time consuming to organise, was extremely beneficial in developing my research profile. Following the conference, I was invited to participate in a panel discussion on women's participation in adventure sports at the Outdoor Industries Association European Summit, which was held in Sheffield in October 2015. This summit is a key industry event which brings together more than 300 senior executives within the outdoor industry from across the world (see OIA, 2015b). Furthermore, our conference came to the attention of a colleague in the university's Sport Industry Research Centre and, subsequently, we created the Outdoor Recreation Research Group (see ORRG, 2019) which now consists of 11 members from across the six different departments within the university, bringing together economists, social scientists, ecologists, engineers and behaviour change and tourism experts. We are also the first cross-disciplinary research group in the UK looking at growing the outdoor recreation sector. An ORRG project that I am currently working on is for Sheffield City Council to develop climbing, cycling and mountain biking breaks to attract international sport enthusiasts which is funded by the VisitBritain Discover England Fund (DEF) (see Welcome to Sheffield, 2017).

5.3 Development of Publication 3 (P3)

The purpose of this publication was to quantitatively test the conceptual model developed in Chapter 3 of this thesis and address RO4. A self-selected sample of female mountaineers was recruited between October 2015 and March 2016 by invitation through the Women's Climbing Symposium, the social media of Jagged Globe and Mountain Training's 'Women in Mountain Training' social media and through the online climbing forums WomenClimb and UKClimbing, to complete the survey of their participation constraints, constraint negotiation strategies and participation benefits relating to mountaineering tourism. This paper focused solely on women's participation constraints and consequently addressed RQ1 of this doctoral study. A forthcoming paper will focus on the relationship between women's constraint negotiation and participation benefits through the lens of empowerment. However, findings relating to this and how they address RQ2, RQ3, RQ4 and RQ5 will be discussed in the following Discussion Chapter (Chapter 6). For this survey a mountaineering holiday was defined as staying away from home for at least one night for the purpose of participating in mountaineering activities or courses. The survey produced 307 useable responses.

Four constraint dimensions were identified. Whilst three of these dimensions (intra-personal, inter-personal and structural) support earlier findings in the extant literature, the identification of a fourth dimension relating to family constraints represents a new contribution to the literature and an additional barrier to women's participation in mountaineering tourism. Previous studies on women's participation in adventure recreation (including mountaineering) and adventure tourism, all of which have adopted a qualitative approach, have identified family constraints as a critically important barrier to their participation and it has typically been subsumed within inter-personal and/or intra-personal constraints. By adopting a quantitative approach in this study, a family constraint dimension emerged as a distinctly separate constraint category in relation to this particular tourist activity. Furthermore, the findings show that despite the many constraints identified in previous studies, the respondents only strongly agreed with four key constraints: the cost of mountaineering

tourism, lack of knowledge of climbing routes, concerns about fitness levels and concerns about climbing abilities. This is likely due to the high proportion of respondents (62.9%) already participating in mountaineering tourism, indicating that they have already overcome the other constraints or that they are not relevant in the context of mountaineering tourism. Unlike other studies on women's participation in mountaineering, which have largely focused on rock climbing, this study recognises a range of mountaineering activities that women participate in. Uniquely, this study has also examined how their recreation experiences of these activities influence their perceived mountaineering tourism constraints. This is important because the findings show that women's perceptions of constraints on mountaineering tourism are influenced more by their recreation behaviour than by their demographics or holiday mountaineering behaviour. Therefore, this study makes an important theoretical contribution to the understanding of women's constraints on mountaineering participation in both recreation and tourism contexts and addresses RO5.

The findings also have important implications for mountaineering tourism management practice as they provide an insight into the main constraints on women's participation in a range of mountaineering tourism activities, again addressing RO5. Of particular relevance here is the strong influence of women's recreational mountaineering participation on their perceived constraints to mountaineering tourism. Moreover, intra-personal constraints were found to be the key barrier to mountaineering tourism participation for women, which supports both the results from qualitative research on this subject and the underpinning theory relating to the necessity of overcoming intra-personal barriers to form leisure preferences and commitment to participation (Godbey, Crawford & Shen, 2010). Therefore, this paper recommends that adventure tourism organisations should address intra-personal constraints in their communication with female clients. However, the results show that all of the dimensions may be barriers to participation, particularly family constraints, when targeting female mountaineering tourists. Since collecting this data, I have distributed the findings to the organisations which helped us to promote the survey with the hope that this may inform their practice. After the submission of this doctoral

study I intend to contact these organisations to enquire about their practice regarding women's engagement with their mountaineering tourism products, to ask if they found the findings of this study useful and to ask if they would like to participate in my next research project on marketing to female mountaineer tourists.

I have presented this paper at two conferences (see Table 9) and whilst members of the audience said they enjoyed the presentation, I did not receive any specific feedback on how this paper could be improved or adapted. Like P2, co-authoring this paper was very rewarding. Previously I had no experience of collecting and analysing quantitative data. To utilise our strengths, we agreed that I would design the questionnaire and collect the data and that Professor Peter Schofield would analyse the data, as we hoped that by using sophisticated analysis techniques to develop a structural equation model, which Peter is familiar with, this paper had a greater chance of being accepted in a high-ranking journal. Nevertheless, given my knowledge of the literature, I interpreted the data and directed further analysis to explore pertinent findings. This experience provided me with an opportunity to use SPSS in practice and to develop basic quantitative skills, which I intend to develop further after this doctorate to enhance my curriculum vitae. Working with Dr Low on this paper also strengthened our working relationship and it has given us a foundation on which to build a new research project on marketing to female mountaineers, which we plan to develop this academic year.

We initially submitted this paper to the Journal of Travel Research as I already had a paper (P4) under review with this journal. However, the paper was rejected, and we decided to target a leisure and recreation focused journal, specifically Leisure Studies. The reviewers felt that the paper was well written, relevant to the journal and offered interesting insights into the world of women's mountaineering tourism. However, they suggested that we recognised the existing work on gender and tourism and engage more with the growing body of literature on family to provide a stronger conceptualisation of family. Whilst these comments were easy to remedy, due to me being on annual leave and Dr Low on maternity leave, we had to ask for a short extension on our revised

manuscript. This was granted and our paper was accepted with no further revisions.

5.4 Development of Publication 4 (P4)

The aim of this publication was to analyse the qualitative data I collected through ethnography fieldwork against the conceptual model presented in Chapter 3, hence addressing RO3. Like P3, we decided that this paper would focus on constraints to achieve RQ1 and that three subsequent papers would focus on the negotiation strategies to overcome constraints, the benefits of participation, and the inter-relationship between constraints, negotiation and benefits. However, through the process of data analysis, the intra-personal constraints encountered by mountaineer tourists emerged as the most prominent and self-efficacy strongly influenced their negotiation. Therefore, despite the data generating other structural and inter-personal constraints, this paper focused purely on intra-personal constraints and the negotiation of these, thus contributing to RQ1 and RQ2 of this doctoral study. Findings relating to the other constraints and negotiation strategies which are not discussed in this paper, alongside the findings regarding participation benefits, are explained in the following Discussion Chapter (Chapter 6) and their relationship to RQ2, RQ3, RQ4 and RQ5 is noted. Unlike P3, this paper did not solely focus on the experiences of female mountaineers and findings from the male participants were included. However, in accordance to the study's aim, objectives and research questions, only the findings relating to the female mountaineers are presented in the following Discussion Chapter.

Four categories of intra-personal constraints emerged as prominent themes within the data. These are personal mountaineering skills, personal fitness, altitude sickness and fatigue. Similarly, four types of strategies used by the mountaineers to negotiate these intra-personal constraints were identified; these are training, rest days, personal health, and positive self-talk (stopping negative thoughts and focusing on the moment when climbing). Efficacy played an important role in constraint negotiation, yet this did not act in isolation, and the personal characteristics of the mountaineers, their hardiness and motivation

levels also influenced successful negotiation. To illustrate the key findings and to show the originality of this research a conceptual model was developed in this paper. The model also illustrates that high levels of self-efficacy and negotiation-efficacy are more critical to successful performance in mountaineering compared with more conventional holidays, where tourists are not challenging themselves in outdoor environments. While this model and its associated key findings specifically focus on mountaineer tourists, the model also develops understanding about the constraint negotiation process for other types of adventure tourist. Furthermore, this study employs ethnography, an underused approach to adventure tourism research, and it considers both the challenges and benefits of gathering data in this way. Therefore, this study makes a theoretical and methodological contribution to progressing academic research in this field and addresses RO5.

The findings from this study also have implications for the commercial mountaineering sector and the wider adventure tourism industry (RO5). They can assist adventure tourism organisations in appreciating the complexity of the constraint negotiation process, which can facilitate development of the soft skills and emotional intelligence of their guides and leaders. They can also help organisations to manage their clients' expectations. Organisations may more readily recognise when their participants need further encouragement through verbal persuasion to bolster their efficacy. Moreover, they may detect more easily low self-efficacy and self-doubt during activity participation and whether these reflect motivational problems, weaknesses in ability or hardiness, or a low level of confidence. The findings can also help organisations to recognise that clients need further encouragement and advice pre-expedition.

To date I have only presented the methodology part of this publication. At the SHU Doctoral Conference in 2016 I presented my experience of using phenomenology-based ethnography to examine the experiences of mountaineering tourism. The aim of this presentation was not to present my fieldwork data, but to discuss the challenges and opportunities of gathering data in this way, as I intend to publish a paper on this (see section 7.5 in the Conclusion Chapter). After the presentation, Dr Tracey Cole suggested that I

needed to develop my discussion further on how this makes a methodological contribution to adventure and tourism research, but also to ethnography research in general. Subsequently, I applied this feedback when planning the structure of this paper, which is part written.

This paper was written and submitted to a journal before P3, however, it was not accepted for publication until after P3. Initially, this publication was submitted to the Journal of Travel Research. Two of the reviewers thought the article was well written, it was of interest to academic tourism readers, it demonstrated an excellent understanding of phenomenology and efficacy, and they enjoyed the self-reflection and reflexivity part of the paper. Consequently, they made only a few minor suggestions, specifically moving the conceptual model from before to after the findings and showing a more equal balance of participant voices. However, one reviewer was more critical. They felt that 12 participants were not enough and, whilst they recognised that ethnography generally uses other methods to interviews, they felt that more interviews were needed. They also felt we made assumptions at times, my explanation of being a participant observer showed inexperience, in that by reassuring the participants I was putting them at risk, and that our data showed that the participants were inexperienced and that 'these operators are simply lining their pockets with money by inviting anyone who can write a big enough cheque to participate'. Whilst we could understand some of the points this reviewer was making, we also felt that they were subjective at times. Consequently, most of our efforts in revising our manuscript focused on the comments of this reviewer. Sadly, this reviewer did not read our re-submission and one of the other reviewer's felt that we had not addressed all of their comments, despite the comments they raised not being included in their original feedback. Hence the editor rejected the paper. We then edited the paper to reduce the word count and submitted it to Leisure Studies, due to the success of P3. However, the reviewers felt that it was unsuitable for Leisure Studies. We then submitted the paper to Tourist Studies. The reviewers said that they enjoyed reading the paper, particularly the discussion of the findings, and that it had a lot to offer. Reviewer one felt that the conceptual model could be applied beyond adventure tourism, yet also questioned the need for it, believing that the analysis was

strong enough without it. Furthermore, they also queried the development of a conceptual model while applying an ethnographic approach. This is something we had not considered, and whilst we recognised that developing a conceptual model to present ethnographic findings was unusual, we hoped that it would illustrate the analytic process between the ideas and the data which were presented in the narrative. We also thought that the model could be a useful tool for others when conceptualising their research in this area, therefore we decided to include the model within the revised manuscript. By comparison, reviewer two suggested broadening our discussion of the conceptual model in relation to other preceding adventure models. However, this would have increased our word count considerably and we felt it would be more appropriate for a future conceptual paper. In addition, this reviewer also suggested the inclusion of further relevant literature. These comments were easy to remedy, and we resubmitted the paper within a month of receiving their feedback. However, we did not hear back from the journal for 4 months after re-submission, and consequently I had to request an extension on the submission date of this doctoral study. It transpired that the journal had experienced technical issues and that, in all likelihood, this paper was accepted much earlier than 12th February 2019 when we received confirmation of acceptance via email.

5.5 The Relationship Between the Publications and the Thesis

The publications were written as I progressed through the doctoral study and they include elements of each of the chapters within this thesis. First, P1 was developed during the review of literature and the construction of the Conceptual Model (Figure 1) (Chapters 2 & 3). A theme that emerged during the process of reviewing the literature was the role of gender in mountaineering and this was explored further in P2. The other two publications (P3 & P4) are based on the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study, respectively, and they incorporate elements of the Methodology and Discussion of Findings chapters (Chapters 4 and 6) within them. P3 and P4 also utilised Chapters 1 and 7 to introduce the focus of the research and to conclude on its findings, including the

study's contribution to theory and practice, as well as suggestions for future research.

6.0 Discussion of Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to merge both sets of data (the qualitative ethnography data from the female mountaineers and the quantitative survey data) to produce a more complete understanding of women's constraints on mountaineering tourism, their constraint negotiation and their participation benefits (RO3, RO4 & RO5). Accordingly, this chapter combines, compares and contrasts the two sets of data relating to these three areas of inquiry. In some instances, the quantitative results are illustrated with qualitative findings and elsewhere complimentary quantitative and qualitative results are synthesised to develop a more complete understanding of the phenomenon. The key themes within each area of inquiry are identified to create categories and sub-categories of constraints, negotiation and benefits. To ensure consistency, and like the review of literature, constraints, negotiation and benefits will be discussed in turn. Where appropriate, the published work where the findings are presented is specified. Finally, a revised conceptual model that illustrates the research findings is presented and conclusions are then drawn which reflect what was learned from comparing and blending both sets of data, and the extent to which this process of data collection enabled me to produce a more complete understanding of the research problem.

6.1 Women's Participation Constraints on Mountaineering Tourism

As explained in P3, 21 constraints on women's participation in recreational mountaineering, mountaineering tourism, and other forms of adventure recreation and adventure tourism were identified in the literature. The survey respondents' agreement/disagreement ratings relating to these constraints are presented in Table 10 in descending order of mean values.

Table 10: Constraint ratings

	x	s	SD	D	N	A	SA
The high cost of mountaineering on holiday is prohibitive	3.52	1.24	9.8	12.1	16.4	39.0	22.6
Not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes	2.97	1.22	15.5	24.7	12.8	41.8	5.3
Being worried about my fitness level	2.95	1.29	20.3	22.6	8.9	43.0	5.2
Being worried about my climbing ability	2.90	1.29	20.3	22.6	8.9	43.0	5.2
Not having anyone to go with	2.81	1.31	20.0	27.9	12.1	31.1	8.9
Not having the necessary equipment	2.75	1.32	23.1	24.8	14.5	29.0	8.6
Feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments	2.65	1.17	20.3	28.9	19.0	29.5	2.3
My household/family commitments mean that I have little time to go on these types of holidays/courses	2.37	1.35	35.9	25.8	12.7	16.3	9.2
It takes too much time to independently organise mountaineering whilst on holiday	2.34	1.14	29.7	29.4	19.8	19.8	1.3
The lack of women featured in promotional material for mountaineering holidays/courses puts me off participating	2.23	1.14	37.2	32.6	13.8	13.5	3.0
The dangerous nature of climbing	2.21	1.07	29.2	38.4	15.7	15.4	1.3
The unfamiliarity of foreign locations puts me off mountaineering whilst on holiday	2.15	1.11	34.1	35.8	13.6	14.6	2.0
The lack of female guides/instructors discourages me from these types of holidays/courses	2.13	1.10	35.5	33.6	14.8	14.5	1.6
Being lonely	2.00	1.05	38.0	38.7	10.5	10.8	2.0
My family/friends don't understand why I would want to do these types of holidays/courses	1.99	1.14	45.9	26.2	12.5	13.4	2.0
Concerns about unwanted male attention	1.95	0.96	37.8	40.5	12.8	7.6	1.3
Being a minority as a woman	1.83	0.99	47.0	33.8	9.6	8.6	1.0
I have been put off these types of holidays because mountains are portrayed as scary, uncomfortable & intimidating	1.80	0.94	46.9	35.0	10.5	6.6	1.0
I think of myself as unadventurous	1.77	0.87	46.2	36.0	13.2	4.0	0.7
I have been put off these holidays because they are portrayed as being an activity for men	1.76	0.92	48.4	35.5	7.6	8.6	-
I would feel guilty	1.58	0.84	60.4	26.4	8.3	5.0	-

Notes: x = sample mean; s = sample standard deviation; SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; N = neither; A = agree; SA = strongly agree.

Despite the extensive list of constraints found in the literature, only four constraints received high levels of agreement. However, this may reflect the respondents' level of recreational and tourism mountaineering experience. Specifically, 99.3% have prior experience of recreational mountaineering: 50% (1-5 years); 29.7% (6-10 years); 12.4% (11-15 years); 8.17% (16-20 years); and 7.19% (over 20 years). Furthermore, 62.9% have experience of mountaineering tourism and have the following annual participation frequencies: 24% (once a year); 20.1% (2-3 times a year); 4.8% (4-5 times a year); 14.1% (>5 times a year). This suggests that that they have overcome constraints on recreational and/or tourism participation, and consequently they may perceive fewer constraints on mountaineering tourism. In particular, there was strong agreement about the cost constraints on mountaineering tourism (61.6%) and generally more agreement than disagreement about constraints relating to a lack of knowledge of climbing routes (47.1%), together with concerns about fitness levels (48.2%) and climbing abilities (48.2%). Whilst the constraints relating to not having anyone to climb with (40%), not having the necessary equipment (37.6%) and feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments (31.8%) received a significant level of agreement, they also received slightly more disagreement than agreement. By comparison, the remaining constraints received more disagreement than agreement. Moreover, it is notable that for 13 constraints from *'My household duties or family commitments mean that I have little time to go on these types of holidays and courses'* onwards, the overall level of disagreement increases substantially.

P3 also examined the female mountaineers' behavioural and demographic variables on the participation constraints and whilst their demographics had little influence on constraints, the type of recreation and tourism mountaineering activities they participate in (e.g. rock, ice, mixed climbing) and who they participate with (e.g. women-only and mixed-gender groups) did influence their perception of constraints. Space does not allow for a discussion of these results, which can be found in P3.

In addition to empirically verifying the constraints identified in the literature (RQ1 & RO4), the categories of constraints were also examined using Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and a fourth and new additional constraint category emerged: Family constraints (see P3). Three of these categories, 'Intra-personal', 'Inter-personal' and 'Structural' constraints, support similar findings in existing literature, both in a general sense and in the adventure literature more specifically. However, the identification of a fourth category relating to 'Family' constraints represents a new contribution to the literature. While the 'Family' constraint category emerged as a less significant category than the other three, it did emerge independently of the other categories. It is also of interest that four of the constraints which were identified in the literature did not load onto any of the four constraint categories. Whilst these were extracted during the data analysis process for P3, they have been included in this discussion because it does not mean that they are unimportant, they simply did not link to any of the other constraint items and categories during the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). Consequently, these are presented in Table 12 under the constraint category identified in P1 and adopted by other studies. Furthermore, as explained in P3, some of the constraints loaded onto different constraint categories than how they have previously been categorised in other (qualitative) studies, which are presented in Table 11.

Table 11: Re-categorisation of constraint items during CFA

Constraint	Constraint category identified in the literature	Rationale presented in the literature for this category	New constraint category confirmed through CFA
Feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments	Intra-personal	Due to someone's personal fears	Structural
Not having anyone to go with	Inter-personal	Due to the reliance on others	Structural
Not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes	Intra-personal	Due to someone's personal knowledge	Cross-loaded on the Structural and Intra-personal categories (resonates with both categories)
Family and/or friends don't understand why I participate	Inter-personal	Due to family/friends opinions	Family
Lack of time due to household duties/family commitments	Inter-personal	Due to the social expectations	Family
Sense of guilt being away from family/friends	Intra-personal	Due to someone's personal feelings of guilt	Family

The four constraint categories and their corresponding constraint items which were identified in the quantitative data are combined with the qualitative findings and presented in Table 12 (RQ1, RO3 & RO4). It is of note that only two constraints were found in both sets of data, which are denoted in *italics,* specifically concerns regarding personal fitness and personal climbing ability, both of which are intra-personal constraints. Furthermore, both constraints were particularly pertinent to both sets of participants as they were rated the 3rd and 4th most important constraint, respectively, by the survey respondents and they were encountered before and during participation in the expedition, thus strengthening their significance.

During the analysis of the qualitative data, intra-personal constraints emerged as being the most prominent (RQ1b & RO3) and they were strongly influenced by efficacy. In this context, efficacy is the mountaineers' belief in their ability to cope with constraints regarding their climbing capabilities, fitness levels, fatigue and altitude sickness. The mountaineers' self-efficacy also influenced their motivation and perseverance to overcome these constraints, and their confidence in implementing negotiation strategies (negotiation-efficacy) (Bandura, 2012; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007). Accordingly, this became the focus of P4 and these constraints are briefly discussed in relation to self-efficacy and negotiation-efficacy in section 6.1.1.

Table 12: Constraint categories and constraint items

Intra-personal	Inter-personal	Structural	Family
Climbing/mountaineering skills and ability	Portrayed as an activity for men	Feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments	Family and/or friends don't understand why I participate
Fitness level	Being in a minority as a woman	Not having the necessary equipment	Sense of guilt being away from family/friends
Not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes	Mountains are portrayed as scary, uncomfortable and intimidating	The high cost	Lack of time due to household duties/family commitments
Altitude sickness	Lack of female guides and/or instructors	Time consuming to organise	
Fatigue	Lack of women featured in promotional material	Not having anyone to go with	
	Unwanted male attention	Time away from employment	
	Behaviour of the guide/support staff		
Did not load onto the four dimensions during the data analysis (CFA)			
Being lonely		The unfamiliarity of foreign locations	
I think of myself as unadventurous			
The dangerous nature of climbing			

6.1.1 Intra-personal Constraints

It is unsurprising that more intra-personal constraints were cited by women in both sets of data than any of the other constraint categories (RQ1b), as this supports the underpinning theory that intra-personal constraints are the most powerful of all constraints (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991). These constraints, which reflect one's beliefs, attitudes and self-perceptions (Wilson & Little, 2005), must be overcome to form leisure preferences and commitment to participation (Gilbert & Hudson, 2000; Godbey, Crawford & Shen 2010). Consequently, negotiating these during participation is critical to success.

What is pertinent in both sets of data is women's self-doubt in their *Climbing and mountaineering skills and ability*. This is of note because, despite the survey respondents' prior experience of recreational and tourism mountaineering, and the expedition participants having the prerequisite mountaineering experience to participate in the expedition, they still doubted

their abilities (see P3 & P4). Furthermore, these self-doubts continue to manifest during participation. For example, despite summiting the first mountain on the expedition, thus enabling members to realise their mountaineering capabilities, some participants continued to doubt their personal abilities, believing they were less competent than the others. This comparison with others acts as a vicarious influence on one's self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) and it reinforced their existing low self-efficacy and negotiation-efficacy. Consequently, both sets of data indicate that past experience, even if it was successful, is irrelevant and does not reduce concerns regarding women's climbing/mountaineering abilities. Similarly, concerns regarding one's *Fitness level* are also a key constraint to the women in this study. For example, some expedition participants were unable to train as much as they would have liked pre-expedition and they hoped that their general fitness, combined with the trek through the mountains to each base camp, would be enough to physically prepare them for the summit attempts. Whilst some felt confident in their ability to overcome this constraint, demonstrating high negotiation-efficacy, one woman (Nicky) continued to perceive her fitness levels to be a constraint, showing low self-efficacy, particularly as she compared her performance with others, as illustrated in P4. Doubts in one's own abilities has been a recurrent theme in the extant literature with a number of a studies consistently finding this to be a constraint for female mountaineers (Carr, 1997; Kiewa, 2001b) and for women when participating in other adventure tourism and recreation activities (Coble et al., 2003; Davidson & McKercher 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers, 2010). These studies do not discuss the role of efficacy in participation, thus highlighting the originality of P4.

Interestingly, whilst *Not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes* was the second most important constraint for the survey respondents, it was not identified in the qualitative fieldwork data, probably because they were on a commercially organised and guided trip which negated the need to acquire this knowledge. However, it is unsurprising that this has received high agreement amongst the survey participants, as this constraint would be heightened by the aforementioned capability self-doubts (RQ1c). Furthermore, it supports existing studies which have found that a lack of local knowledge of the natural

environment and climbing routes (Carr, 1997) and not knowing what to expect at the destination (Fendt & Wilson, 2012) can act as key barriers to participation.

Questions relating to *Altitude sickness* and *Fatigue* were not included in the survey as, to ensure the respondents did not disengage, I decided to only ask general ones, rather than extend the questions to include ones specific to participation in individual mountaineering activities. However, in the context of a high-altitude expedition, the ethnography fieldwork found that altitude sickness and fatigue were pertinent constraints to participation, and, like Allison et al.'s (1991) study on trekking tourists in the Nepal Himalayas, they were entwined (RQ1c) (see P4).

Altitude sickness was a constraint that everyone most feared during the expedition, as it is an inevitable consequence of high-altitude mountaineering and a less controllable constraint that can be resilient to negotiation strategy attempts. If severe enough, this could prevent someone from summiting or continuing with the expedition. All group members' experienced acute mountain sickness (AMS) symptoms, including headaches, fatigue, loss of appetite, trouble sleeping, nausea and vomiting, and despite everyone showing high negotiation-efficacy through anticipating and accepting these symptoms, AMS prevented two female group members from summiting Mera. Acclimatisation days were built into the itinerary to help negotiate this constraint. However, the acclimatisation day before ascending Mera was cancelled and, to the frustration of those that did not summit, it is unknown if, had the scheduled acclimatisation day occurred, they would have summited. The decision to cancel the acclimatisation day is discussed in section 6.1.2 as it relates to the constraint 'behaviour of the guide/support staff'.

Whilst *Fatigue* is a symptom of AMS, it was also experienced as a result of the exertion of climbing and trekking for multiple days and is therefore a constraint in itself. Fatigue was felt by everyone during the expedition and it first manifested itself after summiting Mera, the first mountain on the expedition. Each day we walked further than planned and consequently we became two

days ahead of our itinerary. Furthermore, the rest days which were built into the itinerary to negotiate the effects of fatigue were pushed back to later in the expedition. Consequently, due to limited rest and recuperation opportunities throughout the expedition, fatigue continued to be a constraint. This climaxed one day after an exceptionally challenging walk with little food or water when many group members stumbled with exhaustion and Katherine fainted. As a result, the group's negotiation-efficacy began to weaken. As this constraint is a result of the inter-personal constraint 'behaviour of the guide/support staff', it is also discussed further in section 6.1.2.

The remaining three constraints of this category, *Being lonely, I think of myself as unadventurous* and *The dangerous nature of climbing* all received more disagreement than agreement by the survey respondents, despite these being identified as constraints to women's participation in other adventure tourism and recreation activities. For example, fear regarding the dangerous nature of an adventure activity can make women question their existing self-doubts in their abilities and, believing that they are unadventurous, they withdraw from participation (Fendt & Wilson, 2010; Little & Wilson, 2005; Myers, 2010). Similarly, these studies have found that women fear that they will be lonely or in a minority as a woman, particularly if participating in a male dominated adventure activity.

6.1.2 Inter-personal Constraints

Unique to the qualitative findings is the constraint relating to the *Behaviour of the guide/support staff,* which, to my knowledge, has only been reported in one other study (Houge Mackenzie & Kerr, 2012) as a constraint to participation. In this study, which coincidently is on mountaineer tourists, the guides' lack of concern, organisation and effective communication diminished the auto-ethnographer's confidence in their ability to protect the group and it was the most influential factor in determining overall experience quality. Therefore, the identification of this constraint in the qualitative findings of this doctoral study reinforces this as a constraint to mountaineering tourism participation and, as it can be encountered in other guided adventure tourism settings, it strengthens

its inclusion in the conceptualisation of participation constraints in adventure tourism literature more broadly.

During the expedition the Sirdar (climbing leader) repeatedly cancelled our rest and acclimatisation days, which were built into the itinerary to maximise people's chances of summiting. Subsequently, and as aforementioned, this contributed to the intra-personal constraints of fatigue and altitude sickness (RQ1c). On the first occasion the Sirdar said that the weather was changing, leaving us with a small window of opportunity to climb Mera, although there was no evidence of this, and the other climbing parties had read weather reports contradicting this. The second occasion was after a particularly arduous day walking (as explained when discussing the fatigue constraint) after which we explained to the Sirdar that we physically needed a rest day. Furthermore, as we were two days ahead of schedule, we felt that we were being rushed through the expedition. The Sirdar refused and over the heated discussions that followed, whereby the Sirdar offered a series of arbitrary excuses, it became clear that he was not in control of the expedition team and that the porters were directing the itinerary and it was them who wanted to cancel the rest and acclimatisation days. We believe they wanted to leave the remote valleys we were in and return to the main trekking routes so that they could drink alcohol, as we had already had two occasions when they had got drunk and arrived late to camp. During our heated discussions Katherine fainted, but even this did not deter the Sirdar and support staff. We felt lied to, cornered and immensely disappointed, but we also felt that we had no choice and we reluctantly agreed to forgo the rest day and continue the following day.

At Island Peak BC, day 17 of the expedition, we finally had our first rest day. However, being four days ahead of schedule meant that we would be returning to Kathmandu early and that we would have the expense of the additional nights' accommodation in the city. The group were very dispirited and to our astonishment, the Sirdar asked us to sign a form stating that we were happy to return to Kathmandu early and pay for the additional nights' accommodation as 'clients normally complain if a trip finishes early'. We unanimously refused reminding the Sirdar that we not only wanted, but needed, the acclimatisation

and rest days that he cancelled. Accordingly, we no longer trusted the Sirdar's ability to lead the expedition. Like Houge Mackenzie and Kerr (2012), the behaviour of the porters and the distrust we had developed tainted our expedition experience.

By comparison, the other inter-personal constraints, all of which were not identified in the qualitative data, received more disagreement than agreement by the survey respondents. This suggests that these are not significant constraints to female mountaineer tourists, despite these constraining women's participation in other adventure activities (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Frohlick, 2005; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008: Little, 2002a; Little & Wilson, 2005; Rak, 2007; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010). This is of note, because the underlining issue that connects each of these constraints is the role of gender in mountaineering, in terms of how gender is represented in mountaineering narratives and the media, how it determines the expectations male and female mountaineers have of one another, and the resultant low female participation levels, which has received consistent academic interest over the years by recreation scholars (Frohlick, 1999, 2005; Kiewa, 2001a; Moraldo, 2013; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008; Plate, 2007; Rak, 2007; Robinson, 2008; Vodden-Mckay & Schell, 2010). Consequently, this indicates that female mountaineer tourists do not see mountaineering as an activity for men or, if they do, they do not let this prevent them from participating. However, given the strong indication in the literature that this is a constraint, further research is needed to explore the role of gender in contemporary mountaineering culture to ascertain if this is still a pertinent issue for female mountaineer tourists.

6.1.3 Structural Constraints

In previous studies, *Feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments* has not been identified as a constraint on women's participation in mountaineering activities, although it has been noted when participating in other adventure activities (see Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; Little, 2002a; McKercher & Davidson, 1994). Likewise, the findings of this study indicate that this is still not a constraint for female mountaineer tourists as this constraint was

not identified in the qualitative data and it received more disagreement than agreement by the survey respondents. However, it is still of note that 31.8% of the survey respondents felt this is a constraint on their participation. This is perhaps not surprising as, for some women, this constraint is likely to be heightened by the intra-personal constraints 'not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes' and doubts in their personal 'mountaineering skills/abilities' and 'fitness levels' (RQ1c), which received the highest levels of agreement.

While the *High cost of mountaineering tourism* constraint received strong agreement (61.6%) by the survey participants, by comparison, it was not a barrier for the expedition participants, who, in addition to paying the expedition fee, also had to pay for vaccinations, specific travel insurance and purchase specific climbing equipment and clothing, which significantly increased the tour operator's cost of the expedition. Related to this constraint is *Not having the necessary equipment*, as specialist climbing equipment can be expensive (RQ1c). Whilst this received slightly more disagreement than agreement by the survey participants, it was still the sixth most important constraint. By comparison, the expedition members did not consider this to be a barrier. The disparity in agreement between the two sets of participants regarding these constraints is likely due to their income. Both sets of participants were highly educated with the majority having at least a bachelor's degree. However, the survey participants were generally younger and had a lower income than the expedition members, indicating that perceptions of cost are influenced by one's income. The qualitative findings of this study support previous research (Carr, 1997) on female mountaineers, which also did not find the high cost of participation or the necessity for specialist equipment to constrain women's participation, but this may also reflect the income levels of Carr's participants. By comparison, the quantitative findings of this study suggest these are constraints to women's mountaineering tourism participation and hence contribute to existing literature which has found these to be important barriers to women's adventure recreation participation (Bialeschki & Henderson, 2000; Henderson et al., 2006; Little, 2002a; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996).

While other female adventure tourists have cited how *Time consuming* it is *to organise* (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000), thereby constraining their participation*,* female mountaineer tourists did not find this to be a significant barrier (21.1%). However, *Not having anyone to go with,* in terms of a climbing partner and a travel companion, is a significant constraint for 40% of the survey respondents and corresponds to what has previously been found in other studies on female mountaineers tourists (Carr, 1997), female adventure tourists (Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; McKercher & Davidson, 1994) and women participating in adventure recreation (Little, 2002a). As the expedition was 30 days it was not surprising that a key constraining factor for the qualitative participants was time away from employment. Time as a constraint has previously been attributed to household obligations and family commitments, therefore this is a new contribution to literature.

Finally, *the Unfamiliarity of foreign locations puts me off mountaineering on holiday,* received higher levels of disagreement than agreement, and this is only a constraint for a minority (16.6%) of the survey respondents. Previously, concerns regarding the unfamiliarity of destinations have been reported by other female adventure tourists as being exacerbated if travelling alone (Little & Wilson, 2005; Myers & Hannam, 2008), yet not having anyone to go with and feeling lonely also received low levels of agreement. This suggests that this constraint and those associated to it do not pose as a barrier to women in a mountaineering tourism context.

6.1.4 Family Constraints

As explained in P3, through the quantitative component of this doctoral study a distinctive and independent family constraint category was verified, and three constraints loaded on this category in the CFA. Despite this, only 25.5% of the women in this survey agreed that a *Lack of time due to household duties and family commitments* constrained their participation in mountaineering tourism. Similarly, the constraint *Family and/or friends don't understand why I participate* was only a barrier for 15.4%. Moreover, only 5.0% agreed *I would feel guilty* to be a constraint on their participation. This is notable, as in previous adventure

studies using a women-only sample, albeit with a qualitative design, these have been considerable constraints on women's participation (Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2002a; Little & Wilson, 2005). However, as noted earlier, 62.9% of respondents in this study are participating in mountaineering tourism, implying that they have already overcome constraints. Furthermore, family constraints are significantly less of a barrier for the 25-34 and over 55 age group, possibly because women are having children later (ONS, 2016) or their children are older and more independent. Likewise, these constraints are irrelevant to the female mountaineer tourists on the expedition as none of them had children and they described their family as being very supportive of their mountaineering aspirations. These findings are noteworthy, as previous studies which examined the adventure experiences of both genders did not report family commitments to be a constraining factor for women or men (Carr, 1997; Coble et al., 2003; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; 2002; Laurendeau & Shara, 2008; Plate, 2007; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008), yet these findings suggest they can be.

6.2 Women's Constraint Negotiation in Mountaineering Tourism

Despite 303 women answering the constraint questions in the survey, only 211 women (70%) continued and answered the constraint negotiation questions. Furthermore, this also corresponds with the number of women who said they had not participated in any mountaineering activities and/or a mountaineering course whilst on holiday. This indicates that for 30% of the respondents (92 women) the constraints do act as a barrier and they have prevented them from participating in mountaineering tourism (RQ1a). For those that engage in strategies to negotiate constraints, 14 of the 16 negotiation strategies which were identified in the literature received strong levels of agreement, indicating that women actively utilise a broad range of strategies to ensure participation in mountaineering tourism (RQ2a). However, it is also of note that there is comparatively less agreement from *'I have to compromise on the time spent mountaineering on holiday because of my other responsibilities and commitments'*. Furthermore, respondents generally disagreed to the last three negotiation items from *'Before participating, I research the culture of the*

destination and assess the potential harassment from males'. The respondent agreement/disagreement ratings relating to these negotiation strategies are presented in Table 13 in descending order of mean values.

Like constraints, in addition to empirically verifying the constraint negotiation strategies identified in the literature (RQ2 & RO4), the categories of negotiation strategies were also examined and a fourth and new additional negotiation category emerged: Confidence and Adaptation. Three of these categories: 'Determination', 'Planning and Preparing', and 'Making Time and Prioritising' support the findings of P1, which consolidated the results in existing literature to create these three broad categories. However, in P1 the category 'Making Time and Prioritising' was labelled 'Need to Prioritise Participation and Compromise'. While the negotiation strategies included in the survey are largely the same as those which are presented in P1 under this category, through the process of analysis we decided that the category label 'Making Time and Prioritising' better reflected the strategies.

Three negotiation strategies loaded onto a new fourth category which was labelled 'Confidence and Adaptation' rather than the category they have previously been assigned in the studies identified in P1. These are presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Constraint negotiation item ratings

	x	s	SD	D	N	A	SA
Being a woman does not deter me from these types of holidays	4.52	0.65	0	1.9	2.8	37.1	58.2
My passion for mountaineering makes me determined to overcome the barriers	4.24	0.73	0.5	0.9	11.4	48.3	38.9
Training before going … helps me to develop skills & awareness of my capabilities and boundaries	4.18	0.74	0.9	1.4	10.0	54.5	33.2
I prioritise mountaineering on holiday over other types of activities	4.14	1.01	1.9	7.6	10.4	34.6	45.5
I research the destination to reduce its unfamiliarity & any concerns about the climbing route	4.07	0.87	2.4	3.3	10.4	52.6	31.3
I have developed friendships/connections with likeminded people to provide company & safety…climbing on holiday	4.03	0.89	1.9	3.8	14.8	48.1	31.4
Overcoming the barriers adds value to the experience	3.98	0.91	1.0	6.2	18.1	43.3	31.4
Planning and preparing for future trips helps me to maintain my connection with mountaineering	3.94	0.87	1.9	4.7	15.2	54.0	24.2
I feel confident in my abilities to mountaineer/join a course whilst on holiday	3.92	0.95	0	11.8	13.3	45.5	29.4
I have to compromise on the time spent mountaineering on holiday because of my other responsibilities/commitments	3.57	1.15	4.7	17.5	16.1	39.3	22.3
I reduce my responsibilities at home to make time for mountaineering holidays	3.31	1.20	6.6	21.8	24.6	28.0	19.0
I reduce or I am flexible with my work hours to make time for mountaineering holidays	3.30	1.24	8.5	23.2	15.2	35.5	17.5
I join organised mountaineering holidays/courses to meet likeminded people & to provide company & safety	3.17	1.20	12.3	15.2	28.4	31.8	12.3
I research the culture of the destination and assess the potential harassment from males	2.80	1.21	18.0	23.7	25.1	26.5	6.6
I dress to avoid unwanted male attention when mountaineering	2.32	1.09	27.4	30.2	30.2	8.0	4.2
…. I use my femininity by taking advantage of the attention I get from men to further my experience & skills	1.76	0.91	49.5	30.7	13.7	6.1	0

Notes: x = sample mean; s = sample standard deviation; SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; N = neither; A = agree; SA = strongly agree.

Table 14: Re-categorisation of negotiation strategy items during CFA

Negotiation strategy	Negotiation category identified in the literature	Rationale presented in the literature for this category	New negotiation category confirmed through CFA
Being a woman does not deter me from these types of holidays/courses	Determination	Due to someone's determination to participate	Confidence and adaptation
I dress to avoid unwanted male attention when mountaineering	Planning and preparing	Due to someone thinking in advance about their appearance	Confidence and adaptation
I feel confident in my abilities to mountaineer/join a mountaineering course whilst on holiday	Planning and preparing or Determination	Due to someone training prior to participation. This strengthens their confidence in their climbing abilities and fitness levels or Because they demonstrate confidence to mountaineer whilst on holiday	Confidence and adaptation

Furthermore, like constraints, five of the negotiation strategies which were identified in the literature did not load onto any of the four constraint negotiation categories. Nevertheless, these are presented in Table 15 under the negotiation category identified in P1 and adopted by other studies. The four negotiation categories and their corresponding negotiation items which were identified in the quantitative data are combined with the qualitative findings and presented in Table 15 (RQ2, RO3 & RO4). It is of note that only two negotiation strategies were found in both sets of data, which are denoted in *italics*, and they are encountered before participation. As aforementioned, more in-situ constraints were experienced by the expedition members. Consequently, the strategies they employed are specific to the context of a high-altitude expedition and they may not be relevant for women participating in other mountaineering activities. Like constraints, general questions on women's negotiation strategies were asked in the survey and questions pertaining to specific mountaineering activities and the negotiation strategies they employ before and during participation were not included. Therefore, further research to ascertain what specific constraint negotiation strategies women use before and during participation in a range of mountaineering activities would be a useful contribution to literature.

As explained in 6.1, 6.1.1 and P4, a person's efficacy will influence their perception of a constraint and their ability to negotiate it (negotiation-efficacy). Consequently, efficacy was also present in the qualitative data regarding the negotiation strategies the expedition mountaineers employed to overcome intra-personal constraints (RQ2a & RO3). Specifically, within the Planning & Preparing and Determination categories. These findings are discussed in-depth in P4 and briefly explained in 6.2.2 and 6.2.3.

Table 15: Constraint Negotiation Categories and Constraint Negotiation Items

Confidence & Adaptation	Determination	Planning & Preparing	Making Time & Prioritising
Being a woman does not deter me from these types of holidays/courses	My passion for mountaineering makes me determined to overcome the barriers	*Training before going on mountaineering holidays/courses helps me to develop skills and awareness about my capabilities and boundaries*	*I reduce or I am flexible with my work hours to make time for mountaineering holidays*
I feel confident in my abilities to mountaineer/join a course whilst on holiday	Overcoming the barriers adds value to the experience	Before participating I research the destination to reduce its unfamiliarity and any concerns about the climbing routes	I reduce my responsibilities at home to make time for mountaineering on holiday
I dress to avoid unwanted male attention when mountaineering	Positive self-talk, stopping negative thoughts and focusing on the moment	When I have not been on a mountaineering holiday/course for a while, planning and preparing helps me to maintain my connection with mountaineering and to anticipate future holidays/courses

Rest days

Maintain personal health | I prioritise mountaineering whilst on holiday over other types of activities |
| **Did not load onto the four dimensions during the data analysis (CFA)** | | | |
| | When mountaineering I use my femininity by taking advantage of the attention I get from men to further my experience and skills | Before participating I research the culture of the destination to assess the potential harassment from males

I have developed friendships/connections with likeminded people to provide company and safety when climbing on holiday

I join organised mountaineering holidays/courses to meet likeminded people and to provide company and safety | I have to compromise on the time spent mountaineering on holiday because of my other responsibilities and commitments |

6.2.1 Confidence and Adaptation

This category emerged from the quantitative data and only three negotiation strategies relating to confidence and adaptation were identified, making this the least used category of negotiation by female mountaineer tourists. Two of the strategies received high levels of agreement: *Being a woman does not deter me from these types of holidays/courses* (95.3%) and *I feel confident in my abilities to mountaineer/join a course whilst on holiday* (74.9%). It is not surprising that the former received virtually unanimous agreement, as this strategy would be used to negotiate inter-personal constraints, which received strong levels of disagreement. This suggests that women disregard inter-personal constraints, or they feel confident in their ability to negotiate these and see themselves first as a mountaineer and their gender to be irrelevant. This also supports earlier findings, where women participating in other male dominated sports have negotiated gender discrimination by discounting their gender and seeing themselves as skydivers and snowboarders first with abilities equal to men (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). However, conversely, this finding could also suggest that the contemporary mountaineering community is less masculine and more welcoming to women, therefore, being a woman would not deter them. Similarly, the low levels of agreement to the family related constraints points to a societal shift in women's participation in adventure activities being more acceptable. The latter result could reflect the women's high participation rates in both recreation and tourism mountaineering and their engagement with the planning and preparing strategy of training before participation (see section 6.2.3) (RQ2a). Drawing on their past experience and their training, they feel confident in their ability to overcome the intra-personal constraints relating to self-doubts in their climbing abilities and fitness levels, despite these being significant perceived constraints (RQ1a). Consequently, they have greater awareness of their capabilities and boundaries than those that disagreed with this statement.

By comparison, *I dress to avoid unwanted male attention when mountaineering* received mostly disagreement (57.6%), which reinforces the women's strong agreement that receiving unwanted male attention is not a perceived constraint

for them and it supports the aforementioned suggestion that mountaineering is now more inclusive of women. However, this finding contradicts previous research which has reported women dressing to avoid male attention by deliberately trying not to look attractive (Kiewa, 2001a) and wearing baggy clothing (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008) to divert attention from their gender so that their male counterparts would regard them more as climbers and snowboarders, respectively. It is of note that a substantial number of women neither agreed nor disagreed (30.2%) with this statement. For these women, their indifference might be attributed to their confusion regarding the question or that this is a negotiation strategy that they might consider using if the need occurred. Therefore, given the findings of previous research, this negotiation strategy is worthy of exploring in future research.

6.2.2 Determination

Four negotiation strategies relating to determination were identified in the findings. By simply focusing on the positive benefits of participation, the majority of those that answered the constraint negotiation questions are able to overcome constraints by utilising the strategies *My passion for mountaineering makes me determined to overcome the barriers* (87.2%) and *Overcoming the barriers adds value to the experience* (79.5%), which have also successfully been used by female surf tourists (Fendt & Wilson, 2012). By comparison, using *Positive self-talk, stopping negative thoughts and focusing on the moment*, a negotiation strategy which involves convincing oneself of the ability to succeed (Feltz, Short & Sullivan, 2008), was only noted by the expedition participants as a means to overcome constraints during participation, specifically fatigue, and self-doubts in their fitness and mountaineering skills (see P4). For example, through positive self-talk Katherine and Nicky were able to convince themselves that they had the mountaineering ability to succeed, thus strengthening their efficacy judgement and negotiation-efficacy. Similarly, others (Liz and Nicky) drew on their previous sporting achievements and knowledge that they had a good general level of fitness when engaging in positive self-talk in an attempt to stop negative thoughts and focus on the moment whilst climbing. This enhanced their coping-efficacy and negotiation-

efficacy and helped them to fight fatigue and successfully summit (RQ2a). Finally, the group collectively employed this strategy to encourage us to persist with our efforts and to respond to the effects of fatigue, which emerged towards the end of the expedition and were exacerbated by the lack of rest days, as discussed in the following section (6.2.3) (RQ2a). Like previous studies (Bandura, 1997; Chroni, Hatzigeorgiadis & Theodorakis, 2006; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007; White, 2008), our motivation and hardiness had a positive influence on our negotiation-efficacy and, with the exception of one group member, we successfully climbed Island Peak. Kiewa (2001b) also found women use a similar strategy when rock climbing. Therefore, it can be assumed that if the survey respondents were observed during participation, they may also use this strategy to negotiate intra-personal constraints, such as fear, fatigue and being unfamiliar with the climbing route. The final negotiation strategy in this category, *When mountaineering I use my femininity by taking advantage of the attention I get from men to further my experience and skills*, received strong levels of disagreement (80.2%). Yet, this strategy has reportedly been used by some female rock climbers (Kiewa, 2001a) and skydivers (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008) to capitalise on being treated differently in their chosen male dominated sport.

6.2.3 Planning and Preparing

Strategies relating to planning and preparing are utilised the most by women to negotiate constraints on mountaineering tourism, making this the most important negotiation category (RQ2a). Moreover, a number of these strategies have not previously been cited by female climbers and mountaineers in other studies, thus further aiding our understanding of how women experience mountaineering tourism (RO5).

Training before going on mountaineering holidays/courses helps me to develop skills and awareness about my capabilities and boundaries is the only negotiation strategy within this category which emerged in both sets of data and it was significant for the majority of the survey respondents (87.7%) and the expedition members to negotiate existing doubts in their mountaineering

abilities and physical fitness. For example (and as explained in P4), Katherine's doubts about her mountaineering ability were so acute that improving it became integral to her pre-expedition training in an effort to negotiate this perceived constraint. Although this training should have enhanced Katherine's efficacy, she continued to doubt her abilities, further illustrating that past experience does not always reduce self-doubt and efficacy. For the other women, who had more confidence in their mountaineering ability and did not see it as a constraint, improving their physical fitness was the focus of their pre-expedition training and three of the four female group members had done considerable fitness training. This proved to be a successful negotiation strategy, as they did not see their personal fitness as a barrier (high self-efficacy), consequently this encouraged them to cope with the physical demands of mountaineering and to fight fatigue (high negotiation-efficacy). These findings also correspond to what has been previously found in other studies on female climbers who used this strategy to negotiate self-doubts in their physical capability and climbing skills (Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001b). Training as a negotiation strategy continued to be utilised during the expedition, as all of the mountaineers expressed concerns regarding their inexperience with a jumar (a mechanical device that is used to ascend a rope) to climb. Used inefficiently can cause fatigue and could inadvertently compromise their chance of summiting. Consequently, we diligently focused on practicing this skill during a training session early in the expedition in an attempt to negotiate this potential constraint. This agentic, proactive behaviour supports the proposition that the motivation to participate has a strong effect on negotiation (Bandura, 1997; White, 2008).

Before participating I research the destination to reduce its unfamiliarity and any concerns about the climbing routes is also a popular strategy for the survey respondents (83.9%). This is to be expected as, out of the 62.9% of the survey respondents who have participated in mountaineering tourism, the majority (74.6%) said they have previously independently organised a mountaineering holiday, and, as highlighted in P3 and section 6.1.3, concerns over safety in unfamiliar environments is a pertinent structural constraint to women who have climbed independently without a guide. Although this negotiation strategy has

not been found in other studies on female mountaineers, female adventure tourists have cited using this strategy to negotiate a number of intra-personal constraints (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers & Hannam, 2008). Unsurprisingly, this strategy did not emerge in the qualitative data and, corresponding to the findings of previous studies (Carr, 1997; McKercher & Davidson, 1994), the expedition participants negotiated constraints relating to feeling unsafe when participating in unfamiliar environments by joining a commercially organised trip led by local guides.

Moreover, despite the use of planning and preparing to anticipate future adventures only being cited by one author in their study of women's participation in adventure recreation (Little, 2000; 2002a), 78.2% of the survey respondents agreed with the statement *When I have not been on a mountaineering holiday/course for a while, planning and preparing helps me to maintain my connection with mountaineering and to anticipate future holidays/courses.* This represents a key strategy of negotiation for female mountaineer tourists and it may also be pertinent to woman participating in other adventure activities in both tourism and recreation settings. Similarly, the statement *I have developed friendships/connections with likeminded people to provide company and safety when climbing on holiday* received high levels of agreement (79.5%). Again, this has not previously been reported as a strategy used by female mountaineers, yet other female adventure tourists have cited using this strategy as a means of overcoming constraints regarding safety and loneliness (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers & Hannam, 2008). In particular, connecting with female-only groups is often preferred in an adventure recreation setting (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Nolan & Priest, 1993).

By comparison, less than half the women who answered the constraint negotiation questions (44.1%) agreed to the statement *I join organised mountaineering holidays/courses to meet likeminded people and to provide company and safety* and 28.4% neither agreed nor disagreed. This finding implies that some of the respondents have a preference to participate in organised mountaineering tourism. Yet, out of the 62.9% of respondents who have participated in mountaineering tourism, 74.6% reported to have previously

independently organised their mountaineering holidays and, whilst 17.3%
reported participating in both independently organised and commercially
organised mountaineering holidays, only 7.1% said they have used a
commercial specialist mountaineering company. Therefore, this suggests that
despite previously independently organising their mountaineering holidays,
these women would be open to joining an organised mountaineering holiday or
course if they were faced with constraints relating to safety and not having
anyone to participate with.

The survey results also show that women are less likely (33.1%) to use the
negotiation strategy *Before participating I research the culture of the destination
to assess the potential harassment from males*, which corresponds to the
significant disagreement with the constraint regarding concerns about
experiencing unwanted male attention. Furthermore, this strategy has only been
found in studies on female tourists (Wilson & Little, 2008), implying that this
constraint and negotiation strategy are not important to female mountaineers
and adventure tourists alike.

As previously discussed, *Rest days* were built into the expedition's itinerary to
negotiate the effects of fatigue, however these were often cancelled.
Consequently, due to limited rest and recuperation opportunities throughout the
expedition, the rest days had little impact as a negotiation tool, and they did not
remove the effects of fatigue. In response, the group, who were determined to
participate, employed verbal persuasion to enhance our collective-efficacy
(Bandura, 1997), to encourage us to persist with our efforts and to respond
resiliently through positive self-talk and stopping negative thoughts to negotiate
the effects of fatigue (see P4). Rest days as a strategy to negotiate fatigue is
little noted in the extant literature (Allison et al., 1991) and whilst this strategy
only emerged in the qualitative data, it can be assumed that if the survey
respondents were observed during participation, they may also use this strategy
to negotiate fatigue.

Finally, *Maintaining personal health,* which included keeping hydrated and
eating high-calorie food, was a strategy used by the expedition participants to

reduce the likelihood of getting altitude sickness (AMS). Despite the group engaging with this strategy, all group members experienced AMS. Nevertheless, determined to summit, the group showed high-negotiation efficacy and accepted these symptoms. Like other studies (Chroni et al., 2006), they increased their efforts, stopped negative thoughts and focused on the moment to negotiate AMS and fatigue, and successfully summit. By comparison, some group members were unable to negotiate AMS and consequently not everyone summited both mountains, as explained in 6.1.1 and P4. In particular, Nicky, who had low self-efficacy across many of the constraints, attributed her inability to negotiate AMS to anxiety, rather than altitude. She felt unable to control it, which led to weaker negotiation-efficacy and her disengagement with summiting, both mentally (thoughts of withdrawal) and behaviourally (reduction of effort and actual disengagement from the task), thus supporting earlier findings (Chroni et al., 2006). Maintaining personal health as a negotiation strategy is also present in Allison et al.'s (1991) study on trekking tourists, indicating that this would be a useful tool for any tourist participating in adventure activities at altitude.

6.2.4 Making Time and Prioritising

The final negotiation category includes four strategies, one of which, *I reduce or I am flexible with my work hours to make time for mountaineering holidays,* was identified in both data sets. This negotiation strategy received similar levels of agreement and disagreement by the survey respondents. This suggests that this is a strategy that cannot always be employed to negotiate constraints. The qualitative findings support this, as for some mountaineers, time was negotiated by taking a sabbatical (Katherine and Nicky), whereas for others, negotiating time with their employers was more challenging and Liz had to resign from her employment. Whilst these seem like extreme measures, for these participants the expedition formed part of, or was the beginning of, a long period of time travelling and pursuing their mountaineering desires, and a chance to reassess their careers. Therefore, they were happy to reduce their work hours in this way and time was not seen as a constraint. Regardless of the challenges this negotiation strategy posed, all of the female mountaineers actively engaged

with this strategy, thus supporting earlier findings in the extant mountaineering and adventure recreation literature (Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Little, 2000; 2002a).

Although the remaining negotiation strategies were not identified in the qualitative data, nevertheless, the quantitative findings indicate that these are still useful strategies for female mountaineer tourists. As the majority of the survey respondents' participate in recreational mountaineering (99.3%) and many frequently mountaineer on holiday (62.9%: 24% participate once a year and 20.1% participate 2-3 times a year), it is unsurprising that 80.1% of the survey respondents agreed to the negotiation statement *I prioritise mountaineering whilst on holiday over other types of activities* as mountaineering is clearly an integral part of their lives. However, despite this determination to participate in mountaineering tourism, 61.6% of the respondents agreed to the statement *I have to compromise on the time spent mountaineering on holiday because of my other responsibilities and commitment.* This suggests that, for many of the survey respondents, making time and prioritising mountaineering tourism is difficult and instead they compromise on the time spent participating, which supports earlier studies (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2000; 2002a). By comparison, others choose to *Reduce my responsibilities at home to make time for mountaineering on holiday* (47%), suggesting that their household responsibilities are less constraining and more easily negotiated.

6.3 Benefits of Mountaineering Tourism for Women

As aforementioned, 70% of the respondents said that they are able to negotiate constraints and participate in mountaineering tourism. Accordingly, these women were asked 18 questions relating to the benefits of participation which were identified in the recreational mountaineering, mountaineering tourism, and the general adventure recreation and adventure tourism literature. Respondents' agreement/disagreement ratings relating to these benefit items are presented in Table 16 in descending order of mean values. There are high levels of agreement on all of the benefit items. However, it is notable that there is a level of uncertainty indicated by the increase in neither disagree nor agree

ratings on the benefit items from *'I am able to learn about myself'*. Furthermore, the last two benefit items - *'The opportunity to have time for myself'* and *'I am able to regard myself as a mountaineer'* – despite receiving significant agreement, received a higher level of disagreement than any of the other benefit items, suggesting that these are least important for woman when participating in mountaineering tourism.

As before, in addition to empirically verifying the benefits identified in the literature (RQ3 & RO4), the benefit categories were also examined. Only three of the five benefit categories that were identified in P1 emerged in the quantitative data. However, this is a result of the 'Embodied Experience' benefit category merging through the CFA with the 'Fulfilment and Achievement' category. This is unsurprising, as developing one's skills and learning about oneself in a challenging adventure setting (Fulfilment and Achievement) can lead to heightened and differing emotions and a sense of the body being connected with the natural environment (Embodied Experience). Similarly, feeling stronger, fitter and physically active can elicit a sense of achievement (Fulfilment and Achievement), as well as an appreciation of what their body can do (Embodied Experience). Nevertheless, despite these two categories merging through the quantitative analysis, they are presented as two distinctive categories. This is because a number of benefits relating to an Embodied Experience emerged in the qualitative data and, whilst these embodied benefits are interrelated with the Fulfilment and Achievement category, they are also associated with the Freedom and Self-Interest category. Therefore, and in accordance with previous studies (see P1), the data suggests that benefits relating to an Embodied Experience warrant a separate category.

Table 16: Benefit Item Ratings

	x	s	SD	D	N	A	SA
I get a sense of achievement	4.66	0.47	0	0	0	33.8	66.2
I feel stronger, fitter & physically active	4.59	0.54	0	0	2.3	36.2	61.5
I feel connected with the natural environment	4.56	0.57	0.5	0	0.9	40.6	58.0
I am able to pursue my own interests	4.52	0.58	0	0.5	2.8	41.3	55.4
I am able to escape from everyday life	4.44	0.70	0	2.8	3.8	40.4	53.1
I am able to take risks & challenge myself which has increased my confidence	4.39	0.71	0	1.4	8.9	38.8	50.9
I get a sense of satisfaction with my mountaineering skills & capabilities	4.38	0.55	0	0	3.3	55.7	41.0
I feel relaxed	4.35	0.66	0.5	0.9	4.7	50.5	43.4
I am able to take risks & challenge myself which has increased my self-reliance	4.34	0.69	0	0.9	9.9	42.9	46.2
I am able to develop friendships with likeminded people	4.28	0.72	0	2.4	9.0	47.2	41.5
I get a sense of independence	4.26	0.74	0.9	1.9	6.6	51.6	39.0
I am able to learn about myself	4.23	0.75	0.5	1.9	10.8	47.6	39.2
I am able to take responsibility for my own decisions	4.23	0.67	0	0.5	11.8	51.9	35.8
The relationship with the leader/guide is important to the success of the trip	4.05	0.87	1.4	1.9	20.9	41.7	34.1
I am able to meet new people from different countries & cultures	4.03	0.80	0.5	2.3	20.7	46.9	29.6
A get a sense of belonging to a group where I am accepted	3.94	0.83	0.5	5.2	19.3	50.0	25.0
The opportunity to have time for myself	3.74	1.03	1.9	14.6	14.1	46.9	22.5
From participating in these types of holidays, I regard myself as a mountaineer	3.63	1.19	3.3	19.9	15.6	32.7	28.4

Notes: x = sample mean; s = sample standard deviation; SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; N = neither; A = agree; SA = strongly agree.

Furthermore, as specific questions relating to the benefits of participating in women-only groups were not included in the survey, the 'Female Company' category that was identified in P1 did not emerge in the quantitative data. Similarly, due to the expedition being mixed-gender, this benefit category did not emerge in the qualitative data. However, and not to discount the potential benefits of participating in women-only experiences, the survey respondents were asked if they prefer to participate in women-only or mixed-gender groups, or both. To date, this has only been cross-referenced against their agreement/disagreement with the constraint statements, as presented in P3. However, this analysis in regard to its influence on women's negotiation strategies and participation benefits will form part of future papers, as outlined in the Conclusion Chapter.

Like negotiation, the broad categories identified in P1 have been relabelled to reflect the findings. Specifically, 'Self-development' is now 'Fulfilment and Achievement', 'Sense of Freedom' is now 'Freedom and Self-interest', 'Heightened Bodily Experience' is now 'Embodied Experience' and 'Social Encounters' has become 'Socialising and Bonding'. In particular, the 'Sense of Freedom' category was relabelled 'Freedom and Self-interest' to reflect some of the benefits which relate to a person's self-interest that have previously been categorised under 'Self-development' (now Fulfilment and Achievement) (see P1) loading onto the 'Freedom and Self-interest' category during the quantitative data analysis process, which are outlined in Table 17.

Table 17: Re-categorisation of benefit items during CFA

Benefit	Benefit category identified in the literature	Rationale presented in the literature for this category	New benefit category confirmed through CFA
I am able to pursue my own interests	Self-development	Due to the opportunity it provides to learn or develop skills and pursue goals	Freedom and Self-interest
I am able to learn about myself	Self-development	Due to the opportunity it provides for increased self-understanding and self-awareness	Freedom and Self-interest

Furthermore, five of the benefits which were identified in the literature did not load onto any of the benefit categories during the quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, these are presented in Table 18 under the appropriate category.

The four benefit categories and their corresponding benefit items which were identified in the quantitative and qualitative data are presented in Table 18. It is of note that only seven benefits were found in both sets of data, which are denoted in *italics*. However, it is to be expected that the benefits relating to controlling risks and taking responsibility for their own decisions were not experienced by the expedition participants because participating in a commercially organised expedition removes the participants' need to make decisions or identify and manage risks.

Table 18: Benefit categories and benefit items

Fulfilment & Achievement	Freedom & Self-interest	Socialising & Bonding	Embodied Experience
I get a sense of achievement	I am able to take responsibility for my own decisions	*The opportunity to develop friendships with like-minded people*	I feel stronger, fitter and physically active
A sense of satisfaction with my mountaineering skills and capabilities	A sense of independence	The opportunity to meet new people from different countries and cultures	*I feel connected with the natural environment*
	I am able to learn about myself	A sense of belonging to a group where I am accepted	I feel relaxed
	The opportunity to have time for myself	Participating in a supportive and cohesive group	Heightened and differing emotions
	I am able to pursue my own interests	Participating with other women	Sense of returning to civilisation
Did not load onto the three dimensions during the data analysis (CFA)			
I am able to take risks and challenge myself which has increased my confidence	I am able to escape everyday life	*The relationship with the leader, guide and support staff is important to the success of the mountaineering holiday/course*	
I am able to take risks and challenge myself which has increased my self-reliance			
From participating in these types of mountaineering holidays, I regard myself as a mountaineer			

6.3.1 Fulfilment and Achievement

It is unsurprising that *I get a sense of achievement* received the highest level of agreement (100%) by the survey respondents as, according to previous research (Boniface, 2006; Carr, 1997; McKercher & Davison, 1994; Myers,

2010; 2017; Pohl et al., 2000), a number of the other benefits contribute to this, thus strengthening this as a perceived benefit. For example, the opportunity to take risks and challenge oneself, both physically and mentally, to practice and develop mountaineering skills, to learn about oneself through participation and to take responsibility for making one's own decisions can all lead to feelings of achievement. The qualitative expedition data reinforces this, for example, at the beginning of the expedition Katherine cited a number of different benefits she expected to gain from the expedition which would enable her to feel a sense of achievement from her participation:

> 'I am hoping to increase my mountaineering confidence, I am hoping to really challenge myself and succeed. And I do think it is going to be a challenge, a real challenge, but I hope that I am going to come back down and look back on it and think it was a real achievement'.

However, for these mountaineer tourists, their sense of achievement was particularly heightened by the fact that they were participating as a team (Socialising and Bonding) and, in addition to a sense of personal achievement, the group expressed being pleased that everyone in the group, with the exception of those who had AMS, summitted [group discussion].

A sense of achievement can also be gained through *Feelings of satisfaction with my mountaineering skills and capabilities,* which received agreement by 96.7% of the survey respondents. The opportunity that the expedition provided the mountaineer tourists to use and develop their mountaineering skills was also a benefit of their participation. In particular, a number of entries in my e-journal describe how the group were specifically looking forward to, and subsequently enjoyed the most, was climbing the pass and IP, as both were more technically challenging than Mera. Consequently, climbing the pass and IP was considered more interesting and rewarding as the group were able to utilise their personal climbing skills, which made them feel that they were mountaineering, rather than trekking, which is how they considered their experience on Mera. Out of all the expedition participants, Katherine, who expressed the greatest doubts in her abilities (see P4), also expressed the

greatest sense of achievement in successfully climbing all three challenges, which was her main goal of the expedition (see Section 6.3.2). Despite the group finding IP more rewarding than climbing Mera, the group unanimously agreed that they preferred climbing the pass as, not only could they utilise their skills, it was in a quiet (Embodied Experience) and a remote area (Freedom & Self-interest). This further highlights the interdependence of benefits from across the four benefit categories. However, and in contradiction to the survey results, the opportunity to develop and utilise their mountaineering skills was less important to the expedition participants than the Freedom and Self-interest benefits that the expedition provided them to pursue their own mountaineering interests and to participate in a remote area. These are explored in the following section (section 6.3.2).

Feelings of achievement and satisfaction with one's skills and abilities have also been identified in previous studies. However, in these qualitative studies, women have connected these feelings to the opportunity that adventure activities provide them *To take risks and challenge oneself, which can increase one's confidence* and *To take risks and challenge oneself, which can increase one's self-reliance* (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Boniface, 2006; Carr, 1997; Myers, 2010; 2017; Pohl et al., 2000). As these two benefits received high levels of agreement by the survey respondents, 90.7% and 90.1% respectively, it can be assumed that the survey respondents have also experienced these concurrently when feeling satisfied with their mountaineering abilities.

Finally, participants from both sets of data confirmed that *From participating in these types of mountaineering holidays, I regard myself as a mountaineer* to be a benefit of their participation, although this received the lowest levels of agreement by the survey respondents, with only 61.4% agreeing to this statement. Interestingly, in addition to regarding themselves as a mountaineer, the qualitative participants also recognised that they were tourists during the expedition. For example:

> 'Because the trip is organised, it has that kind of holiday feel and you
> do feel a bit of a tourist….and… we are getting to see some of the

local villages and Nepali life as well, which is really good, because I
like the idea of seeing someone's local culture. So both I would say'
[Nicky].

This finding is also reinforced by my observations of the expedition members
making plans to sightsee and buy souvenirs in Kathmandu once the expedition
had finished. This implies that they were eagerly anticipating the opportunity to
be a tourist once they leave the mountains and their mountaineer role behind.
Nevertheless, visiting the Nepal Himalaya, which is home to several of the
world's highest mountains, was a huge draw to these mountaineer tourists and
their participation undoubtedly contributed to their identity as a mountaineer, as
well as providing them with an opportunity to pursue their mountaineering
interests (as explained in the following section, 6.3.2 Freedom and Self-
interest). Thus, this supports earlier findings that participation, particularly in
certain 'must see' destinations, can gain participants adventure capital and
reaffirm their adventure identity (Myers, 2010; Obenour, 2005) and it reiterates
the interrelated nature of participation benefits.

6.3.2 Freedom and Self-interest

The opportunity that mountaineering tourism provides women *To have time for
myself* was rated the second least important benefit by the survey respondents.
Reasons for this are unclear, however it could be because they are less likely to
have family responsibilities, as previous studies found that having time for
themselves is associated with women spending time away from their family
commitments (e.g. Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2017; Obenour, 2005). Nevertheless,
69.4% agreed to this benefit statement, thus supporting earlier findings in both
the climbing (Kiewa, 2001b) and adventure tourism literature (Elsrud, 1998;
McKercher & Davidson, 1994). By comparison, *Escaping from everyday life*
received higher levels of agreement (93.5%). Previous studies on mountaineer
tourists (Carr, 1997) and adventure recreationalists (Bialeschki & Henderson,
1993; Pohl et al., 2000) have described this benefit as being heightened if
participation occurs in the natural environment, particularly in remote settings
(Embodied Experience). Given the respondents' high levels of agreement with

both the benefit statements 'escaping everyday life' (93.5%) and 'connecting with nature' (98.6%), it can be assumed that these are also interdependent benefits for the survey participants. In addition, the opportunity that adventure provides women to *Learn about myself,* is also considered to be connected to the Embodied Experience benefit of participating in and connecting with the natural environment, as it can induce self-reflection (Myers, 2017; Pohl et al., 2000) and test women's physical abilities and climbing skills (Carr, 1997; Dilley & Scraton, 2011). Therefore, it was anticipated that this benefit statement would also receive high levels of agreement (86.8%).

The qualitative data reinforce these findings as the expedition was seen by all members as a break from their everyday lives and responsibilities. In addition, Nicky also saw the expedition as an opportunity to learn about herself:

> This (the expedition) is an adventure for me because it is a bit of the unknown. It is pushing me outside of my comfort zone and doing something that I wouldn't normally get to do in my normal life. I mean, I know we are not going to unexplored or remote parts of the world and I am not doing this by myself, all of which are what people think of as adventure now. Although, I know if you looked on the internet people would say that this is not an adventure because you are not doing it independently and you have all of these people helping you out and stuff, but it is something I haven't done before. So, for me it is an adventure. It is not just about coming here and doing this trip, you learn about yourself. It is about finding out about what kind of person you are and what hardships you can tolerate' [interview].

A similar number of respondents (87.7%) also agreed to the benefit statement *I am able to take responsibility for my own decisions,* which was anticipated as, in making decisions one can learn about oneself, which received similar levels of agreement. Realising their capabilities and drawing on the Fulfilment and Achievement benefits they have experienced, women can also gain *A sense of independence,* which was noted by 90.6% of the survey respondents. Finally, it

is unsurprising that a significant number of the survey respondents (96.7%) agreed to the statement *I am able to pursue my own interests* when participating in a mountaineering holiday as this benefit was also unanimously agreed upon by the expedition participants. As Katherine succinctly puts it, *'if you like mountains you have got to come to the Himalayas'* and many of the group members said that they had dreamt of visiting Nepal to see and experience the Himalayas for years.

During an informal discussion with the female mountaineers, Liz and Katherine explained that, whilst the experience of being on the expedition were important, for them they were motivated more by summiting.

> 'I really wanted to summit Mera. I mean, it is the whole experience as well, but I can't pretend that I don't want to summit and to get over the pass. The pass and Island Peak are probably going to be harder for me because I have less technical experience, so I would have been really disappointed if I hadn't managed to get up Mera when it is the least technical. I now feel more confident going into the other two (the pass and IP) because, even though I don't know what we will be doing, it is nice to know that I should be ok at that altitude' [Liz].

Similarly, Katherine said:

> 'My goal is to successfully get to the top of Mera Peak, Island Peak and over the AL pass in one piece. For me, this trip is about developing my mountaineering skills'.

However, Liz and Katherine are friends and they have participated in a number of endurance events together, such as cycling from the UK to the south of France and running ultra-marathons, therefore they are likely to have similar motivations for and expected benefits of participating in the expedition. Nicky was also present during this group discussion, but when the conversation turned to the desire to summit, Nicky became quiet. This informal small group

discussion occurred after we climbed Mera and, as Nicky did not summit and she had already begun to express concerns in her ability to successfully climb the pass and IP (as explained in P4), her quietness might have been attributed to her re-evaluating what she hoped to gain from the expedition. This assumption is made because, at the beginning of the expedition when I asked Nicky what she hoped to gain from the expedition, she confidently said:

> 'Two peaks! Two Himalayan peaks, that is the main thing. Two high peaks. I have never been to this altitude, so it is a good test for me to see if I can handle myself at altitude. I have no idea. Will I make it up there? Will I come back down? So yeah, it is probably the highest risk adventure I have had so far. It is a physical and mental test for me. Can I push on when it gets harder? We will see.....I am expecting to get sick. I am expecting to feel rubbish, that is part of the territory. It would be amazing if I get to 6000m and I am fine, but I am expecting headaches and all of that stuff' [Nicky, interview].

In contrast to the other women, as a mountaineer, the expedition provided me with an opportunity to spend more time in the Himalayas, to experience expedition life and the remote Hongu Valley, and, whilst testing my skills and myself at altitude were alluring, summiting was less important to me and I considered it more of a secondary benefit, rather than a key expected benefit.

These findings are interesting because, despite the group recognising that they are likely to experience symptoms of AMS and some had reservations in their climbing skills, these potential constraints were accepted and overruled by their determination to pursue their mountaineering interests, both in terms of experiencing the whole expedition and summiting.

6.3.3 Socialising and Bonding

The opportunity that mountaineering tourism provides to develop friendships with like-minded people is a fundamental benefit to both the survey respondents (88.7%) and the expedition participants, thus supporting earlier research which attributed the close bonds and meaningful long-lasting friendships formed during participation to the intensity of the adventure experience (Boniface, 2006; Elsrud, 1998; Obenour, 2005; Pohl et al., 2000). For example, Nicky (interview) said, *'Meeting other likeminded people has been fantastic!'.* By comparison, *A sense of belonging to a group where I am accepted,* was considered less important to the survey respondents (75% agreed and 19.3% neither agreed or disagreed) than the benefit of developing friendships with likeminded people. This is of note, as it could be assumed that a sense of belonging would naturally occur when participating with other likeminded people. However, this might be attributed to the way this question was phrased and, instead of using the ambiguous term 'group', belonging to a 'climbing community' might have elicited higher levels of agreement. Nevertheless, as the opportunity that mountaineering tourism provides women to regard themselves as a mountaineer was considered the least important benefit, it can be assumed that their identity as a mountaineer and a member the climbing subculture is not as important to the women as the other benefits. Regardless, whilst this benefit statement was rated the third least important, it was still significant to three quarters of the respondents and thus supports earlier findings which identified a sense of belonging to a climbing community and meeting like-minded people as a benefit of participation (Dilley & Scraton, 2011). Moreover, had the survey respondents been asked if they had experienced a sense of belonging when *Participating in a supportive and cohesive group,* this may have received higher levels of agreement as this was a benefit to the expedition participants. This is illustrated in the mountaineers' response when, during a group discussion, I asked them what the hardest thing was about summiting Mera and they replied that it was not having the entire group there, meaning Nicky and I not being there. For example, Liz said:

'We knew from Pemba (support team) you (meaning me) were ok,
but it was really tough leaving Nicky on her own at high camp when
we knew she wasn't very well'.

Nicky and I were touched by the groups' sentiments, which were incredibly
motivating for us and strengthened our determination to successfully climb the
pass and IP. During this group discussion, Tom (the expedition leader)
commented on how well the group was getting along, which he believed *'is the
best bit of the expedition. A few rotten apples would have ruined everything'*.
The sense of team that we had achieved appeared to be quite unusual as,
when I watched the climbing groups descend Mera, our group was the only
group that was descending together as a team. This observation was reinforced
by Liz (informal discussion) who described summitting as a group, *'walking
in each other's footsteps'* and having a team hug on the summit, which was one
of their fondest memories of the expedition.

The female expedition participants were particularly pleased that they were
Participating with other women in a mixed-gender group and that they were not
the only woman, although they anticipated that there would be more men than
women. Unlike Liz and Katherine who were travelling together, Nicky saw this
as an opportunity to meet other like-minded women:

'I am delighted, meeting mountaineering woman has been fantastic
because we are all of the same mindset. It was great looking at the
list and thinking – yay 4 girls!' [interview].

Although, whilst Nicky did not want to be the only woman, she later said
(informal discussion):

'I never worry about gender, especially on these things because
everyone is quite likeminded… We have a great balance in our group
and everyone is of the same mindset. I find it bizarre and fantastic
that there are even a couple of people on the same journey I am on

(taking time out from their careers to re-evaluate their life). I have never been with a group that have bonded so well'.

The relationship with the leader, guide and support staff is important to the success of the mountaineer holiday/course received one of the lowest levels of agreement by the survey respondents at 75.8%. Furthermore, 20.9% neither agreed nor disagreed to this statement. This may reflect the preference by some of the woman to climb unguided or the inexperience they have of participating in organised mountaineering holidays. Therefore, building this relationship is irrelevant. By comparison, this emerged as a benefit for the expedition participants, in particular, our relationship with the expedition leader (Tom), who ensured that we were a cohesive and supportive group. For example, on the first day, after Tom realised that there were variations in our fitness levels and people were trekking at different speeds, he insisted that we walked together at a slow and steady pace to conserve our energy. Simultaneously, this removed any feelings that someone might have of walking too slow and impeding the groups' progress or frustration at being made to walk slower, and it encouraged the group to observe one another and look for signs of AMS or fatigue. Consequently, we began to work and feel like a team. In addition, Tom regularly asked each group member to share their experiences and feelings, which again, encouraged the group to bond. For example, I noted in my e-journal:

> Another thing that Tom has done which had really brought the group together, as well as provided me with insights for my research (!), is on the first night he asked everyone to introduce themselves, share their mountaineering experience and why they are here. I frantically went away that evening and desperately tried to write down as many notes as I could!'

Over time, Tom morphed into a father figure for us, as noted by Will during a group discussion after summiting Mera:

'Tom is also really pleased with us; it is like when your dad is pleased with you. He told us we were a strong team and he gave us a pat on the back'.

Everyone then cheered, and it was clear that this relationship with Tom was really important to them. We also developed a strong relationship with the local climbing guides who supported the expedition guide. For example, during a group discussion after summiting Mera, Katherine explained how she had to sit down when she reached the summit of Mera as she was exhausted and Dawa (the expedition guide) immediately asked her if she was ok and if she needed help. Before Katherine could respond, he started to help her as he could see she was exhausted. These findings mirror the nurturing ability that guides/leaders have, the positive rapport they can create and their ability to provide a supportive learning environment, which have been found to be of benefit to women when participating in other adventure tourism activities (McKercher & Davidson, 1994). Although we experienced problems with our expedition guide and porters (as explained in 6.1.2), by the end of the expedition these issues were forgotten and, reflecting on the success of the expedition and our enjoyment of the experience, a number of the group members gave a speech during the celebrations we had on our final night and praised the support staff for their hard work.

Finally, *The opportunity to meet new people from different countries and cultures* was one of the least popular benefits of the respondents' mountaineering tourism participation with 76.4% agreeing to this statement and 20.7% neither agreeing or disagreeing. Furthermore, this did not emerge in the qualitative data to be a benefit to the participants. This is perhaps not surprising, as studies on other physically challenging forms of adventure tourism have not reported this, although this has been noted in studies of female backpackers (Elsrud, 1998; Obenour, 2005).

6.3.4 Embodied Encounters

The findings indicate that this category is most important to female mountaineer tourists as it includes the second and third highest rated benefit statements by the survey respondents, and it was discussed the most by the expedition participants.

While the opportunity that mountaineering tourism provides women to *Feel stronger, fitter and physically active* was not reported by the expedition participants, nevertheless it received the second highest levels of agreement by the survey respondents with 61.5% strongly agreeing to this statement and a further 36.2% agreeing, thus supporting findings in the recreational climbing literature that this is a key benefit of women's participation (Dilley & Scraton, 2011).

Feeling connected with the natural environment was regarded by the survey participants as the third most important benefit of participation, with over half of the respondents (58%) strongly agreeing to this statement and a further 40.6% agreeing. The expedition participants also experienced this benefit, however, as noted in previous studies (Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2010; 2017), they described feeling connected with the natural environment through their sensual experiences, in particular, visual sights and touch (in terms of the changes in temperature). For example, I recorded in my e-journal how the participants were visually overwhelmed by the landscape:

> 'When we stopped for a break, we were able to take in the views. Everyone was mesmerised. We could see Everest, Manaslu and Nuptse. Everyone could not believe it. The mountains were so clear, so vast and right there, as if you could touch them. The views were simply incredible. Everyone was stopping and taking photos and saying 'wow'. It was a major highlight of the trip so far.....After walking in the low lands amongst the rice fields and up into the moorlands for days, we are now walking on snow. We finally have

crampons on and using an ice axe, and we finally feel as if we are in the Himalaya and we are mountaineering'.

Consequently, not only did we feel connected with the natural environment through what we were seeing, we also felt physically connected through the activity of mountaineering. This visual connection with the natural environment continued throughout the expedition. For example, during a group discussion after summiting Mera, Katherine and Liz described their fondest memory as being *'the views', 'the sun rising over 8000m peaks', 'the colours were so bright it was like a rainbow'* and *'the sun was enormous'*. Although, for Katherine, despite these visual benefits they said, *'we were suffering so much (due to the cold) we only enjoyed it partly'*. Illustrating that, in this instance, when connecting with the natural environment at such a memorable stage of the expedition (on the summit), their sense of touch prevailed their other senses. Spending time in the Hongu Valley, the remotest part of the expedition, was a key factor for everyone when deciding to participate in this particular trip and the participants described this valley as - *being stunning, beautiful, it takes your breath away, it feels remote and unspoilt, this could be the most beautiful place I have ever been, and we are so lucky to have experienced it*. However, the valley was also very cold and after summiting IP, the final climbing challenge of the expedition, their desire to stimulate their visual senses with incredible views was surpassed by their desire to feel warm and to refuel. Consequently, once the three climbing challenges were completed, the group eagerly anticipated the descent into the lower valleys where it would be warmer, and we could remove the thick layers we had been wearing for many weeks.

In addition, I also observed the group disengaging with the natural environment when we reached busier areas. For example, when we arrived at IP base camp after being in the remote Hongu Valley and seeing few people, the group described feeling as if they had entered a tourist destination. This assumption was made not only based on the volume of people and the noise they created, but also a permanent toilet building, which projected this to be less authentic in comparison to what we had experienced so far. Consequently, IP was the busiest mountain we climbed. The group found it frustrating to be climbing

alongside what they described as tourists, not mountaineers, with a lower level of competence and who created a queue to the summit and caused the group to become cold. Because of this, climbing the pass out of the remote Hongu Valley (the second climbing challenge on the expedition) was regarded as the highlight of the trip. Similarly, although we looked forward to the warmer climate of the lower valleys, they were much busier, and we instantly felt that we were *Returning to civilisation*. Popular trekking routes to Everest Base Camp crisscross this area and they are lined with villages offering bakeries, shops and teahouses with wi-fi, and we jokingly referred to these villages as being 'the big smoke'. At first, we relished the opportunity to buy alternative (and Western) food to what we had been eating, to sit by a warm fire and sleep in a bed. Many of the participants were also pleased with the opportunity to contact their families and to post updates and photos on social media. However, 'walking along the highway', through noisy and bustling villages and leaving the views of the high mountains behind us as we descended, the initial pull of the comforts that these villages provide became less appealing and the group became sad as it signified the end of the expedition. Subsequently, they wished they were back at higher altitude and the memories of the discomfort they had experienced were suppressed by their desire to be in the remote and quite high mountains again.

Accordingly, feeling connected with the natural environment and returning to civilisation also elicited *Heightened and differing emotions*, as the beauty of the landscape was described as emotionally moving and provided the mountaineers with special moments to treasure when they returned home, thus supporting earlier work (Myers, 2010). Furthermore, despite experiencing AMS and fatigue, the group described their joy and sense of achievement in summiting, and for Katherine and me, these heightened emotions provoked tears. In addition, overcoming these challenges and successfully summiting the mountains, also increased the female mountaineers' confidence. Accordingly, these findings support earlier work on female mountaineers and rock climbers (Carr, 1997; Kiewa, 2001b). Heightened and differing emotions were also present in the opposing feelings they had for being in a remote natural environment, where the altitude caused illness and made it unbearably cold but

enabled them to pursue their mountaineering interests, with the pull of the lower valleys where it was warm, our bodies could heal and we could enjoy Western comforts, despite it being busier and full of 'tourists'. Consequently, I observed group members being torn between their two opposing roles of being a mountaineer and a tourist.

Due to the extensive list of questions within the survey and the existing literature which has already examined the emotions experienced by mountaineer tourists during participation (e.g. Delle Fave et al., 2003; Pomfret, 2012) albeit these being mixed-gender studies, I decided not to ask the survey participants to reflect on the emotions they have previously experienced during their past mountaineering tourism participation. This is perhaps remiss, as this has emerged as a benefit in the qualitative data. However, given the past literature and the qualitative findings of this study, it can be assumed that the survey respondents may also experience similar heightened and differing emotions during their mountaineering tourism participation. Although, to eliminate any doubt, future research could explore this area of inquiry to ascertain if the emotions experienced by women during participation differ to their male peers and if they differ to what has previously been found. The only question which the survey respondents were asked that relates to the emotions felt during participation was if mountaineering tourism made them *Feel relaxed* and 93.9% agreed to this statement. It can be assumed that these feelings of relaxation are attributed to feeling as if they have escaped the responsibilities and pressures of everyday life, which received similar agreement levels (93.5%). This benefit did not emerge in the qualitative data, however, like the female adventure tourists in Myers (2017) study, being in the natural environment, admiring the views and removed from responsibilities at home, may have also elicited a sense of relaxation for the expedition participants. However, the physical demands of the expedition and the absent rest and acclimatisation days may have eclipsed their sense of relaxation, hence why it did not emerge in the data.
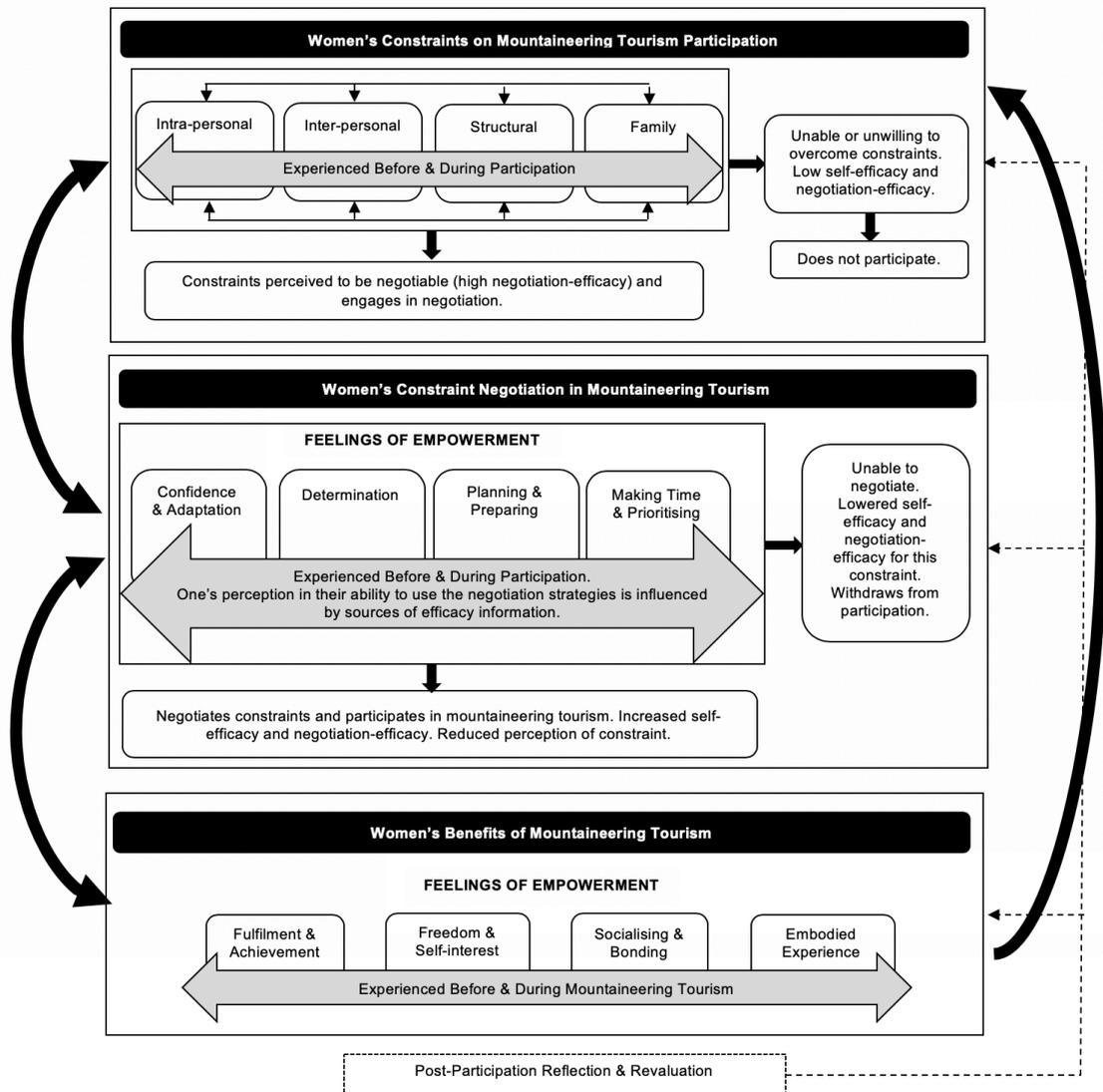
6.4 Revised Conceptual Model

The revised conceptual model (Figure 12) illustrates the key findings which emerged from both sets of data and it highlights the originality of this doctoral study. Like the conceptual model presented in Chapter 3 and P1, it illustrates the journey women take through constraints, negotiation and benefits, and the relationships and processes between each of these (RQ4, RQ4a & RQ4b). Whilst this model includes new and relabelled constraint, negotiation and benefit categories to reflect the findings of this study (P3 & P4), the preceding discussion highlights some similarities in the findings with previous research. Therefore, this revised conceptual model may be a useful tool for others when conceptualising their own research within this area. Moreover, the data reveals that the constraint negotiation process is more complex than the original model depicts, and efficacy plays a pivotal role. The relationship between efficacy and intra-personal constraint negotiation for adventure tourists has received limited academic attention, yet this study shows that efficacy is central to successful participation as it influences people's perceived ability to cope with intra-personal constraints and their decision to use negotiation strategies. Consequently, the role of efficacy has been included in this revised model, further highlighting the originality of this work (P4).

Despite the extensive list of constraints identified in the literature, only four were considered important by the survey respondents (RQ1). Whilst this may reflect their high level of participation, indicating that they have already overcome constraints and consequently they perceive fewer constraints on their mountaineering tourism participation, it may also suggest that the barriers they experience were not included in the survey. Therefore, qualitative research may reveal a different set of constraints, particularly when participating in different types of mountaineering activities (e.g. rock climbing, ice climbing etc.) and, similarly, a different set of negotiation strategies. This proposed qualitative research, combined with the findings of this study, would enable a more comprehensive conceptualisation of women's barriers to mountaineering tourism participation. Furthermore, this research may also strengthen the new Family constraint category, as it emerged as a less robust category than the

others. Nevertheless, it did emerge independently of the other constraint categories and, therefore, this represents a new contribution to literature.

Figure 12: Revised conceptual model: A woman's negotiated journey in mountaineering tourism

By comparison, the majority of negotiation statements received high levels of agreement by the survey respondents, indicating the determination and agency of these women and the importance they place on their participation in mountaineering tourism (RQ2 & RQ2a). This suggests that women's resistance to constraints is driven by their desire and commitment to mountaineering tourism and the expected benefits they will gain from participation. However, benefits can also be gained through the process of negotiation (RQ3a).

Although the participants were not asked questions specifically on empowerment, by taking control and utilising a wide range of strategies to creatively negotiate constraints, these women are actively empowering themselves (RQ3b). The World Tourism Organisation (2008; 2010) define empowerment as a critical aspect of gender equality where men and women can take control over their lives, gain skills, have their skills and knowledge recognised, enjoy the same opportunities, increase self-confidence and develop self-reliance. Therefore, by being undeterred by their gender and participating in the male dominated activity of mountaineering and by developing their mountaineering skills through training, women have described experiencing increased confidence, a sense of achievement and greater awareness of and satisfaction with their mountaineering capabilities. Furthermore, overcoming the barriers adds value to the experience, making the experience more meaningful. Accordingly, women can begin to experience a sense of empowerment and participation benefits during the constraints negotiation process (RQ3a & RQ3b).

Connected to a sense of empowerment is the concept of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy involves developing beliefs and self-confidence in one's capabilities to complete a task (Bandura, 1997) and it strongly influences intra-personal constraints as these constraints reflect ones beliefs, attitudes and self-perceptions (Wilson & Little, 2005). Consequently, intra-personal constraints dominate decision making because they strongly facilitate people's motivation to participation and they are considered the most powerful of all constraints (Crawford et al., 1991). Intra-personal constraints are more prevalent than any of the other constraint categories across both sets of data, and, despite the women expressing self-doubt in regard to the intra-personal constraints and in their ability to negotiate these (low self-efficacy), they also showed determination to negotiate, demonstrating high negotiation-efficacy. Successful negotiation leads to increased self-efficacy, negotiation-efficacy, reduced perception of constraints, increased confidence and, consequently, empowerment. Therefore, self-efficacy plays a pivotal role in the constraint negotiation process and the resultant sense of empowerment, and it is critical to a successful mountaineering tourism experience.

After intra-personal constraints, the most pertinent constraint in the qualitative data was the inter-personal constraint relating to the behaviour of the guide/support staff. Whilst this did not prevent participation and we did not have to engage in strategies to negotiate this, their behaviour did, however, negatively influence our experience of the expedition. Whilst our negative experience with the guides/support staff supports Houge Mackenzie and Kerr's (2012) earlier work, unlike the guides in their study, our guides had a good understanding of the diverse abilities in our group and our expectations, they demonstrated genuine concern and cared for us, they provided skills training and ensured challenges could be met, or exceeded, by our skill levels, and they provided safety information throughout the trip. Consequently, these positive experiences outweighed the negative experiences with the guides/support staff, resulting in an overall enjoyable experience and, similar to Houge Mackenzie and Kerr's (2012) findings, it highlighted the crucial role of guides in fostering and maintaining an environment for clients to experience positive emotions associated with mountaineering. However, no social group is static and when one enters or leaves the field is arbitrary, as it provides a limited snapshot of a moment in time documented by the ethnographer (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008). Therefore, I am mindful that another expedition with another group of mountaineers could reveal an alternative experience and reality, which was the case the following year when I participated in another commercially organised mountaineering expedition. Had I been researching this group of mountaineer tourists, the findings would have been closer to Houge Mackenzie and Kerr's (2012) earlier study. Consequently, investigations of the expectations, perceptions and experiences of mountaineering tourists and guides participating in a range of activities, in different settings and with different group compositions (i.e. women-only and mixed gender, where groups have more women or more men) merits further consideration.

It is of note that a third (30%) of the survey respondents did not answer the negotiation questions, implying that the constraints do act as a barrier to their participation (RQ1a). In hindsight, it would have been useful to speak to some of these women using qualitative methods to learn what specifically prevents

their participation and how, thus adopting an explanatory mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). However, the responses were treated confidentially and whilst we obtained the survey respondents e-mail address, it was only to be used to enter them into the prize draw.

Given the survey respondents' high levels of agreement with all of the negotiation statements, indicating the importance women place on participation, it is unsurprising that there are high levels of agreement on all of the benefit statements as well. By comparison, and in line with constraints and negotiation, the expedition participants cited fewer participation benefits. Reasons for this are unclear, however, had I entered the field with the extensive list of constraint, negotiation and benefits statements and probed the mountaineers with these statements, they may have expressed their agreement or disagreement to these statements. However, this would be in contradiction to the practice of ethnography, which seeks to obtain naturally occurring insights.

As explained in 6.1 and P3, the type of mountaineering activity (e.g. rock, ice, mixed climbing) and who they participated with (e.g. women-only or mixed-gender groups) influenced the women's perception of constraints. This analysis has not yet been done regarding women's constraint negotiation and participation benefits. However, this would provide a more complete understanding of female mountaineer tourists. Furthermore, the constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits which emerged from the qualitative data are, for the most part, specific to the context of a high-altitude mountaineering expedition and if a qualitative approach had been taken to explore these across a range of mountaineering tourism participants (e.g. rock climbers, ice climbers etc.), a new set of constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits may have emerged.

By adopting a convergent mixed methods design, this study obtained two different, but complimentary sets of data. The quantitative data confirmed, but also contested, the applicability of the participation constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits which have been cited by women in previous adventure studies to the specific activity of mountaineering tourism. Furthermore, past

studies have adopted a qualitative approach. However, by capturing and analysing this data quantitatively, this study identified new constraint, negotiation and benefit categories. In addition, data was gathered on the type of mountaineering activity respondents engaged in recreationally (bouldering, rock climbing, snow & ice climbing and mixed climbing (rock & ice)) and whilst on holiday (the above plus high-altitude mountaineering). Accordingly, the quantitative component of this mixed methods study empirically conceptualised women's mountaineering tourism participation constraints, constraints negotiation and participation benefits. The qualitative data, in part, validated these findings. Nevertheless, as the qualitative research focused on one type of mountaineering tourism activity (high-altitude expedition), it also introduced new constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits of women's mountaineering tourism participation, illustrating the necessity to explore each of these three areas of inquiry with women participating in a range of mountaineering tourism activities. However, collecting and analysing multiple sets of qualitative data gathered by participating in multiple mountaineering tourism activities and converging these with the quantitative data would be extremely time consuming and costly, and beyond the parameters of this doctoral study. Furthermore, given the challenges that I encountered when collecting the qualitative data (see sections 1.2.1 in the Introduction Chapter & 4.1 in the Methodology Chapter), leaving me with no other choice but to participate in this specific expedition, opportunities to participate in multiple groups across a range of mountaineering activities where sufficient women are present to capture their experiences would be scarce.

An alternative approach this doctoral study could have adopted is an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, where a qualitative phase follows a quantitative phase to help explain the initial quantitative results. For example, I could have selected one type of mountaineering tourism activity, e.g. rock climbing or high-altitude expeditions, and focused both the quantitative and qualitative research on women's experience of this activity. However, as the research initially wanted to collect qualitative data through a series of ethnography field work and the quantitative component emerged as a necessity later in the study, alternative mixed methods designs were not considered.

In the following Conclusion Chapter, the importance of this study's findings is summarised, and the main contributions and limitations of the study are discussed. Anticipated future research is also presented.

7.0 Conclusion

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to discuss the contributions this doctoral study makes, thus addressing the final research objective of this doctoral study (RO5). First, the theoretical contribution of this research is discussed and the new insight it offers to literature on women's participation constraints, constraint negotiation and the benefits of mountaineering tourism is considered. Then, the methodological contribution this study makes followed by an explanation of the practical relevance of the research findings are given. Finally, the limitations of the study are considered and areas for future research are proposed.

To illustrate how the aim of this doctoral study has been achieved, the relevant research questions and research objectives set out in Chapter 1 are indicated. This is further demonstrated in Table 19.

Table 19: The fulfilment of this study's aim, objectives and research questions

	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Chapter 5	Chapter 6	Chapter 7
Research Questions						
RQ1	X			X	X	
RQ1a	X			X	X	
RQ1b	X			X	X	
RQ1c	X			X	X	
RQ2	X			X	X	
RQ2a	X			X	X	
RQ3	X			X	X	
RQ3a	X			X	X	
RQ3b	X			X	X	
RQ4		X		X	X	
RQ4a		X		X	X	
RQ4b		X		X	X	
Research Objectives						
RO1	X			X		
RO2		X		X		
RO3			X	X	X	
RO4			X	X	X	
RO5			X	X	X	X

7.1 Contribution to Theory and Literature

The aim of this doctoral study was to explore women's constraints on their participation in mountaineering tourism, the negotiation strategies they use to overcome these constraints and the benefits they gain. Although women's adventure tourism and adventure recreation participation constraints, constraint negotiation strategies and benefits have received some academic attention (e.g. Coble et al., 2003; Hudson, 2000; Little & Wilson, 2005), women's experiences of mountaineering, in both contexts, have been overlooked. Furthermore, scholars have neglected to investigate why women participate less in harder forms of adventure tourism than softer forms. For the most part, these three areas of inquiry have also previously been examined independently of one another, except for Little's (2000; 2002a) and Fendt and Wilson's (2012) research which examined together the constraints and negotiation strategies of women participating in adventure recreation and adventure tourism, respectively. By comparison, this doctoral study recognised these as important interrelated elements of a women's mountaineering tourism experiences. Accordingly, this doctoral study appears to be the first contribution to literature examining mountaineering tourism through a gendered lens, specifically women's participation in hard forms of mountaineering tourism, and the first to examine constraints and the constraint negotiation processes of mountaineer tourists in general. Therefore, this study provides female mountaineer tourists, a marginalised group of hard adventure tourists, with an opportunity to have a voice and to share their tourism experiences.

A conceptual model was developed based on the key findings and to illustrate the originality of this doctoral study. Specifically, the model illustrates the relationship and processes between women's participation constraints, constraint negotiation and the benefits of mountaineering tourism (RQ4) and it presents new constraint, negotiation and benefit categories. As some of the findings reinforce previous research on the experiences of female adventure participants, in particular those relating to constraint negotiation and benefits, this model not only enhances our understanding of female mountaineer tourists, it also contributes incrementally to adventure tourism and adventure recreation

literature more broadly. Consequently, the conceptual model is a useful tool for others when conceptualising their own research in this area.

In addition to the theoretical contribution this doctoral study makes by emphasising the interrelationships between participation constraints, negotiation and benefits, it also contributes to the individual literature streams of each of these three areas of inquiry. It does this specifically in terms of new knowledge regarding female mountaineer tourists and adventure tourists participating in commercially organised high-altitude mountaineering, and incremental knowledge regarding female recreational mountaineers, female adventure tourists and female recreational adventurers. These contributions will be discussed in turn, taking into account the relevant literature identified in Chapter 2 and the publications from this doctoral study (see Appendices 1-4).

First, despite the extensive list of constraints identified in the Review of Literature (see Chapter 2), P1 and P2, only four constraints received high levels of agreement by the survey respondents: the high cost of mountaineering tourism, not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes, and self-doubts in personal fitness levels and climbing ability (P3). The latter two constraints were also found in the qualitative data (P4), signifying that self-doubts in fitness levels and climbing ability are key constraints for female mountaineer tourists, regardless of the mountaineering tourism activity they are participating in (RQ1 & RQ1a).

Furthermore, more intra-personal constraints were cited by women in both sets of data than any of the other constraint categories (RQ1b), thus reinforcing the underpinning theory relating to the necessity of overcoming intra-personal constraints to form leisure preference and commitment to participation (Gilbert & Hudson, 2000; Godbey et al., 2010). Consequently, negotiating intra-personal constraints is critical to successful participation. In addition, this study challenges the three-category structure of tourism constraints in the context of women's participation in mountaineering tourism by quantitatively verifying a family constraint category, which is distinct from the previously identified intra-personal, inter-personal and structural constraints. This represents a new

contribution to constraint literature (P3). Furthermore, despite previous studies which examined the adventure experiences of both genders not reporting family commitments to be a constraining factor for men or women (e.g. Carr, 1997; Coble et al., 2003; Kiewa, 2001a; 2001b; 2002; Laurendeau & Shara, 2008: Plate, 2007; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008), the qualitative findings of this doctoral study suggest that they can.

The review of literature revealed a relationship between constraints, which is illustrated in P1 and in the conceptual model presented in Chapter 3 (Figure 1). This relationship has not been tested in the quantitative data, however, the qualitative findings demonstrate how intra-personal constraints can exacerbate each other (RQ1c). For example, doubts in fitness can make a person question their climbing ability. These self-doubts are further heightened if experiencing AMS (see P4). Therefore, combined with the existing literature, it can be assumed that constraints can inform and influence one another, producing a series of interconnected intra-personal constraints that women can encounter simultaneously.

Unlike other studies on women's participation in mountaineering, which have largely focused on the single activity of rock climbing, the quantitative element of this study recognised a range of mountaineering activities in which women participate. Uniquely, this study has also examined how recreational experiences of these activities influence their perceived mountaineering tourism constraints (P3). This is important because the findings show that women's perceptions of constraints on mountaineering tourism are influenced more by their recreational mountaineering behaviour than by their demographics or holiday mountaineering behaviour and preferences. This study therefore makes an important theoretical contribution to the understanding of women's constraints on mountaineering participation in both recreational and tourism contexts.

Second, this study reinforces existing knowledge and introduces new knowledge regarding the strategies women use to negotiate constraints and participate in mountaineering tourism and other adventure activities (RQ2).

Fourteen of the 16 negotiation strategies which were identified in the literature (see Chapter 2, P1 and P2) received strong levels of agreement by the survey respondents. This indicates that, like their female counterparts participating in other adventure activities, female mountaineer tourists successfully utilise a broad range of strategies to ensure participation (RQ2a). However, in addition, this doctoral study introduced new strategies which are used to negotiate constraints. These were utilised in-situ during the expedition and are specific to the context of commercially organised high-altitude expeditions and they may not be relevant for women participating in other mountaineering activities. Nonetheless, both the female and male expedition members employed these strategies. Therefore, these findings advance current understanding of mountaineer tourists and this new knowledge could be of use to others researching the experiences of mixed gendered mountaineers. Furthermore, new knowledge has been created at a category level. Like constraints, a fourth and new additional negotiation category emerged in the quantitative data (Confidence and Adaptation), representing a new contribution to literature.

In addition, this study also contributes to constraint negotiation theory by identifying the pivotal role of self-efficacy in the constraint negotiation process. In this context, efficacy is the mountaineers' belief in their ability to cope with intra-personal constraints regarding their climbing capabilities, fitness levels, fatigue and altitude sickness. As aforementioned, intra-personal constraints emerged as being the most prominent in the findings, however, the intra-personal constraints experienced by the expedition participants were strongly influenced by efficacy. The mountaineers' self-efficacy also influenced their motivation and perseverance to overcome these constraints, and their confidence in implementing negotiation strategies (negotiation-efficacy) (Bandura, 2012; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007). Consequently, these findings respond to the calls for more theoretical development which investigates the entire constraint negotiation journey, both pre-activity and in-situ activity constraints, and the interplay of different influences on this (Dimmock & Wilson, 2009; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007).

Third, the findings of this study also contribute incrementally to the literature on the benefits of adventure participation (RQ3). Like negotiation strategies, the survey respondents strongly agreed with all of the benefit statements that women had previously cited in other adventure studies. Furthermore, the female mountaineer tourists who participated in the qualitative component of this study also cited seven of these 18 benefit statements. This suggests that, regardless of the mountaineering or adventure activity women participate in, core participation benefits exist. These are: a sense of achievement, a sense of satisfaction with their skills and capabilities, an adventure/mountaineer identity, the opportunity to pursue personal interests, the opportunity to meet like-minded people, a positive and supportive relationship with the leader/guide and to feel connected with the natural environment. In addition, the findings of this study also contribute to our understanding of women's empowerment. This study highlights the opportunity for women's empowerment through the process of constraint negotiation and the benefits of their participation in mountaineering tourism (RQ3a & RQ3b). The benefit data from both components of this doctoral study is currently being subjected to further analysis as this will be the focus of two forthcoming papers (see Table 20 in section 7.5).

7.2 Contribution to Adventure Tourism Ethnography

The originality of this doctoral study is also present in the ethnography approach employed. Section 4.3.3 in the Methodology Chapter illustrates how under-employed ethnography is in adventure tourism research, despite it lending itself well to researching the intense experiential nature of adventure tourism (Buckley, 2014). Furthermore, the findings have taken precedence in these studies and how the ethnography was operationalised in the field has largely been overlooked. O'Gorman et al., (2014) argue that this is a misuse of ethnography and that the methods and data analysis techniques employed should be subjected to similar academic scrutiny that quantitative methods are. This study responds to Gorman et al.'s (2014) call to demonstrate academic rigour in ethnography research by stating how the ethnography was operationalised. This has been achieved through my reflections on my lived experience (reflexivity), the application of PBE in my research (operationalism)

and by comparing and building on existing knowledge of ethnography fieldwork within adventure research (see P4 and section 4.3). This will also be the focus of a forthcoming publication (see Table 20 in section 7.5), as I hope that the PBE approach I adopted and how I operationalised the ethnographic methods in the field will guide prospective researchers in their research design.

In addition, this study is also unique in its approach in assessing the experiences of myself and the participants through a phenomenology lens. Despite the challenges I experienced when collecting data and my role within the fieldwork (see section 4.3.5), using PBE to study mountaineer tourists was extremely rewarding. As an immersed observant participant, I was able to gather a detailed and reliable account of what it was like to be a mountaineer tourist on the expedition. By living through the body – experiencing the physical exertion and intense emotions associated with trekking for multiple weeks, climbing at altitude, overcoming challenges and summiting mountains – I was fully immersed in understanding the meanings and recording an embodied account of a commercially organised mountaineering expedition. These sensations and emotions would have been undetected through observation by a non-experiential ethnographer (Sands, 2002). Spending considerable time with the mountaineers helped me to observe changes and patterns of behaviour, develop ethnographic intimacy with the group members and reinforce my acceptance within the group. Accordingly, the lived experience encouraged the development of a rich reflexive narrative of the participants' cultural experience which accurately represents their cultural reality.

7.3 Contribution to Practice

While researching women's experiences of mountaineering tourism has made a viable contribution to theory, from a practical perspective, the work is of little consequence unless the findings can be applied to improve the quality of experience for women. Indeed, the findings may also resonate with male mountaineer tourists. Therefore, in addition to the mountaineering organisations that were involved in this research, this study should be of particular interest to other professionals, such as marketing managers and adventure tourism

providers in commercial mountaineering, but also the wider recreational mountaineering, adventure tourism and adventure recreation industries, who are committed to increasing female participation.

This study's findings provide an insight into the main constraints on women's participation in a range of mountaineering tourism activities. In particular intra-personal constraints were found to be the key barrier to mountaineering tourism participation for women. Therefore, practitioners should address intra-personal constraints in their communication with female clients. Many adventure tourism providers already provide guidance on what level of fitness and experience is expected for their trips. Nevertheless, this study's findings indicate that more is needed to help women recognise and have confidence in their abilities in order to facilitate participation and reduce emotional risk perceptions (P3). Additionally, the findings can also assist adventure organisations in appreciating the complexity of in-situ constraint negotiation, which can facilitate the development of soft skills and emotional intelligence of their guides. They can also help organisations to manage their clients' expectations and recognise when they need encouragement through verbal persuasion to enhance their efficacy. Guides may detect more easily potential constraints and low efficacy during activity participation and whether this reflects reduced motivation, a weakness in ability or a lack of confidence (P4). Finally, understanding the benefits of participation for women gives mountaineering tourism providers some information on which they can structure their activities and promote their products.

7.4 Limitations of the Study

Although this thesis offers many insights and theoretical, methodological and practical contributions, there are some limitations. The limitations of this study were considered during Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 when discussing the research methodology, methods and the findings of this doctoral study. Therefore, the following discussion will focus on the key points.

The first limitation is the use of ethnography. This resulted in the qualitative fieldwork studying the experiences of both male and female mountaineer tourists, rather than female mountaineers only. Had I adopted an alternative qualitative research approach, the study could have focused solely on the experiences of female mountaineers, which might have produced a different set of findings. A second limitation is the number of participants (12) in the qualitative fieldwork (n=12), only four of which were female, therefore this study does not make claims of generalisability. Furthermore, I am mindful that people can have different experiences, even if participating in the same cultural group, and if a different group of people had participated in the expedition or if the expedition had taken place at a different time or in a different location, an alternative set of constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits may have emerged. Therefore, this study provides a limited snapshot of a moment in time documented by the ethnographer (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008) and before any truth claims can be made, further research is needed to build on this initial study to compile a body of knowledge on these concepts. Consequently, this study adds to a wider corpus of knowledge on mountaineer tourists and female adventure tourists. Third, despite in-depth interviews not being necessary in ethnography (Honer & Hitzler, 2015), there are advantages of including these within ethnography fieldwork and it is a limitation of this study that not all of the expedition participants were interviewed. Fourth, given the emergence of the new family constraint category, it is remiss that we did not ask the survey participants if they had children. This would have enabled me to examine the relationship between specific constraints, constraint negotiation strategies and benefits among those participants with children. Finally, a fifth limitation of this study relates to the survey sample size and type. A non-probability convenience sampling approach was taken (Jennings, 2010) and women who did not attend the WCS event or follow the organisations and forums where the questionnaire was promoted are unlikely to have heard about this study or had the opportunity to participate. Consequently, the sample and the results are not representative of the population.

7.5 Future Research

While this study has helped to address a research gap, more work still needs to be done and I have provided a number of suggestions for future research in each of the publications (see Appendices 1 – 4) and throughout the Discussion Chapter. Therefore, this section will focus on the future papers I intend to write from the findings of this doctoral study and the new projects I will shortly begin which extends this area of research. Table 20 presents the publications I intend to write from the findings of this doctoral study. These include examining the relationships between constraints, negotiation and benefits, as well as the influence that the type of mountaineering activity and recreational mountaineering participation has on the negotiation strategies used and the benefits experienced in the quantitative data. In addition, the benefit data from the ethnography fieldwork will be further explored and developed into a publication, alongside a methods paper on how PBE was operationalised. In addition to these publications, other potential themes may arise as I continue to analyse the data and additional future papers may examine the relevance of these themes from the perspective of specific theory. Simultaneously, as I am writing these papers, I also plan to begin two new projects working with colleagues.

The first project will focus on the representation of gender in contemporary mountaineering media. While the constraint statements relating to this issue received more disagreement than agreement by the survey respondents, they have consistently been cited in studies which have adopted a qualitative approach when examining women's experiences of recreational mountaineering activities, as well as other forms of adventure tourism and adventure recreation (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Frohlick, 2005; Kiewa, 2001a; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Little, 2002a; Little & Wilson, 2005; Moraldo, 2013; Moscoso-Sanchez, 2008; Plate, 2007; Rak, 2007; Robinson, 2008; Vodden-Mckay & Schell, 2010). Therefore, it may be that these studies no longer reflect the experiences of contemporary female mountaineers and adventurers but, given the strength of this theme in the extant literature, I believe further research is needed to explore the role of gender in contemporary mountaineering culture to ascertain

if this is still a pertinent issue for female mountaineer tourists. This project will be co-investigated with Dr Tiff Low, Swansea University. First, we will conduct a content analysis of popular mountaineering media. The themes identified will become the focus of future papers and discourse analysis will be employed to examine these themes in detail. A conference paper abstract based on our preliminary content analysis has been accepted and we will present these findings at the ATRA conference in June 2019.

Table 20: Future publications from this doctoral study

Publication and Target Journal		Focus	To submit by:
P5	Leisure Studies	To examine the relationship between the negotiation strategies employed and the benefits experienced by women during mountaineering tourism participation (survey data). Co-authored with Professor Peter Schofield and Dr Tiff Low.	April 2019
P6	Current Issues in Tourism – Methods in Practice stream	To critically analyse the use of phenomenology-based ethnography in adventure tourism research (ethnography fieldwork data).	September 2019
P7	Journal of Sport & Tourism	To examine the benefits of participating in an organised mountaineering tourism holiday. This paper may focus on a specific theme, such as embodiment or empowerment, drawing on the ethnography fieldwork data, or it might combine the findings from the quantitative and qualitative components of this study. The aim of this paper is to discuss the relevance of the benefit data to other theories. Co-authored with Dr Gill Pomfret.	April 2020
P8	Leisure Studies	To examine the relationships between the different constraints in the quantitative data and to ascertain if they are interdependent of one another. This will enable me to fully address RQ1c.	September 2020
P9	Leisure Studies	To examine the influence that the type of mountaineering tourism activity and recreational mountaineering participation has on the negotiation strategies used and the benefits experienced (quantitative data).	April 2021

The second project will be co-investigated with Dr Claire Taylor, Sheffield Hallam University, and it brings together our doctoral research findings and research interests. The project will focus on how women in leadership use social media to develop a positive professional identity and it will be theoretically underpinned by interpretative phenomenology analysis. Specifically, we will first examine and compare the professional social media profiles of women working in the adventure industry with those working in other more gender-balanced industries. Like the first project, we plan to conduct online content analysis. Discourse analysis will then be utilised to explore key

themes that emerged in the content analysis. This will be followed by interviews with women working in a range of positions across the adventure industry and other less male-dominated industries.

In addition to these two projects, another stream of investigation will continue to explore women's constraints, constraint negotiation strategies and the benefits of mountaineering tourism. In particular, this research will use qualitative methods to study women's experiences of a range of mountaineering activities, which will supplement the findings of this doctoral study and assist in compiling a body of knowledge on women's experiences of mountaineering tourism. For example, 30% of the respondents in the survey from the doctoral study did not answer the negotiation and benefit questions, implying that the constraints do act as a barrier to their participation. It would be useful to learn what specifically prevents their participation. In addition, engaging with guides/leaders would also be of interest, particularly exploring the role of efficacy in the in-situ constraint negotiation process. Similarly, comparing the experiences of women participating in commercially organised mountaineering tourism with those participating independently would also further our understanding of this marginalised group of adventure tourists. This proposed research, combined with the findings of this study, would enable a more comprehensive conceptualisation of women's constraints on mountaineering tourism participation, their process of constraint negotiation and the benefits they gain from participation, including empowerment.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Publication 1

Doran, A. (2016). Empowerment and women in adventure tourism: a negotiated journey. *Journal of Sport & Tourism, 20*(1), 57-80. https://doi.org/10.1080/14775085.2016.1176594

Empowerment and women in adventure tourism: a negotiated journey

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Empowerment and women in adventure tourism: a negotiated journey

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ABSTRACT

Women's participation in adventure tourism is growing, yet few studies have explored this group of tourists. This conceptual paper seeks to extend our understanding of female adventure tourists by examining the empowering journey women can take through constraint negotiation to enjoy the benefits of adventure tourism. Using content analysis to review the literature on women's adventure experiences in tourism and recreation settings reveals prominent themes that have been consolidated to propose constraint, negotiation and benefit categories. A conceptual model is presented that illustrates the opportunities for women's empowerment within these categories and examines the interrelationships and interdependency between them. The model shows that constraints, negotiations and benefits can be experienced simultaneously, at different points in a woman's adventure tourism journey and used as a vehicle for empowerment. Women will also re-evaluate these categories before, during and after their adventure tourism experience. Therefore, the categories are not fixed and evolve each time a woman participates in adventure tourism throughout her life. Suggestions are made for further study in this under-researched area.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore adventure tourism as a vehicle to empower women. The World Tourism Organisation (2008, 2010) define empowerment as a critical aspect of gender equality where men and women can take control over their lives, gain skills, have their skills and knowledge recognised, enjoy the same opportunities, increase self-confidence and develop self-reliance. This paper will explore women's empowerment by examining the constraints women can encounter in adventure tourism and the sense of empowerment they may gain from negotiating these constraints. While empowerment is a benefit of adventure tourism in its own right, empowerment can also be gained incidentally through experiencing other benefits of adventure tourism. Therefore, this paper will also examine the broader benefits of adventure tourism for women. Constraints, negotiation and benefits have specifically been selected as studies on women's experience of tourism and adventure recreation have found they provide a way of understanding women's empowerment (see Heimtun & Jordan, 2011; Little & Wilson, 2005). For this

reason, it can be assumed that studying these within an adventure tourism context will equally help us to understand how women can gain empowerment through adventure tourism. Additionally, constraints negotiation and benefits can be experienced before, during and after the adventure tourism experience. Therefore, this paper will also examine the constraints a woman may negotiate and the benefits they may gain during each stage of their adventure tourism journey and how these may empower women.

Adventure tourism includes a broad range of activities, often provided by a commercial operator, which involves close interaction with the natural environment away from the participant's home and contains elements of perceived and real risk (Buckley, 2007; Ewert, 2000; Hall, 1992; Weber, 2001). Adventure tourism may involve 'soft' activities, such as backpacking, hiking, cycling or flatwater canoeing, or 'hard' activities, such as climbing and mountaineering, white-water rafting, wilderness backpacking and skydiving (Ewert & Jamieson, 2003; Williams & Soutar, 2005). While some definitions also include safaris, camping, birdwatching, eco-tourism and volunteer tourism as 'soft' forms of adventure tourism (Adventure Travel Trade Association [ATTA], George Washington University, & Xola Consulting, 2014; Ewert & Jamieson, 2003), for the purpose of this paper, only women's experiences of physical activities in remote or natural settings will be analysed. The exception to this is the inclusion of backpacking, as this form of soft adventure tourism often includes participation in physical activities, such as trekking, climbing and diving.

Firstly, this paper will review literature on how women access and engage in adventure tourism. Specifically, the constraints women can encounter, the negotiation strategies they may use and the benefits they may gain, respectively. Using content analysis key themes of constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits of adventure tourism will be identified and consolidated to create categories that recognise the opportunities for women's empowerment. These categories will attempt to provide an all-encompassing picture of women's experiences of adventure tourism. However, they are broad categories and it should not be forgotten that women's experience of these would differ in different adventure tourism settings, as some constraints and negotiation strategies available could be specific to an adventure activity and setting. As female adventure tourists have received little academic interest to date, this paper will largely review literature from the subject areas of tourism and adventure recreation. In contrast, women's leisure constraints and constraint negotiation have been well documented. However, as the purpose of this paper is to focus on women in adventure tourism, only literature from the fields of adventure recreation and tourism will be drawn upon.

Secondly, a conceptual model will be developed that incorporates the proposed categories to exemplify a woman's negotiated journey to the empowering benefits of adventure tourism. Past research on women's adventure have traditionally focused on constraints, negotiation or benefits independently of one another. This paper responds to the need for their integration and presents a model that illustrates the interrelationships and interdependency between them, and the opportunities that permeate throughout a women's adventure tourism journey for empowerment. As this model has emerged from reviewing the literature on women's experiences of tourism and adventure recreation, research is needed to test the model and its applicability within an adventure tourism context. Therefore, it is hoped that this model will be a useful tool for others when

conceptualising their own research within this area. Finally, the concluding comments offer suggestions for further research.

Methodology

Using the keywords constraint, negotiation and benefit, the literature search initially focused on research articles that included these keywords in relation to women's experiences of adventure tourism. However, this produced a narrow set of data (10 articles) and the search criteria were broadened to include these keywords in relation to women's experience of adventure activities in recreation settings. This produced a larger set of data and 30 of the most cited research articles were selected. Aiming to create a balance between the voices of female tourists and female recreationalists within the data, research articles that did not include the keywords, but focused on women's general experience of tourism and adventure tourism, were also analysed in the hope that they included some reference to women's constraints negotiation and benefits of adventurous forms of tourism. Inadvertently, the women in the studies reviewed all reside in Western countries, specifically the UK, Sweden, America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The research articles were then reviewed using content analysis, defined by Krippendorff (2013, p. 10) as 'the systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter'. A qualitative interpretive approach to content analysis was adopted allowing for categories to be created through the analysis of data (research articles), rather than a quantitative approach where frequencies are counted within predetermined categories (Dey, 1993). The process involved reading, annotating and assigning codes to the data. The three phases of coding proposed by Strauss (1987) and Corbin and Strauss (2008) were used to interpret the data. First, open coding was used to search for reoccurring words, themes and concepts. Second, the relationships between these open codes were identified through a process of axial coding. This involved an inductive thinking process of identifying and relating categories and subcategories under the three umbrella categories of constraint, negotiation and benefit. Finally, selective coding was used, whereby each constraint, negotiation and benefit category and subcategory was examined, integrated and refined. Attention was then given to the relationship and process between the constraint, negotiation and benefit categories and subcategories. This led to the development of the conceptual model, which, according to Ryan and Bernard (2000, p. 784), is an important part of qualitative analysis, allowing for theories to be 'laid out' in the form of flow charts that 'communicate ideas visually to others'.

Women's constraints to adventure tourism

Constraints that may limit women's participation in adventure tourism have received some academic interest (e.g. Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Harris & Wilson, 2007). In contrast, women's constraints are well documented in adventure recreation and tourism literature (e.g. Little, 2002a, 2002b; Wilson & Little, 2005). Some of these studies have chosen to broadly categorise women's constraints into personal, socio-cultural and practical constraints (see Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2002a; Wilson & Little, 2005), rather than adopting Crawford and Godbey's (1987) intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural constraint categories respectively. This paper will adopt the same approach, believing the categories to be

clearer and more self-explanatory than Crawford and Godbey's (1987) earlier conceptual-isation of leisure constraint categories. Studies of women's constraints to adventure tourism, tourism and adventure recreation are consolidated under the three constraint cat-egories of personal, socio-cultural and practical constraints, and subcategories within each category are identified based on prominent constraints illustrated in the literature (Figure 1). The following discussion will show that a number of constraints across all three categories can be experienced simultaneously and many are considered to be inter-connected as they can inform and influence one another. In addition, women can encounter constraints at different stages in their adventure tourism journey. Pre-travel constraints can influence a woman's decision to travel, but may not prevent travel. Once the pre-travel con-straints have been negotiated, women are often faced with new constraints when participat-ing in adventure tourism which can greatly influence this experience. Therefore, each constraint will be discussed based on its relationship with other constraints and those that are encountered by women before and during the adventure tourism experience.

Personal constraints

Women's personal constraints are based on their self-perceptions, beliefs and attitudes (Wilson & Little, 2005). While it is argued that personal constraints are the most powerful of all constraints, as they influence the motivation to act and steer an individual's decision to participate (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991), fewer personal constraints have been cited by women than socio-cultural and practical constraints. Four key subcategories of personal constraints have emerged from the literature: a sense of guilt, self-doubt, fear and the perception of being unadventurous.

A *sense of guilt*, in terms of their commitment to others, has been expressed by many women (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Little, 2002a; Warren, 1996). When planning their personal adventures the thought of leaving their children and husbands at home can lead to deep
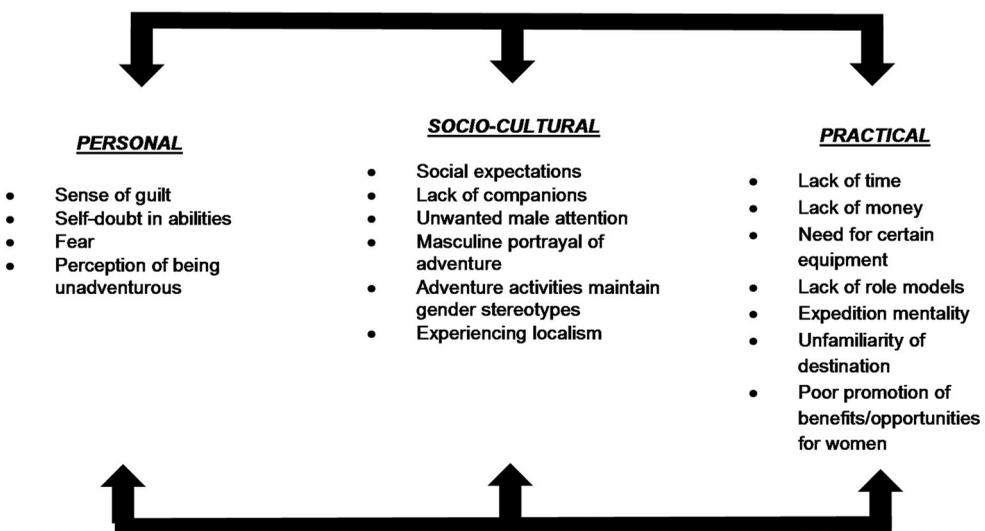

Figure 1. Types of constraints for women in adventure tourism.

feelings of guilt. This sense of guilt can make women question their ethic of care and reconsider their adventure tourism plans and aspirations, instead placing the needs of others first. A woman's ethic of care, as defined by Gilligan (1982) in her seminal book *In a different voice,* bases woman's morality on caring for others. The opposition between selfishness (wanting to participate in adventure tourism) and responsibility (ethic of care) 'complicates for women the issues of choice, leaving them suspended between an ideal of selflessness and the truth of their own agency and needs' (p. 138). For some women, guided by the perceptions of others, they can see no way of taking control and pursuing their adventure tourism aspirations without seeming morally wrong.

Self-doubt in their athletic capabilities, their ability to develop competent skills within the activity, their knowledge of the natural environment and their ability to operate in remote settings are also prominent constraints for women (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; Little, 2002a; Warren, 1996; Williams & Lattey, 1994; Wilson & Little, 2005). Initially, these feelings of self-doubt can hinder a woman from pursuing adventure tourism when making her holiday decision. Self-doubt can also greatly influence a woman's experience of adventure tourism during participation, by preventing her from participating in certain activities or from participating at a level that challenges her abilities.

These feelings of self-doubt can be interwoven with a sense of *fear.* Women can be fearful of the physical demands and dangerous nature of the adventure activity, which can make them question their existing doubts in their abilities. Women may also fear being lonely or being in a minority as a woman when planning and during the adventure experience (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wilson & Little, 2005). If unfamiliar with the destination they are visiting, women may have concerns for their safety regarding host male attitudes and differing cultural values, which may cause women to be cautious when choosing certain destinations or restrict their movements to the main tourism spheres while in the destination (Little & Wilson, 2005; Myers & Hannam, 2008; Wilson & Little, 2008). These fears can make women feel vulnerable, self-conscious and the subject of 'gaze' and 'surveillance' by fellow travellers, tourism workers, the host community and men, as found in Jordan and Gibson's (2005, pp. 200–202) study of American and British female travellers. While these fears are not unfounded, Wilson and Little (2008) argue that women's fear of male violence and harassment in tourism settings is disproportionate to the actual experience of them. They argue that fear is socially and culturally taught to women and women learn not to go to places alone, to fear strangers and the night, and to stay in or around the safety of their home (Wilson & Little, 2008). Consequently, women perceive and experience fear in public spaces, which can be heightened when travelling abroad. As such, it is argued that public and tourist landscapes are constructed as 'masculinised' and built for the movement and enjoyment of men (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). Travel literature does little to dissuade this fear and often reinforces the message that solo travel for women is full of challenge, risk and harassment, by providing advice for female travellers on how they should behave and places they should avoid when abroad (Wilson & Little, 2008). This simply reminds women of their vulnerability when travelling alone and can reduce the level of participation in, and enjoyment of, adventure tourism and travelling.

Finally, women's *perception of being unadventurous* has been identified as a personal constraint to women's participation in adventure tourism. Studies have found that women from Australia, New Zealand, America and the UK do not perceive themselves to be adventurous as their perceptions of adventure are not matched to the media's portrayal of adventure (Little, 2002b; Little & Wilson, 2005; Warren, 1996). Women's difficulty in reconciling their experiences with the terms 'adventure' or 'adventurer', compounded with their existing self-doubts and fears, can cause women to withdraw from the adventure activity or space, believing it to be inaccessible and masculine (Elsrud, 2005; Little & Wilson, 2005).

Socio-cultural constraints

Social–cultural constraints can be encountered by women before and during their adventure tourism experience. This category of constraints has a powerful influence over the other two constraint categories and can influence how women perceive themselves, their attitudes to adventure, their decision to participate and their experience of adventure. The following discussion will now explore these themes.

Social expectations define a woman's role and can be significant barriers to participation. Women have cited that compared to men, it is expected that women should place household duties and family commitments before personal adventure desires and consequently this reduces the available time and energy women have to pursue adventure (Bialeschki & Henderson, 2000; Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Schuler, 2006; Little, 2002a; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996; Wilson & Little, 2005). This ethic of care in placing the needs of others first and neglecting women's own adventure needs, induces a woman's personal sense of guilt and supports the notion that family commitment and family structures constrain women's recreation and tourism experiences (Gilligan, 1982; Henderson et al., 2006; Little, 2002a; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996; Wilson & Little, 2005). Therefore, women's ethic of care can be seen as a personal and a socio-cultural constraint. It is worth noting that women are not innately more caring than men, but women are more likely than men to be socialised in, participate in, and to value care-giving (Day, 2000; Gilligan, 1982). Social expectations can make negotiating travel plans with family, friends and colleagues extremely challenging, particularly if family, friends and colleagues consider it unsafe for women to travel alone, to visit the chosen destination or to participate in the chosen adventure activity (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wilson & Little, 2005, 2008). Subjected to others' belief that they are acting irresponsibly, which can compound personal fears, women can find it difficult to justify the importance of travel to themselves and to others to be a constraining factor when planning adventure tourism.

The *lack of companions* and not knowing anyone that participates in the chosen activity can also be a significant deterrent for women (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2002a; Williams & Lattey, 1994; Wilson & Little, 2005). This is true not only from a social perspective, but particularly if the activity requires a companion, such as climbing. The lack of a companion can heighten women's safety fears, their anxiety of being lonely and self-doubts in their abilities. During the adventure tourism experience, Australian women have cited receiving *unwanted male attention* and harassment, while travelling, to constrain their travel plans, particularly for those travelling

alone and without male companions (Wilson & Little, 2005, 2008). This potentially reinforces women's existing personal safety fears. The women in these studies reported being regarded as sexually 'available' and groped, fondled, verbally abused, followed and subjected to sexual acts, such as masturbation. Within a recreation context Bialeschki and Henderson (1993, p. 39) believe that 'a subtle kind of harassment may occur' where women are made to feel inferior if participating in unfamiliar settings with men who excel. In Canada, within the sport of skydiving negative attitudes towards female competency and sexist behaviours and practices, including the ritual of convincing female skydivers to remove their tops, have been reported by women and have made the women feel uncomfortable and sexualised (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). This does little to encourage women in adventure and reinforces women's personal sense of vulnerability, self-doubt and their perception that adventure is masculine and unwelcoming.

The media's *masculine portrayal of adventure*, showing images of men mountaineering or skiing in avalanches, and the outdoors to be a scary, uncomfortable and intimidating place, can greatly influence people's perceptions of adventure activities (Little, 2002b; Little & Wilson, 2005; Warren, 1996). This portrayal reinforces adventure to be a masculine domain and does not match women's perceptions and experiences of adventure (Little, 2002b; Little & Wilson, 2005). Adventure film festivals are popular with those that participate in adventure tourism. However, Frohlick (2005) observed at Banff Film Festival, Canada, that men predominated as cultural producers, representing the majority of filmmakers, speakers and subjects of the films, whereas women were situated as spectators, featuring only peripherally in the screened films as less significant 'others'. As such, some women are unable to relate to adventure films and the masculine portrayal of adventure, which may deter women from pursing adventure tourism. Within the sport of snowboarding, media coverage and kudos is given to the injuries of male snowboarders, which is framed as being masculine, to prove dedication and toughness (Thorpe, 2005). By contrast, although women are very much part of the snowboarding culture, magazines ignore female risk takers and injuries, thus reinforcing the notion that male snowboarders take more risks and are more adventurous than women.

The adventure tourism activity itself can also be a constraint. Men and women are often channelled into certain types of *activities that maintain gender stereotypes* (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Shaw, 1994). Although an outdoor adventure setting can provide the opportunity to eradicate gender inequalities and redefine gender roles (men cooking and women lighting stoves and pitching tents), in reality it can also encourage stereotypical task delegation (e.g. men carrying heavier packs and equipment), which may constrain women in fully experiencing the adventure activity (Warren, 1996). Finally, unique to American and Australian female surf tourists, *experiencing localism* through territorialism and in some cases bullying from local surfers was reported to be the most prevalent socio-cultural factor during their adventure tourism experience (Fendt & Wilson, 2012). It was felt that this negative behaviour towards non-local surfers further exasperated the feeling of being a minority as a woman in this masculine arena.

Practical constraints

Practical constraints can also be encountered before and during the adventure tourism experience. Yet from the studies reviewed, women have only reported encountering

practical constraints when planning their adventure tourism experience. One of the most widely cited practical constraint of adventure participation among women is a *lack of time* due to employment or commitments to family and friends (Bialeschki & Henderson, 2000; Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Henderson et al., 2006; Hudson, 2000; Little, 2002a; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996; Wilson & Little, 2005). A *lack of money* due to the cost of equipment to participate in adventure activities and travelling to adventure tourism destinations, as well as women's lower earning power compared to men, have also been recorded as prominent practical constraints in women's adventure participation (Bialeschki & Henderson, 2000; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; Shaw, 1994; Warren, 1996; Wilson & Little, 2005).The *need for certain equipment,* which can be expensive and may require certain skills, can also act as a substantial barrier to participation (Little, 2002a; Warren, 1996).

A *lack of role models* are also considered to reinforce women's perception that adventure is an inaccessible, masculine domain, which can dissuade women from considering adventure activities – including adventure tourism (Warren, 1996). Women may look to different forms of adventure media, including films, magazines and holiday brochures to find role models. However, as previously discussed, women are underrepresented in adventure media, reflecting an untruth that their participation in adventure is remarkable, rather than the norm (Stoddart, 2010). Women are also misrepresented in adventure media with attention often being given to their physical appearance, home lives and relationships, rather than their athletic ability and accomplishments (Rak, 2007; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010). This misrepresentation can impact negatively on women's social acceptance into the adventure community and can generate feelings of disempowerment amongst women (Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010). Therefore, this constraint is strongly influenced by the socio-cultural 'masculine portrayal of adventure'. In addition, there are significantly fewer female guides than male guides. Specific to mountaineering, Logan (2006) reported that in Argentina operators are often unwilling to put accredited female guides in positions of authority over men who do not have the credentials to be the principle guide. Female guides that are employed by mountaineering operators are generally employed as supervisors and assistants in the cook tents at basecamp. Within the UK, Mountain Training, who provide mountain leadership, instruction and coaching awards, reported that only 19% of their award holders are women (Mountain Training, personal communication, September 8, 2015). This absence of female guides provides women with even less opportunity to have inspirational female role models.

The logistics of independently organising an adventure holiday are considered to be particularly challenging for some women (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000). An *expedition mentality* can emerge as some women consider that participation requires too much effort and that it would be too time consuming to travel to the destination and to learn the activity competently, as found in Hudson's (2000) study of UK skiers. These factors contribute towards reduced appeal to participate (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000). *Unfamiliarity of the destination*, its language, culture and geography, is also felt by Australian and American women to be a constraint when planning their adventure tourism experience (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Wilson & Little, 2005, 2008). Not knowing what to expect at the destination can heighten a woman's personal fears, vulnerability and self-doubt and can act as a significant barrier to adventure tourism. Previous studies have found that adventure tourism providers neglect gender recognition and women's voices

within their literature and fail to promote the features of their products that enable women to overcome their main constraining factors (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; McKercher & Davidson, 1994). This *poor promotion of the benefits and opportunities* that adventure tourism provides for women does little to encourage them to pursue this form of tourism and it can contribute to a decrease in their participation (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; McKercher & Davidson, 1994).

Despite these challenges, women are using adventure tourism as a space where they can resist, rather than submit to constraints. Negotiation as a strategy to overcome constraints is a form of resistance in which women can become active, self-enabling participants who challenge traditional gendered discourse (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Jordan & Gibson, 2005). Consequently, women can experience adventure tourism spaces and activities as a source of empowerment.

Negotiation strategies for women in adventure tourism

Attention will now be given to the negotiation strategies women may use throughout their lives to ensure varying levels of participation in adventure. The negotiation strategies used by women are comprehensive and complex and an attempt has been made to categorise these (see Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; Little, 2000, 2002a). These categories provide useful insights into the range of negotiation strategies employed by women in both adventure and tourism settings. However, like constraints, they are based on individual studies and an all-encompassing analysis of the full range of negotiation strategies reported by women in adventure tourism and adventure recreation literature would provide deeper insights, which this paper seeks to do. From a thematic analysis of the strategies reported by women, three key negotiation categories have been identified and subcategorised based on prominent themes (Figure 2). As women can encounter a number of constraints simultaneously, before and during their adventure tourism experience, likewise they can also use a range of strategies to negotiate these constraints at any one time and at different points in their adventure tourism journey. For some women, this process of constraint negotiation can lead to feelings of empowerment, which will be explored in the following discussion.
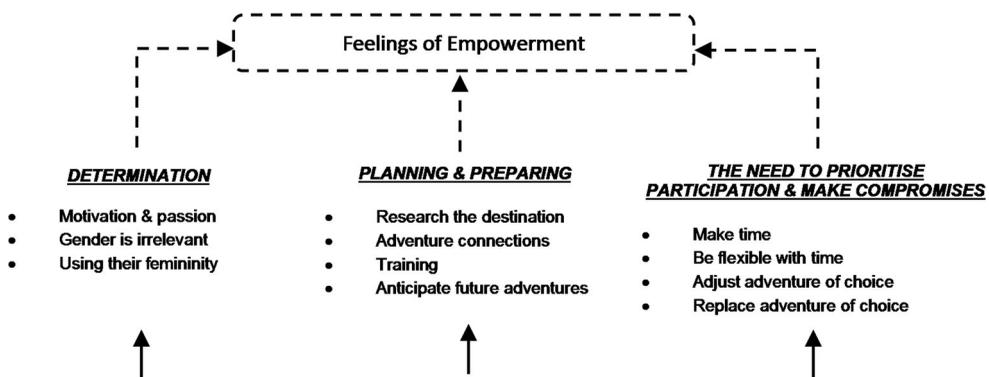

Figure 2. Types of negotiation strategies for women in adventure tourism.

Determination

For some women, the strength of *motivation and passion* for adventure tourism is strong enough to act as a negotiation strategy in itself. According to Fendt and Wilson (2012), American and Australian female surf tourists were able to overcome their challenges in accessing this form of adventure tourism by maintaining a positive attitude about the benefits which surf tourism provides. Likewise, British and American women who are determined to pursue their travelling desires have reported resisting personal and socio-cultural constraints, and in doing so empowering themselves through their travels (Jordan & Gibson, 2005). These two studies show that the challenges the women encountered when accessing adventure tourism were embraced and seen as exciting and empowering. They enhanced the women's adventure tourism experiences and encouraged their self-confidence and to develop as individuals. Without these challenges, their adventure experience was of less value.

For other women who are devoted to adventure, constraints are negotiated by taking the view that *gender is irrelevant.* In Laurendeau and Sharara's (2008) study of Canadian female skydivers and snowboarders, most of the women recognise that they are marginalised within these sports, but rather than submitting to this, they found that they could empower themselves and negotiate gender discrimination by discarding gender and seeing themselves first as skydivers and snowboarders with abilities equal to men. In contrast some of the female snowboarders ignore gender and their femininity by choosing to wear the baggy clothing style that dominates snowboarding. This diverts attention from their sexuality, as they prefer to be mistaken for men, and this creates anonymity that allows them to just snowboard without the attention they may get if their femininity was more obvious (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). Contrary to this, other female skydivers within this study reported *using their femininity* to negotiate their way through the male-dominated world of skydiving. These women recognise they are treated differently, and rather than challenging this, they take advantage of the extra attention and guidance in the sport they receive for being attractive. However, this negotiation strategy is contentious for some women who believe that emphasising a woman's femininity and sexualising her image undermines the efforts of women trying to transform these perceptions (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008).

Planning and preparing

Planning and preparing is a common strategy articulated by women to negotiate constraints. Prior to and during the adventure tourism experience British, Australian and American women have reported *researching the destination* to negotiate various personal constraints and to alleviate any doubts they may have in their lack of familiarity with the destination and the adventure activity. Transport, accommodation and tour arrangements are made, and the environmental conditions and locations the activities will take place in are researched (Coble et al., 2003; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers & Hannam, 2008). Spaces identified as being male domains, including bars, pubs and activities, can be avoided for fear of feeling vulnerable and receiving disapproval, innuendos, teasing and even violence or sexual harassment (Myers & Hannam, 2008). However, while this negotiation technique may give women confidence and empowerment from the

knowledge they have gained, and encourage them to continue travelling, some women can become resentful for feeling they have to constantly gauge the tourist landscape (Wilson & Little, 2008).

Another strategy women use to overcome constraints is to develop *adventure connections*. Concerns regarding safety or loneliness when travelling can be overcome by developing friendships with like-minded adventurers. This ensures an enjoyable experience and gives women power and control through safety in numbers (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Myers & Hannam, 2008). The need for companions and doubts in one's abilities when participating in certain adventure activities and in certain locations can also be negotiated by connecting with fellow adventurers through groups and clubs or by joining a packaged adventure holiday. Connecting with female-only groups is often sought by women, especially for those who see the adventure activity as a journey of self-discovery, to overcome self-doubts, and for those who perceive mixed-gender groups to be competitive, goal driven environments, prevailed by men (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Nolan & Priest, 1993).

Training prior to the adventure experience to develop knowledge, skills and fitness helps women negotiate their personal fears and develop greater awareness of their capabilities and boundaries. In turn this helps women make critical decisions in the planning and participation of their adventure experience and provides a sense of achievement and mastery which enhances their adventure experience and can lead to feelings of empowerment (Coble et al., 2003; Fendt & Wilson, 2012). Finally, for some Australian women who have not participated in adventure for some time, but are committed to the benefits of adventure, planning and preparing are used to *anticipate future adventures* (Little, 2000, 2002a). This lack of participation is seen as being a temporary state, as while they raise their children, work full time or recover from injury, they continue to plan future adventures and set goals. This enables women to maintain an emotional connection with adventure and maintain their adventure identity (Little, 2000, 2002a).

Prioritising participation and making compromises

Many women consider adventure an important aspect of their life, and as such, *making time* in their life and prioritising adventure participation is a key negotiation strategy (Elsrud, 1998; Little, 2000, 2002a). The time dedicated to adventure is not only used for the adventure activity itself, but also for the planning and organising of the adventure experience, learning new skills and training for participation, therefore exemplifying an act of empowerment. Women have described making time for adventure by managing their time, reducing their work hours and domestic chores, or taking employment that provides adventure through the job. For young Swedish female travellers, backpacking can be viewed as providing women with their last opportunity to travel before becoming wives or mothers, and subsequently some women make time to prioritise this form of adventure (Elsrud, 1998). For other women, making time and prioritising adventure is difficult and instead they have to compromise on the time spent participating in adventure, the level of challenge or the activity itself. *Being flexible with time* dedicated to adventure by extending or shortening time, or altering the frequency of participation, can be a useful negotiation technique for women in ensuring continuing participation (Little, 2000, 2002a). Other women may choose to *adjust the adventure of choice,* particularly those

with children or dependents, or those who have lost some of their ability due to lack of practice, or if their motivations for participation have changed (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2000, 2002a). Rather than permanently ceasing their participation in their chosen adventure activity, many women will alter the level of challenge or location of the activity to reflect this new phase in their adventure life, or adjust their preferred form of adventure tourism to involve their children, partner or friends. In contrast, for other women who are experiencing circumstances in their lives that are preventing participation, such as injury, re-location or having a family, the only means of negotiation is to *replace their adventure of choice* for alternative forms of adventure (Little, 2000, 2002a). This substitution could be temporary – with an expectation to return to their preferred adventure activity in the future – or long term, accepting that the replacement activity will form part of a new phase in their adventure lives.

The aforementioned studies show how important adventure is to women. By taking control and creatively negotiating constraints to ensure adventure in their lives, women are actively empowering themselves. This suggests that women's resistance to constraints is driven by their desire and commitment to adventure tourism and the expected benefits they will gain from participation, which this paper will now explore.

Benefits of adventure tourism for women

The benefits of adventure tourism are largely experienced during participation; however, this paper has shown that women may also experience the unexpected benefit of gaining empowerment from negotiating constraints when planning and preparing for their adventure tourism experience. This sense of empowerment can continue to be felt during the adventure activity itself, as it permeates through the other benefits they may gain from participation. Few studies have specifically focused on the benefits women gain from adventure in both tourism and recreation settings (e.g. McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Myers, 2010; Whittington, Mack, Budwill, & McKenney, 2011). However, insights can be drawn from studies that have researched women's general experience of adventure in these settings. Five comprehensive categories with subcategories are proposed based on the key benefits expressed by women within this literature (Figure 3).

Sense of freedom

The profound sense of freedom that adventure provides is a central benefit to women. The opportunity to have *time for yourself* and to be free of distractions is of particular importance to women (Boniface, 2006; Elsrud, 1998; Harris & Wilson, 2007; Henderson, 1996; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Mitten, 1992). A sense of *independence* that adventure provides and the opportunity to be spontaneous, whilst also being responsible for their own decisions, is also of value to women and can help increase self-confidence and empowerment. When reflecting on their travel experiences, Northern European female backpackers reported feeling less burdened by stereotypical femininity and they appreciate the ability to *escape from everyday life* and its materialism, strengthening them on their return (Elsrud, 2005). As such, this sense of freedom is also valuable in terms of its benefits to women's mental health.
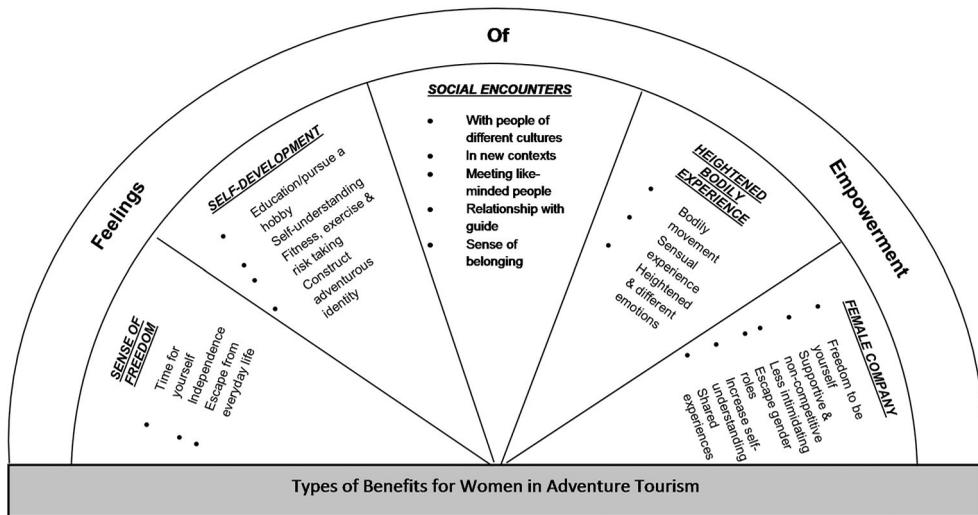
Figure 3. Types of benefits for women in adventure tourism.

Self-development

Some of the most important benefits of travel for women is the opportunity for *education* and to *pursue a hobby*, when skills can be developed and goals chased (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Pennington-Gray & Kerstetter, 2001). In addition, many women have reflected on an increase in their *self-understanding,* particularly their pride, strength and confidence from independent and adventure travel, which have been central to their feelings of self-empowerment (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Harris & Wilson, 2007; Jordan & Gibson, 2005). *Fitness, exercise* and *risk-taking* opportunities that adventure tourism provides, which challenge, increase confidence and empower women, have also been described as being key to their holiday experience (McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Myers, 2010). By overcoming fears and participating in adventurous activities whilst on holiday, women are able to *construct their own adventurous identity*, particularly if doing so alongside their male counterparts (Elsrud, 2001; Myers, 2010). Independent travel and learning to cope on their own is also used by women as a means of developing their adventure identity, leading to feelings of liberation, self-reliance and empowerment (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Myers & Hannam, 2008).

Social encounters

The social benefits of adventure are widely considered to be an important factor in con-tinued participation. Social interactions, such as meeting other people (particularly when travelling alone) and interacting with *people of different cultures* and *in new contexts*, are considered to be key ingredients of a good holiday experience for Australian women (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Small, 2007). These social interactions can help women to develop their social abilities and learn how to relate to others, as well as establishing friendships. *Meeting like-minded people* and forming friendships through adventure are highly valued by women. Many women value the shared and supported experience

that participation in adventure activities and adventure travel can provide, sometimes considering the social aspect of adventure experiences to be more important than other aspects of the experience, such as the physical challenge (Boniface, 2006; Elsrud, 1998; Hudson, 2000; Kiewa, 2001).

The *relationship with a guide* is often critical to the success of an organised adventure tourism holiday. Australian women have spoken of their nurturing ability, their encouraging comments, their ability to provide a non-threatening learning environment and the positive rapport they develop with them to be important factors of a successful adventure tourism trip (McKercher & Davidson, 1994). A final theme of social interaction, as noted by British female climbers, is the feeling of being different from other 'normal' and 'ordinary' women who do not share their adventure recreation interests (Boniface, 2006; Dilley & Scraton, 2010). Through this, a *sense of belonging* to a high-risk sporting sub-culture emerges where women feel they 'fit in' and are accepted, providing them with an empowering sense of belonging.

Heightened bodily experience

Heightened bodily senses and the physical and emotional experiences of travel have also been noted as key benefits from the adventure experiences of women (Elsrud, 1998; Myers, 2010; Small, 2007). To Small (2007, p. 88) the body is at the core of tourism and 'no holiday experience can be understood without reference to the body, since it is through the body that the holiday is experienced'. The extraordinary physical, emotional and sensual experiences that situate the body in the holiday can illuminate the everyday experiences of the body at home (Small, 2007). For example, learning about one's self through participating in physical activities that are not available at home, feeling safe in an enclosed holiday location or on an organised tour when time can be spent developing independence, or relaxing the body and resisting the feminine discourse to be looking after others (Small, 2007). Consequently the holiday provides an opportunity for the body to comply or resist gendered discourse (Small, 2007). Four embodiment themes are commonly cited.

Firstly, women recollect their adventure experiences through *bodily movement*. Demands on the body, such as the ache during long bicycle rides and bus journeys, are remembered positively, and add value to the travelling experience (Elsrud, 1998). British female climbers have reported feelings of happiness with their bodies, not in terms of how they looked, but what their body could do (Dilley & Scraton, 2010). These women felt strong, fit and physically active from climbing and valued their bodies as part of their climbing identity and competency. From these accounts, bodily movements through physical adventure activities provide opportunities for women to feel liberated and gain control over their bodies (Small, 2007). A second theme is the *sensual experience*, with women reflecting on the visual sight, but also the sounds (the crisp sound of snow), smells (salt water, animals, flowers and market place), taste (food and drink) and touch (weather and comfort of accommodation), which enables women to put their experiences into context and feel connected with the activity and the environment they are in (Elsrud, 1998; Small, 2007). Adventure activities that allow women to experience the pristine natural environment activates and heightens their bodily senses (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Hornibrook et al., 1997; Mitten, 1992; Myers, 2010). Simultaneously, women can

experience *heightened and different emotions* through adventure, as it is considered to be exciting and something beyond everyday life at home (Small, 2007). Expressions of joy, a sense of achievement, a sense of newness as well as relaxation and contentment have been described as positive emotions experienced by female travellers, which led to inner feelings of heightened happiness and empowerment (Small, 2007).

Female company

The benefits of all-female adventure recreation experiences have been studied extensively by scholars (see Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Hornibrook et al., 1997; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Nolan & Priest, 1993; Whittington et al., 2011). Women have reported preferring all-female adventure recreation groups as they provide women with the *freedom to be themselves*, to be able to express their feelings in a *supportive and non-competitive environment* where they can work on their fears and safety issues and focus on developing their skills (Hornibrook et al., 1997; Mitten, 1992; Stoddart, 2010; Whittington et al., 2011). These groups are considered to be *less intimidating* than mixed groups, particularly when participating in an activity for the first time. Women enjoy the perceived sense of equality within all-female groups and are able to *escape* imposed *gender roles* (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Hornibrook et al., 1997; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al., 2011). This allows women to participate more fully in the experience and to *increase* their *self-understanding,* particularly their confidence, self-esteem, self-belief and independence, which can lead to feelings of empowerment (Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al., 2011). Another prominent theme for these women is the importance of *shared experiences,* in terms of the sense of community, meeting like-minded people and the friendships that arise from participation in all-female groups (Hornibrook et al., 1997; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al., 2011). Women discover how enjoyable and powerful it feels to be part of an all-female group, resulting in a desire to participate again (Mitten, 1992; Whittington et al., 2011). Choosing to do an all-female adventure experience in a historically masculine practice, points to a gender resistance (McDermott, 2004). 'Women's individual and collective actions and their overt independence challenges traditional concepts of what constitutes women's behaviours and abilities' (Humberstone & Pedersen, 2000, p. 104) and 'challenges women's perceptions of themselves' (p. 106). While a women-only approach to adventure recreation can empower women physically and socially, paradoxically, Humberstone and Pedersen (2000) argue it can also contribute to the reproduction of dichotomised gendered ways of thinking if used as the main or only strategy for change.

Conceptual model

By reviewing the literature, this paper has found that past research on women's adventure has traditionally focused on either constraints, negotiation or benefits independently of one another, with the exception of Little's (2000, 2002a) and Fendt and Wilson's (2012) work, which examined together the constraints and negotiation strategies of women participating in adventure recreation and adventure tourism respectively. By contrast, this paper recognises each of these as important interrelated elements of a woman's journey in adventure tourism. A conceptual model is presented to illustrate this journey

and the relationships and processes between constraints, negotiation and benefits (Figure 4). Earlier conceptualisations of women's experiences of adventure in both tourism and recreation are combined to exemplify the model. By bringing together these studies, integrative categories of constraints, negotiations and benefits are proposed to enhance our understanding of female adventure tourists. The subcategories within each constraint, negotiation and benefit category (Figures 1–3) are not presented in an order based on their level of importance. Nevertheless, it is clear that women have reported more socio-cultural constraints than personal constraints, more negotiation strategies based on determination than other negotiation categories and fewer benefits associated with a sense of freedom than other benefit categories. Some benefit subcategories may also appear to be similar; however, it is the different context within which these themes were discussed that distinguishes them sufficiently to be considered separately in alternative benefit categories. 'Escapism', 'time for yourself' and 'freedom to be yourself', for example, are placed in both 'female company' and 'sense of freedom' benefit categories.
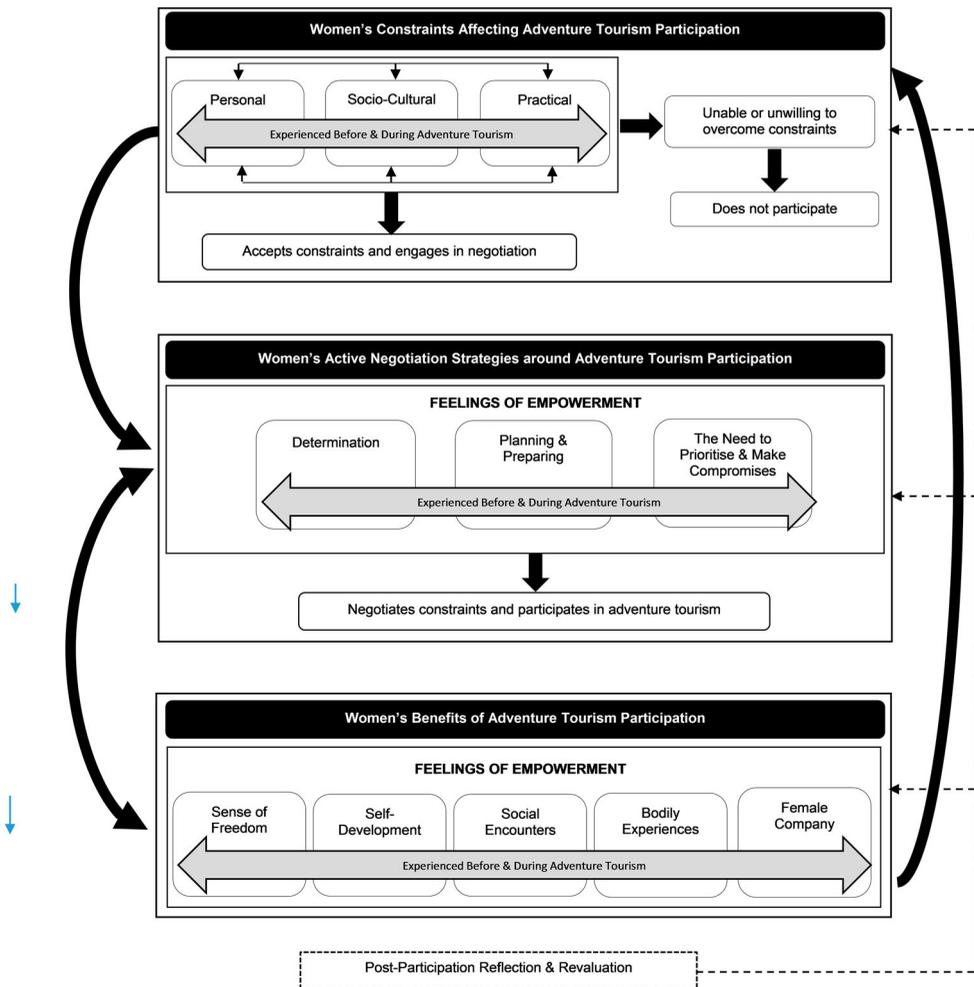

Figure 4. Conceptual model: a negotiated journey.

Similarly, 'self-understanding' is placed in both 'self-development' and 'female company' categories. These benefits have been reported by women travelling by themselves and in mixed groups of adventure tourism and recreation, but also in the context of all-female groups. The presence of other women in a non-competitive and supportive environment where they can fully escape gender roles and discover how enjoyable and powerful it feels to be part of an all-female group enhances these benefits. Therefore, it is important they are recognised in both benefit categories.

The model reveals that a woman's journey to adventure tourism is not a linear process, but a multidimensional one. Women not only encounter constraints before they travel, but at different stages of their adventure tourism experience. These constraints have been broadly categorised into personal, socio-cultural and practical constraints, yet each category should not be considered in isolation. Each constraint category informs and influences the other, producing a series of interconnected constraints that women can encounter simultaneously. For example, a lack of time due to the social expectation of placing family needs before personal adventure tourism aspirations, and the consequent sense of guilt can make women question their ethic of care and prevent them from pursuing adventure tourism. This ethic of care is only a problem when a sense of caring is unequally distributed, and despite the movement towards greater levels of male participation in housework and childcare, studies continue to document women being and/or feeling responsible for the majority of these duties. Similarly, if family and friends believe it to be unsafe to travel alone, visit a certain destination or participate in a particular adventure activity, this can cause or contribute to a woman's personal fears and self-doubt, which can be exacerbated if they are unable to find a travel companion. Consequently, this can deter women from travelling independently and may entice them to travel with an organised adventure tour operator instead. While women's personal constraints are embedded and thus mirror their socio-cultural constraints, socio-cultural constraints are also strongly interconnected with the practical constraints women may encounter when planning for adventure tourism. For example, the media's masculine portrayal of adventure and the poor promotion of the benefits and opportunities of adventure tourism for women do little to inspire women to participate in adventure tourism. Instead this can inadvertently strengthen women's perception that they are unadventurous or that adventure tourism is a masculine domain. This suggests that if adventure tourism literature featured women participating in a range of adventure activities and highlighted the services they offer women – particularly those that can help women overcome prominent constraints – this may remove, or at the very least, help women to negotiate these constraints. While women can encounter a number of barriers accessing adventure tourism, they can also emerge during the adventure tourism experience. In particular, fear or receiving unwanted attention can reduce or limit the adventure tourism experience. For some women, constraints act as a barrier to participation and they are either unable or unwilling to overcome them. Consequently, they will exit the journey and abstain from adventure tourism. For others, who are committed to the benefits of adventure tourism, constraints are challenged and resisted and they enter a process of negotiation.

Like constraints, this process of negotiation can take place when planning and preparing and/or during the adventure tourism experience. For some women, their passion for adventure and their determination to participate is a strong enough negotiation strategy

in itself. For others, they may need to engage in more challenging strategies, such as intensive planning and preparation, prioritising time for adventure tourism or making compromises on their preferred form of adventure tourism. This can lead to varying levels of participation, in terms of the type of activity they choose to participate in, the level of challenge faced, the time spent participating in the activity and the people they participate with. Despite the challenges of negotiating constraints, women may encounter unexpected benefits during this stage of their journey. Placed in this situation women can discover how resourceful and capable they are, as they seek to overcome constraints by engaging in a range of negotiation strategies. In doing so, women can gain a deep sense of achievement and empowerment, enhancing their adventure tourism journey and making it a more meaningful experience. Once constraints have been successfully negotiated, women will continue on their journey and experience the benefits of participating in adventure tourism.

As previously discussed, women can begin to experience the benefits of adventure tourism earlier in their journey by gaining empowerment when negotiating constraints. Still, the majority of benefits, including the expected benefits that initially drew them to adventure tourism, are experienced during participation. Adventure tourism can provide women with an embodied experience where they can be free of responsibilities and concentrate on developing skills, gaining experience, forming close friendships through shared experiences, feeling a sense of belonging and developing an adventure identity. Opportunities may also be available for women to participate in all-female adventure tourism where they can escape imposed gender roles in a non-competitive environment and increase their confidence and self-belief with other like-minded women. Whilst five broad benefit categories have been proposed, what permeates through these categories is the sense of empowerment women can gain from their adventure tourism experience. This sense of empowerment is palpable through much of the journey, suggesting that adventure tourism can be used as an act of empowerment by women, which can lead to a strong desire to participate again.

After experiencing the benefits of adventure tourism and feeling empowered by the experience, women may reflect on their negotiated journey and begin to view differently the constraints they previously overcame. Some constraints may no longer be considered as a barrier and are rejected the next time a woman pursues adventure tourism. Other constraints may be considered less of a barrier, making them easier to negotiate next time. Therefore, constraint, negotiation and benefit categories are not fixed and can change each time a woman engages with adventure tourism throughout their lifetime.

Existing research has not specifically compared the different stages of a woman's life-course against her experience of adventure tourism. Understanding how life-course stages are related to women's constraints to adventure tourism, the negotiation strategies they may use and the benefits they gain from adventure tourism may provide a better understanding of the preferences of women across the life-course and how they seek and engage in adventure tourism. In return this would provide insights for the management and marketing of adventure tourism. While the life-course has not received specific attention in adventure tourism research, the literature reviewed in this paper suggests that women's participation in adventure decreases and changes with age. In particular a woman's life-course stage has been strongly linked to her personal and socio-cultural constraints. Women in their 20s and 30s want to experience adventure tourism before they are

expected to settle down, using this time to make decisions about their future and to experiment with or develop their adventure identity (Elsrud, 1998, 2005; Gibson, Berdychevsky, & Bell, 2012). Some women in their 30s who do not have a family or are not married, choose to participate in adventure tourism because their friends are having families and entering the next stage of the life-course (Gibson et al., 2012). The role and responsibility of being a mother, partner or wife heavily influences women's access to and time spent participating in adventure tourism (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Little, 2000, 2002a; Wilson & Little, 2005). During this stage a woman may cease, replace or adjust her preferred type of adventure tourism (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2000, 2002a). However, as the children become older and more independent they may recommence their adventure tourism activity of choice. Equally, other women in this middle stage of their life-course may continue participating in their preferred adventure tourism activity, feeling that they are entitled to their own leisure time and see it as a temporary escape from family obligations (Gibson et al., 2012; Little, 2000, 2002a). Nevertheless, for some of these women a sense of guilt due to the ethic of care means they never fully escape (Gibson et al., 2012). During the middle stages of the life-course women are also more likely to have a senior and demanding job that can make it harder to get away for long periods of time. Women within this stage are also often constrained by others, who may perceive adventure tourism to be an acceptable activity when you are young, but not in your 30s, 40s or 50s (Gibson et al., 2012). In contrast, some women in this middle stage, particularly if their children are older, resist these social perceptions and use adventure tourism to fulfil their goals, participate in certain adventure activities and visit particular destinations before they are too old (Gibson et al., 2012). While it is clear that there are distinct changes in the constraints encountered by women at different stages of the life-course, some constraints can be constant throughout, such as self-doubt, fear and lack of companions. It is unknown if the negotiation strategies used by women and the benefits sought and experienced during adventure tourism differs with age or life-course stage. However, research has found that women specifically chose to participate in all-female holidays throughout the life-course (Berdychevsky, Gibson, & Bell, 2013; Gibson et al., 2012) as they are considered to provide women with 'a unique social dynamic not found in other types of tourist experiences' (Gibson et al., 2012, p. 43). All-female holidays provide an egalitarian space, absent of sexual tension, where women can feel less self-conscious and guarded, allowing them to enjoy themselves and gain empowerment. In particular, these women gained empowerment by reaching goals, broadening the self, feeling in charge and becoming mature travellers.

These findings suggest that a woman's negotiated journey is a cyclical process, comprising interdependent elements. Women engage with each of these elements simultaneously and will constantly revaluate constraints, negotiation strategies and benefits during the adventure tourism journey and during subsequent adventure tourism journeys throughout their lives. Therefore, a women's journey to adventure tourism is not a static, linear process, but a process of constant negotiation, reflection and revaluation throughout their lives. This paper has identified ways of categorising adventure tourism constraints, negotiation and benefits, and highlighted the interrelationships and interdependences between these. By adopting an integrated non-linear approach, rather than examining these separately, insights are gained into the opportunities for women's empowerment through adventure tourism. However, this model has emerged

from reviewing literature on women's experience of adventure tourism, adventure recreation and tourism more broadly; therefore, research is needed to test the model and its applicability within an adventure tourism context.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, much of the previous work on women's access to adventure and their experiences of adventure has been the focus of recreation research. Less emphasis has been placed on women's experience of adventure within a tourism setting, how they negotiate their constraints in accessing and experiencing adventure tourism and the benefits they gain from their experience, including empowerment. The conceptual model presented in this paper attempts to extend our understanding of female adventure tourists by contributing to the small, but growing, research available on female adventure tourists and their adventure tourism experiences. Literature on women's access to, and the benefits of, adventure recreation and tourism was examined and applied specifically to female adventure tourists. Generally, the constraints women encountered, the negotiation strategies used and the benefits gained were similar in both adventure recreation and adventure tourism settings. This reaffirms the inextricable relationship between these two forms of adventure and supports the common practice of drawing on recreation literature to guide the development of adventure tourism theory and understanding. However, because adventure tourism requires an individual to travel, often to an unknown destination, some differences were detected in how women may negotiate constraints. These include negotiating the lack of a travel companion, their unfamiliarity of the destination and their personal fears and self-doubts by developing adventure connections prior to departure or choosing to travel with an adventure tour operator.

The conceptual model introduces new all-encompassing constraint, negotiation and benefit categories and subcategories and examines the interconnected and interdependent nature of these and how they can influence a woman's experience of adventure tourism. While this model raises awareness of the challenges women face when pursuing their adventure tourism aspirations, it also highlights how enabling this journey can be. Through the process of negotiation, women can discover how independent, strong and resourceful they are. This process can be seen by some women as an act of empowerment, which can add unexpected value and meaning to their adventure tourism experience. This sense of achievement and empowerment continues to be felt through the benefits gained during participation, particularly in terms of self-development and when participating in all-female groups.

Rather than presenting definitive answers supported by empirical research, this paper has presented a model that can be used as a useful tool by others to conceptualise their research within this area. The constraint, negotiation and benefit categories presented in the conceptual model have been developed through a qualitative content analysis of adventure tourism, tourism and adventure recreation literature. Therefore, research is needed to see if these categories exist, if they are suitable and what the interrelationships are between them. In addition, this model is useful for adventure tourism providers. Commercial adventure tourism holidays are particularly appealing to women as they negotiate many of their constraints. By appreciating the negotiated journey a woman can encounter in her pursuit to participate in adventure tourism, appropriate opportunities can be

designed by adventure tourism providers that meets the needs of this growing market. While some constraints are socially constructed and therefore difficult for the industry to influence, others can be alleviated by the industry (Wilson & Little, 2005). For example the presence and representation of women in their literature and how they promote the opportunities and benefits of adventure tourism to women may help women to negotiate certain pre-travel constraints.

As women constitute nearly half of all international adventure tourists (ATTA et al., 2014), further research is needed to understand this significant market. It would be useful to know if women seek commercial female-only adventure tourism experiences, if they would prefer a female guide and if they are deterred by the lack of either of these opportunities. Consideration of how women are promoted in adventure tourism literature would also be of academic interest, as this could stimulate motivation to participate in commercial adventure holidays, or conversely, provide a barrier to participation if women are underrepresented or misrepresented in such promotional literature. Similarly, adventure tour operators' understanding of their female clients and how they recognise their needs within their marketing, product development and guiding would be of academic interest. Research into the constraints to women's participation and their experience of adventure tourism across a spectrum of life stages is worthy of study. Similarly research could focus on a comparison of the expected and experienced benefits of adventure tourism for women. Many of the studies reviewed in this paper have alluded to the benefits of adventure tourism being experienced not only before and during, but also after participation through bringing about positive changes in women's everyday lives. Further research is needed to explore the long-term benefits of adventure tourism. In doing so we can deepen our understanding of a woman's adventure tourism journey.

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Appendix 2: Publication 2

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8 Gender and mountaineering tourism

Gill Pomfret and Adele Doran

Introduction

We live in gendered societies within which our identities are culturally developed and are categorized as either feminine or masculine (Humberstone 2000; Swain 1995). While femininity is associated with 'being emotional, passive, dependent, maternal, compassionate, and gentle', masculinity reflects 'strength, competitiveness, assertiveness, confidence, and independence' (Krane 2001: 117) and it embodies heterosexual characteristics (Messner 1992). The cultures within which we live value and reinforce masculinity, yet they devalue and undermine femininity (Wearing 1998). As gender is deeply ingrained within all aspects of society and it is central to explaining human behaviour (Humberstone 2000), it is inextricably linked to tourism development and tourism processes. It is argued, therefore, that 'tourism processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption' (Rao 1995: 30). Gender shapes men and women's involvement in tourism in different ways. Gender divisions are most apparent in tourism employment, as women occupy most low-skilled, low-paid jobs, and in the commoditization of culture at tourist destinations, as women and men play different roles in selling their cultures (Kinniard and Hall 1994).

As gender is a societal construct which pervades all types of tourism, it is worthwhile exploring the role that it plays in mountaineering tourism. There is a lack of research on this topic and the discussion within this chapter highlights a dearth of studies which specifically focus on gender and mountaineering tourism. Ordinarily, mountaineering has strong associations with manliness, and its masculinity is reflected in mountaineers' personal narratives, media representations and people's experiences of mountaineering. The commodification of this adventure sport has resulted in the development of commercially organized, guided mountaineering holidays, fuelling the growth in demand for mountaineering tourism (Buckley 2010; Pomfret and Bramwell 2014). It has created more opportunities for more tourists to participate in a range of both soft and hard mountaineering activities while on holiday, meaning that 'tourists with relatively limited mountaineering experience can now attempt to scale impressively high peaks by booking a packaged mountaineering holiday' (Pomfret 2012: 145). For the purpose of this chapter, we have adopted a broad definition of mountaineering

which includes various 'stand-alone' activities – such as rock climbing, ice climbing, scrambling and hill walking – and holidays which combine various activities – such as guided, skills-based mountaineering courses and high-altitude mountaineering expeditions.

Despite limited data on gender participation rates in mountaineering tourism and recreational mountaineering it is evident that men participate more than women. For instance, the UK mountaineering tour operator, Jagged Globe, reports that female demand for their skills-based courses in 2013 was only 23 per cent, for guided expeditions it was 27 per cent and for trekking trips it was 37 per cent (Jagged Globe 2014). In recreational mountaineering, men generate most of the demand, yet the most dramatic increase in participation currently is amongst women. Testament to this is that female membership of the British Mountaineering Council (BMC 2010, 2014) is on an upward trajectory – 16 per cent in 2002, 25 per cent in 2006 and almost 27 per cent in 2014. Women's participation in rock climbing has increased considerably, although accurate figures on the gender split are difficult to obtain. Additionally, the performance gap in climbing between genders is narrowing (Vodden-McKay and Schell 2010) with women increasingly performing as well as, or better than, men. Mountaineering participation rates amongst women also are rising in other countries. For instance, there has been a growth in demand by Japanese women partaking in pilgrimage mountaineering in Japan (Nakata and Momsen 2010). Nevertheless, this trend is not reflected in high-altitude mountaineering, in which women are markedly under-represented although, since the 1980s, there has been an increase in all-female teams summiting high mountain peaks (Vodden-McKay and Schell 2010).

It is worth noting that these changing trends in mountaineering participation also are reflected in the demand for adventure tourism generally, although there is a more equal gender split (57 per cent male and 43 per cent female) in the latter (Adventure Travel Trade Association 2013). Furthermore, there are no major differences between hard and soft adventure participation for men and women, although soft adventure remains slightly more appealing to women. In parallel with this, the supply of women-only adventure holidays such as mountain biking, snowboarding and skiing trips is growing (Mintel 2011), although perplexingly this growth is less apparent in mountaineering and climbing holiday provision.

Despite a substantial body of work on mountaineers (Buckley 2011), prior research has tended to neglect the role of gender, focusing instead on recreational mountaineers (see Delle Fave *et al*. 2003; Ewert *et al*. 2013; Lester 2004; Loewenstein 1999). Little is known about mountaineer tourists, with the exception of a small number of studies (Carr 1997, 2001; Pomfret 2006, 2011; Pomfret and Bramwell 2014). Hence, men and women's participation in mountaineering tourism merits fuller research attention so as to develop an appreciation of the role that gender plays.

Despite the lack of research on gender and mountaineer tourists, we can gain some insights from studies on recreational mountaineers. Mountaineering tourism

and recreational mountaineering are inextricably linked as they share the same facilities and resources (Carr 2001), and they evoke similar psychological reactions from participants during mountaineering involvement (Pomfret 2006). Few studies on recreational mountaineers have examined the role of gender, and these tend to focus on masculinity. For instance, this is a prominent theme in studies on high-altitude mountaineers while 'feminist studies of women climbers and women-centred expeditions are still rare' (Rak 2007: 115) and a complete history of women climbers is lacking (Mazel 1994).

Similarly, as mountaineering tourism is a palpable type of adventure tourism (Swarbrooke *et al.* 2003), we can advance our understanding of gender's role in mountaineering tourism through considering other types of adventure tourism. Problematically, however, this also is an under-researched topic as most studies focus on recreational adventurers (Buckley 2011).

The lack of work which examines gender and mountaineering tourism reflects also the dearth of research on gender and tourism. Scholarly curiosity in gender and tourism gained prominence in the 1990s with the publication of several seminal texts (see Kinniard and Hall 1994; Sinclair 1997; Swain 1995) yet interest in this topic dwindled over time, although it recently has resurged (Pritchard *et al.* 2007). It is argued that mainstream tourism research mostly does not consider women's experiences and women's voices (Pritchard *et al.* 2007). This may, in part, be due to the prominent and traditional masculinization discourse typically associated with tourism, which provides an opportunity to escape from domestic environments and family commitments (Rojek and Urry 1997). This draws attention to the need for further investigations which explore the motives, behaviour and experiences of female tourists and how these differ from those of men (Harris and Wilson 2007; Timothy 2001).

The chapter is structured to encourage readers to appreciate the key issues around gender and mountaineering tourism, to consider the limited research that exists and to present opportunities for further investigations on this topic. It explores two key themes which feature most prominently within previous research related to gender and mountaineering tourism. The first theme examines representations of gender within mountaineering narratives and the media. This discussion introduces the notion of landscapes as socially constructed gendered spaces, and then it analyses masculine and feminine representations of these landscapes, both within mountaineering narratives and within different forms of media. The second theme appraises gendered experiences within mountaineering. It initially focuses on gendered motivations, then gendered expectations and identities within mountaineering, and finally gender and mountain guides. These two key themes are strongly linked by the long tradition of masculinity within mountaineering as the latter is represented and, consequently, perceived and experienced as an activity which epitomizes core hegemonic masculine features (Frohlick 2005; Ortner 1999). In the concluding section, suggestions for further research on the role that gender plays in mountaineering tourism are briefly outlined.

Gendered landscapes and their representation within mountaineering narratives and mountaineering media

Discussion now turns to the first theme which is concerned with gendered mountaineering landscapes and how these are represented both within mountaineering narratives and within mountaineering media. This section initially provides an overview of landscape characteristics, and gendered mountaineering and adventure tourism landscapes.

The word 'landscape' has many meanings, yet it is commonly viewed as a physical entity which is pictorially represented and understood 'in a single gaze' (Pritchard and Morgan 2010: 118). Aside from their physical features, landscapes are 'interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined' by us to give them meaning (Gieryn 2000: 465). As such, we experience landscapes subjectively and in ways. Due to their socially constructed nature, and the significant role that gender plays in society, landscapes are gendered concepts.

Historically, mountaineering landscapes provided men with an opportunity to 'perform adventurous masculinities' (Stoddart 2010: 109), to journey far away from home and to escape domestic responsibilities for the purposes of exploration, conquest and adventure. The development of mountaineering was influenced by all-male institutions, particularly the army, which favoured male styles of interaction (Frohlick 1999, 2006; Logan 2006). At home, in the post-war years and with the onset of modernity, men felt that their manhood was threatened by more feminized landscapes within which life revolved around family matters and neighbourliness (Dummit 2004). Rak (2007) notes that from early in the nineteenth century until the golden age of high-altitude mountaineering in the 1950s – when all 8,000 m Himalayan peaks had been climbed – mountaineering came to be associated with 'masculine heroism', 'manly imperialism' and 'cultural superiority' (p. 114). The use of gendered language further reinforced the masculinization of mountaineering landscapes. For instance, Gaston Rébuffat, a mountaineer who climbed Annapurna in 1950, coined the term 'the brotherhood of the rope' (1999 cited in Rak 2007: 117) to describe the correct way to climb. This serves to emphasize the manliness of high-altitude mountaineering landscapes, through its associations with strength and leadership, while effectively disregarding women from participation. It is worth noting that femininity within mountaineering landscapes exists but only in metaphorical, subordinated forms. Mountains are referred to in a phallic way, using terms such as 'virgin peak' and 'virginal purity'. Their domination is eroticized, and mountaineering is played out as a ritualized competition for masculine supremacy (Charroin 2011; Logan 2006; Moraldo 2013).

Different types of landscape are apparent within mountaineering. While high-altitude, remote landscapes offer the most potential for participation in extremely challenging and 'hard' forms of mountaineering, tamer landscapes at lower altitude with supporting infrastructure – such as huts and cable cars – offer a broader range of hard and soft mountaineering activities. What is not fully

understood is how these different mountaineering landscapes are interpreted and experienced by men and women, presenting another topic for further investigation. It is evident that masculinity still dominates present day mountaineering landscapes, despite women's increased participation and prominence in mountaineering over recent years. Many think that women are unable to cope with the demands of mountaineering, as they lack physical strength and mental endurance (Vodden-McKay and Schell 2010). However, the successes of renowned women mountaineers such as Wanda Rutkiewicz and Chantal Mauduit contradict this viewpoint and prove that women do indeed possess the fortitude to accomplish major peaks in mountaineering.

Adventure tourism landscapes, inclusive of mountaineering landscapes, offer tourists plentiful opportunities to participate in short, sharp fixes of adventure in which they can 'accelerate through increasingly compressed and hyper inscribed space' (Bell and Lyall 2002: 21) to enjoy adrenaline-fuelled experiences. While participation in such activities encourages adventure tourists to experience rather quickly these adventurous spaces, the longer length of time required for mountaineering allows for participants to immerse themselves more fully into the mountain landscape. Yet, while some mountaineering companies offer treks and expeditions which take place over long time periods, many provide much shorter skills-based courses, aimed at developing competence in mountaineering. As such, tourists on these skills-based holidays may, because of the more limited time spent in the mountains, also 'accelerate' through these sublime mountain landscapes. However, the pace and intensity at which tourists experience mountaineering within these landscapes, and whether there are differences in women and men's experiences, is unknown, highlighting the need for further investigation.

It is suggested that adventure landscapes are dominated by masculinity because men have prevailed as pioneers of unexplored, challenging landscapes, and they have developed codes of behaviour (Norwood 1988) which continue to be followed in the present day. Therefore, women experience men's interpretation of these landscapes and, while this may be a positive and enjoyable experience, they may prefer more 'gender-neutral' or feminized environments within which to participate in adventure activities (Humberstone and Collins 1998) or mountaineering tourism.

Consideration is now given to masculinity themes within mountaineering narratives and mountaineering-related research. Mountaineering is represented as a heroic and manly activity within mountaineering narratives, such as within guides and histories (Logan 2006). Early narratives convey hegemonic masculine features, such as bravery, risk-taking, competitiveness, physical strength, rationality, leadership, self-sacrifice, ruggedness and resourcefulness, and they describe the male body as dominating the natural environment (Frohlick 1999; Logan 2006; Moraldo 2013).

Mountaineers are considered to be the most highly literate group of individuals within all sports as they have written many personal narratives about their expeditions. Both past and present mountaineering narratives mostly have been written by men and they recount stories of physical hardship, referring

often to themes of masculinity. However, because of this focus on masculinity, daily practices within mountaineering are often not mentioned within these narratives. These practices include everyday domestic acts (e.g. getting dressed, turning on the stove, melting water and erecting tents), the camaraderie which develops and the friendships which are formed. They are carried out by men and women alike, yet they are considered to be feminine acts and hence they get overlooked in narratives (Frohlick 1999). Therefore, it can be argued that our perception of mountaineering as masculine stems from what gets published in mountaineering narratives. This opens up mountaineering to new questions and new areas of research. Is mountaineering really a masculine activity? Are we assuming a hegemonic masculinity that all men are the same? Or, are there different types of masculinities within mountaineering? Within less institutionalized new sports, such as windsurfing, skateboarding and mountain biking, a number of different masculinities – many of which are more open to women – and femininities, are apparent (Wheaton 2000, 2004). As noted by Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994: 20), 'Rarely, if ever, will there be only one hegemonic masculinity operating in any cultural setting.' Therefore it can be assumed that there are multiple masculinities and, equally, multiple femininities within mountaineering. Thus the prevailing view that masculinity dominates mountaineering can now be seen as more complex and multidimensional.

Like other mountaineering activities, rock climbing is a male-dominated activity with more males than females participating. Yet, there is a mix of both masculine and feminine characteristics in rock climbing. It involves high levels of risk and strength, which are often referred to as masculine features, but it also requires good technique, balance and grace, which are thought to be feminine characteristics. It is argued that climbing will continue to reinforce hegemonic masculinity unless the value of femininity is emphasized (Plate 2007). Therefore, studies on masculinities (see Robinson 2008; Wheaton 2000, 2004) and the role of gender (Kiewa 2001) should be supplemented with further research on women's experiences, their empowerment and expressions of femininity in a range of mountaineering activities. Additionally, focus needs to be directed towards the experiences of both men and women and the range of femininities and masculinities occurring within mountaineering tourism. In this way we can gain a fuller picture both of conformity and resistance to stereotypical gender characteristics within mountaineering.

The next topic to be appraised within this theme concerns how female mountaineers are perceived within gendered mountaineering landscapes. Very few mountaineering narratives have been written by women, reflecting their disproportionate number in mountaineering. Historically, women who participated in mountaineering and who wrote autobiographies were considered to be deviants (Moraldo 2013). This was especially the case for early mountaineers – mostly from the upper classes – who resisted gender norms both by being mountaineers and by having an unconventional social and family life within which they chose not to marry or to have children. These women were often labelled as masculine and sometime as lesbians, as Lopez-Marugan (2001: 15 cited in Moscoso-Sanchez 2008: 188) writes:

Venturing into the mountains was more than suspicious and to fasten them-
selves to a rope in order to climb in the company of men was symptomatic
of lesbianism. To those that succeeded in overcoming these prejudices, there
remained a long road for them to travel, between the hounding of public
opinion, the incomprehension of their families, and what was worse, the
criticism of some climbers.

This criticism was still apparent in the 1970s when women were invited to join
organized expeditions. For instance, Arlene Blum, an experienced climber, was
not selected for an American-led expedition because the male leaders considered
her to be insufficiently lady-like, and instead they chose women with less climb-
ing experience. This implies that for women at that time, social skills were more
important than climbing skills (Blum 2005).

While equality within mountaineering has since grown, in contrast to their pre-
decessors, modern female mountaineers increasingly are adhering to gender norms
(Moraldo 2013). Although they are considered to be deviant because they parti-
cipate in mountaineering, female mountaineers are not seen as deviant in their
daily lives if they choose to have a family while continuing with mountaineering.
Nevertheless, this deviancy has not come without criticism. Within mountaineer-
ing, motherhood provokes scrutiny and criticism in ways that fatherhood does not,
with moral questions levelled at women but not at men (Frohlick 2006). This criti-
cism comes not only from the media but also from the mountaineering community.
Alison Hargreaves, a mother and professional mountaineer who died descending
K2 in 1995, was accused publicly of 'acting like a man' in attempting to 'have it
all' (Rose and Douglass 1999: 273). Hargreaves was regarded as a terrible and
selfish mother because she chose to be away from her children and she was able to
'switch off' from being a mother to pursue her profession in mountaineering.

What a tenuous path fraught with obstacles mountaineering must have been
for these women. Women were accepted within the mountaineering community,
but only on the condition that they exuded femininity and hid any signs of mas-
culinity. Yet, through displaying femininity they were considered to be inferior
by their male peers. Furthermore, 'sacrificial motherhood' was, and possibly still
is, assumed, whereby mountaineering mothers must forgo their adventure and
give up their lives as mountaineers when they become mothers as they are
expected only to be caregivers and to focus exclusively on their children
(Frohlick 2006: 486). This perpetuates the male domination of mountaineering.

While it is clear that women have had to overcome a number of challenges
imposed by male and societal attitudes towards their participation in mountain-
eering, it is unknown if women are still experiencing such challenges today.
With a growing number of women participating in mountaineering activities rec-
reationally and when on holiday, men's attitudes towards increased female parti-
cipation needs further analysis.

Attention is now directed towards media representations of gendered moun-
taineering landscapes. It is evident from the above discussion that mountaineer-
ing landscapes and narratives are dominated by themes of masculinity. Similarly,

different media forms, such as magazines, holiday brochures and films fixate on the male gaze, depicting mountaineering landscapes as masculinized, sublime environments. However, previous research has neglected to examine media representations of masculinities and femininities within mountaineering landscapes.

As the media is influential in communicating the values and norms of different sport subcultures (Thorpe 2008), accurate representation of sports' participants – inclusive of mountaineer tourists – is important. The media influences 'understanding of who belongs in these places and which modes of interaction with these places are most highly valued' (Stoddart 2010: 114). It is argued that women are misrepresented, under-represented or they do not feature at all within mountaineering media, reflecting an untruth that their participation in mountain sports is remarkable rather than the norm (Stoddart 2010). As increasing numbers of women participate in mountaineering, it is important that they have a strong presence in the media and that they are represented correctly for their mountaineering accomplishments.

The growth and success of mountain film festivals in recent years has encouraged academic enquiry into the way in which mountaineering landscapes are represented through the media of film, and whether such festivals perpetuate perceptions of hegemonic masculinity within mountaineering through their emphasis on men's greatness and on their heroic adventure achievements. As Frohlick (2005: 178) notes, 'Mountain film festivals are spaces where contemporary versions of adventure are produced and imagined through "hypermasculinization"', and where traditional views of the heroic white male adventurer from colonial times are reinforced (Foster and Mills 2002). As such, these festivals are places within which women are considered to be 'gendered spectators' (p. 178), featuring only peripherally in the screened films as less significant 'others'. Women's position in mountaineering landscapes is, therefore, often displaced, leading viewers to assume that these women are part of the support team rather than part of the mountaineering team. Furthermore, women spectators are positioned at mountain film festivals as soft feminine adventurers, contrasting with 'hardcore' (p. 179) adventurers, who are usually men. These women are viewed as active consumers of soft adventure who are more likely to buy packaged adventure holidays. Such positioning does not take into account the narrowing gender split in mountaineering tourism participation, preferring instead to reinforce the masculinization and male-domination of recreational mountaineering.

Women mountaineers are represented within the media in a strongly feminized way, with attention focused more on their physical characteristics, particularly their feminine appeal, than on their athletic prowess in mountaineering. Furthermore, the media prioritizes women's private lives over their mountaineering accomplishments. Despite their importance to international climbing, women climbers continue to be represented in outdoor sports magazines as 'scantily-clad sexual objects' (Rak 2007: 132). Such portrayals can impact negatively on their social acceptance into the climbing community, generating feelings of disempowerment amongst women (Vodden-McKay and Schell 2010).

One study (Vodden-McKay and Schell 2010) analysed representations of women rock climbers in *Climbing* magazine – a leading specialist publication – between 1991 and 2004. Of the 421 articles assessed, only 3 per cent focused on women. While photographs showed women climbers participating in climbing, the most salient and homogeneous images were of 'young, white, able-bodied women with hair at least shoulder length' (p. 142). The magazine's narrative alluded to the maleness of climbing, mentioning characteristics such as power, strength, risk-taking and virility, and positioned women as 'real' women in spite of their participation in a male-dominated adventure activity. The magazine articles focused on women's heterosexuality, accentuating their involvement in romantic relationships, domesticity within their home lives and their roles as mothers. They highlighted women climbers' physical appearance, particularly their physique and their attractiveness, and they infantilized women, describing them as younger than their age and alluding to their childlike qualities. Such work shows the pressing need for the media to portray accurately women's climbing competence and accomplishments rather than depicting them in such a traditionally feminized way. By doing so, more women will be inspired to participate in climbing and other mountaineering activities through positive role models.

Gendered experiences within mountaineering tourism

The second key theme explores gendered experiences within mountaineering tourism. It focuses, firstly, on gendered motivations, secondly on gendered expectations, thirdly on gendered identities, then fourthly on gender and mountain guides.

Considerable previous research has examined the motivations of mountaineers. For instance, 14 out of 50 reviewed motive-based adventure activity studies investigated mountaineers (Buckley 2011), although a majority of these have focused on recreational mountaineers. Few studies (Carr 1997, 2001; Pomfret 2006, 2011; Pomfret and Bramwell 2014) specifically have examined the motives of mountaineer tourists. While there is some understanding of why people participate in mountaineering, there is a dearth of research about the role that gender plays in motivating mountaineers, and it is not possible to gain in-depth insights from the previous work as it has not specifically addressed gender. As mountaineering has higher participation rates for men than women, motivational comparisons according to gender are made more complex and this may explain, in part, why this topic has been neglected by researchers.

There is some uncertainty, therefore, about whether men and women are motivated differently or similarly to partake in mountaineering. Early work (Norwood 1988) on extreme female adventurers suggests that women and men want the same. Women want to prove to themselves that they are skilled and competent adventurers with the core psychological strength needed to help them to overcome their feelings of fear, risk and hardship. Whether such motivations are applicable to present day mountaineers and different types of mountaineers,

from those on guided packaged mountaineering holidays to those on high-altitude unguided expeditions, is not fully known. More recent research on mountaineer tourists (Pomfret and Bramwell 2014) has looked briefly at gender's influence on motivations and found that challenge, developing mountaineering experience and socializing motivated both men and women, and while men were slightly more motivated by adventure, women were slightly more motivated by competence development. Other work (Plate 2007) concludes that women are strongly motivated to improve their climbing performance and they achieve this through climbing with other women, and through participation in women-only climbing events in which they can challenge themselves. They feel more inspired to climb harder when they climb with other women as they experience a supportive and less competitive environment within which 'there is less focus on partner dynamics and more energy going towards climbing itself' (p. 10). Men also appreciate climbing with women for the same reasons and they perceive strong women climbers as role models who provide inspiration.

In contrast to the aforementioned discussion on gendered motivations, research on male and female mountaineers generally has found that their expectations of one another, based on their past experiences, conform to stereotypical gender characteristics (Kiewa 2001; Moscoso-Sanchez 2008; Robinson 2008). Women expect men to be more focused on mountaineering, demonstrate greater involvement in clubs and associations, to be more physically capable, to have a greater pain tolerance and to be more concerned about their self-image. On the other hand, men expect women mountaineers to be masculine, yet they also expect them to be less capable, more focused on the social aspects of mountaineering, and less involved in clubs and associations. Furthermore, men expect women to have only a limited ability to self-sacrifice, and to prioritize family over mountaineering.

These gendered expectations play a part in shaping the behaviour of climbers, in that some male climbers would choose never to climb with women, as they expect women to hold them back and expect them to be less motivated (Kiewa 2001). Similarly, some female climbers choose not to climb with men as they find men hold them back. Women feel that men have low expectations of them, and men's enthusiasm to climb up a route quickly and complete as many routes in a day creates unwanted pressure and impacts negatively on their experience.

While these studies provide insights into the gendered expectations between men and women, they also adopt a binary approach. This approach assumes that men are strongly masculine whereas women are strongly feminine (Robinson 2008). However, the boundaries which have been conventionally associated with masculinity and femininity within mountaineering are becoming more blurred. Various studies (Kiewa 2001; Plate 2007; Robinson 2008) have reported that male and female climbers find no difference between climbing with men and climbing with women, and some male climbers regard women climbers as their equals. Some male and female climbers are equally focused on the activity, while others prioritize the spirituality and nature-based elements of the experience, or concentrate on the relationships that develop and enhance their climbing. Some

male climbers avoid climbing with people who have a competitive attitude, while some female climbers choose to climb with men as they expect to be challenged and to be pushed by them.

What this demonstrates is the complexity of participants' expectations and, subsequently, their gendered experiences of mountaineering. As differences in expectations shape and sometimes limit engagement in mountaineering, further research needs to explore the gendered expectations of mountaineer tourists and how these influence the holiday experience. Rather than focusing on gender differences and how these restrict participation, the positive experiences which men and women enjoy during mountaineering participation with their gender opposites need to be explored. Taking this approach will provide a more stimulating way to think about how relationships between genders accentuate participants' experiences of mountaineering.

These clearly differentiated expectations of male and female mountaineers point towards a gendered identity within mountaineering. Moscoso-Sanchez (2008) believes that this identity develops through patriarchal domination and socialization processes, for instance through family, school, peer groups and mass media. It is thought that women are disadvantaged compared with men both within mountaineering and within society generally. Men exercise their influence, or dominance, over women, and women subconsciously accept their expected inferiority. For example, in mountaineering it is assumed that women will climb after men, and that they will organize the practical arrangements such as purchasing food for their mountaineering trip and booking mountain huts. Consequently, this limits women's opportunities to develop their mountaineering skills and constantly places them in second position. Similarly, when spouses or committed couples participate in mountaineering together, if the female mountaineer becomes pregnant and has children, she is expected to renounce or considerably alter her mountaineering participation habits. This reflects unequal gender roles and, more importantly, it reduces the opportunity for women to participate in mountaineering and pursue their mountaineering ambitions. Ultimately, it results in women having a less significant presence in mountaineering.

In addition to this gender identity, a mountaineering identity is also apparent (Moscoso-Sanchez 2008). Both men and women perceive this identity as an area (the mountain in its distinct forms) and as a sport (which comprises different activities and varied styles). Furthermore, it is seen as a subculture which unites all mountaineers by a common lifestyle based on values which reflect contact with nature, personal development, challenging experiences, expeditions and human relations. Rock climbing is particularly appealing to women, providing them with a space to 'fit in' and experience an empowering sense of belonging within this subculture. The more time that women are involved in climbing, the more that they cease to feel as if they belong to 'mainstream' culture and the more that they feel accepted within the climbing subculture. Therefore, some women climbers climb to differentiate themselves from traditional femininity and, by doing so, they construct their climbing and mountaineering identity (Dilley and Scraton 2010; Robinson 2008).

Packaged mountaineering tourism potentially offers women a more gender-neutral landscape within which they can play out their mountaineering identity, they can concentrate on developing their skills and they can achieve their ambitions. This is because gendered roles and differences may not be as prominent given that the tour operator's role is to arrange all the practicalities of their holidays. Within this landscape, the mountaineering identity gains prominence and it challenges stereotypical gender roles by encouraging women's empowerment.

The final topic to be considered within this gendered experiences theme is gender and mountain guides, as guides have considerable influence over the client's experience of packaged mountaineering tourism. Very few studies have specifically researched mountain guides (see Beedie 2003, 2008; Martinoia 2013) and to the authors' knowledge, there is no known research which focuses on mountain guiding from a gender perspective. However, Martinoia's (2013) study on the guide–client relationship provides a unique insight into the experiences of male mountain guides and it confirms gendered expectations and reinforces masculinity within male guiding. The study reveals that some male guides prefer women clients as generally they are more easily satisfied customers. These clients reduce risk-taking by being easier to coordinate. They underestimate their abilities and they prioritize seeking pleasure from their experiences rather than achieving high performance. However, the study found that guides did not share this preference for female clients with other guides, or with the public, as they feared being labelled as a 'guide for the ladies' and they did not want their professional mountaineering skills to be feminized.

It should be recognized that male mountain guides are under considerable pressure to maintain a mythical image of being masculine, highly responsible, physically irreproachable risk-takers. Since gender is hierarchical, signs of femininity in guiding – such as anxiety, refusal to take risks, managing the clients' emotions and 'mothering' the client – can lead to guides being downgraded by their peers, and this can impact negatively on their ability to secure employment (Martinoia 2013).

Female guides also face challenges within their profession. Similar to the under-representation of women in mountaineering, the guiding profession also sees few women qualifying. Since 2005, five women per year on average (3.7 per cent) have sat the entrance exam for the mountain guide training school in France (Martinoia 2013). Conversely, in Aconcagua (Argentina) 30 per cent of trainee mountain guides are women, yet few will become guides, or even assistant guides, within the Argentinean mountaineering tourism industry. This is because agencies are unwilling to place female guides in positions of authority over their male counterparts (Logan 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on two key themes concerning the role that gender plays in mountaineering tourism. First, it examined gendered landscapes and their representation within mountaineering narratives and within the media.

From this analysis, it can be concluded that mountaineering landscapes have evolved as, and remain, strongly masculinized concepts. Mountaineering narratives are rife with stories of heroic, masculine achievements because mountaineering has been, and still is, male dominated, despite more women participating in this adventure activity. These narratives employ sexualized terms to symbolize mountains in a strongly feminine way. In the same way that themes of masculinity pervade through mountaineering narratives, and in spite of limited research on media representations of mountaineering landscapes, it can be concluded that different media forms seem to positively emphasize the masculinity of mountaineering while negatively misrepresenting women mountaineers in an overly feminized way.

The second theme explored gendered experiences within mountaineering tourism. Discussion focused initially on the motivations of mountaineers, and it was apparent that very few researchers had adopted a gendered approach to explore this topic. Therefore, uncertainty exists about whether female and male mountaineers are motivated similarly or differently. Next, in considering the gendered expectations of mountaineers, it can be concluded that both men and women conform to gender stereotypes. Problematically, studies on gendered expectations adopt a binary approach despite the boundaries between femininity and masculinity becoming blurred and hegemonic masculinity within mountaineering being increasingly challenged. Following on from gendered expectations, the construction of gendered identities was appraised, and it was determined that men have a more prominent mountaineering identity than women. This is not the case, however, in rock climbing, in which women climbers develop strong climbing identities to distinguish themselves from mainstream feminine cultures. Finally, the expectations and experiences of male mountain guides, and how these reinforce masculinity within the guiding profession, and the challenges which female mountain guides face, were considered.

It is hoped that this chapter has encouraged readers to appreciate the key issues around gender and mountaineering tourism. The review of previous research presented highlights how little we know about the role that gender plays in mountaineering tourism. While the studies discussed reveal some insights into this topic, they also expose many gaps in our knowledge. In an attempt to address these gaps, we provide a number of suggestions for further research in Table 8.1. The themes presented in Table 8.1 – mountaineering landscapes, masculinity and femininity within mountaineering tourism, media representations of mountaineering landscapes, gendered experiences in mountaineering tourism, gendered motivations, expectations and identities in mountaineering tourism, and gender and mountain guides – are all important themes for further investigation if we are more fully to understand the role that gender plays in mountaineering tourism.

Table 8.1 Further research in gender and mountaineering tourism

Research theme	Suggestions for further research
Mountaineering landscapes	• How different types of 'hard' and 'soft' mountaineering landscapes are interpreted and experienced by men and women. • How female mountaineers interpret and experience strongly masculinized mountaineering landscapes. • The pace and intensity with which men and women experience different types of mountaineering tourism (e.g. skills-based holidays, guided expeditions) within mountaineering landscapes.
Masculinity and femininity within mountaineering tourism	• Move away from traditional research approaches which assume that a static dichotomy exists between male and female mountaineers, and that all male mountaineers are defined by their hegemonic masculinity. • The extent to which different types of masculinity and femininity exist within mountaineering tourism, as is the case in newer, less institutionalized adventure activities (e.g. windsurfing, mountain biking). • Women's experiences, feelings of empowerment and expressions of femininity in a range of different mountaineering tourism activities. • Men's attitudes towards increasing female participation in mountaineering tourism, and women mountaineers' perceptions of these attitudes.
Media representations of mountaineering landscapes	• Examination of feminist perspectives on mountaineering tourism to develop improved mountaineering experiences for women. • How men and women are represented in different types of mountaineering tourism media (e.g. travel guides, tour operator brochures). • The extent to which women mountaineer tourists are accurately represented, for their skills and accomplishments, within these different media forms.
Gendered experiences in mountaineering tourism	• Investigation into the experiences of different groups of mountaineers. For example, different abilities of mountaineer tourists participating in various mountaineering activities, comparative studies of single gender and mixed gender mountaineer groups, and experiences of recreational mountaineers and how they transfer their mountaineering skills to a tourism context.
Gendered motivations in mountaineering tourism	• Comparative analysis of the motivational similarities and differences which encourage male and female participation in mountaineering tourism. • Motivations which encourage each gender to participate in mountaineering tourism, to ascertain the extent to which different masculinities and femininities are motivated similarly or differently.
Gendered expectations in mountaineering tourism	• The expectations that male and female mountaineer tourists have of each other while mountaineering together on holiday, and how these expectations encourage a positive mountaineering holiday experience. • Exploration of how social relationships between men and women enhance rather than impair their mountaineering tourism experience.
Gendered identities in mountaineering tourism	• How participation in mountaineering tourism is used by men and women to differentiate themselves from traditional masculinities and femininities to construct a mountaineering identity. • Examination of how more gender-neutral, packaged mountaineering tourism landscapes facilitate opportunities for women to play out their mountaineering identities and to enjoy feelings of empowerment.
Gender and mountain guides	• Consider the challenges which guides face due to gender, and explore how gender influences the client–guide relationship and the overall holiday experience.

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Appendix 3: Publication 3

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Women's mountaineering tourism: an empirical investigation of its theoretical constraint dimensions

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the perceived constraints on participating in mountaineering tourism faced by women, and to empirically verify the dimensionality of those constraints. Survey responses from 314 female mountaineers were collected and four constraint dimensions were identified using confirmatory factor analysis. Three of these dimensions: 'intra-personal', 'inter-personal' and 'structural' constraints support earlier findings in the extant literature, both in general and in the adventure literature more specifically. The identification of a fourth dimension relating to 'family' constraints represents a theoretical contribution to the literature and an additional barrier to women's participation in mountaineering tourism. In previous studies, 'family' constraints have typically been subsumed within 'inter-personal' or 'intra-personal' constraints, but have emerged as a distinctly separate constraint category for women in relation to this particular tourist activity. The findings also have important implications for adventure tourism management practice.

Introduction

Mountaineering includes 'soft' and 'hard' adventure activities. The former include hill walking and moderate exertion trekking, while the latter involve high levels of skill and fitness for activities such as rock climbing, which place emotional demands on participants (Ewert & Jamieson, 2003). In a tourism context, both 'hard' and 'soft' mountaineering activities are packaged into adventure holidays to satisfy the increasing demand in the UK market. In particular, trekking holidays have seen significant growth in recent years (20%) due to their broad age appeal, as have holidays that feature expeditions to remote areas (5%) and mountaineering and rock climbing (4%) (Mintel, 2015). This growth in demand is not surprisingly paralleled by increasing participation in recreational mountaineering in the UK (Sport England, 2016).

The Outdoor Industries Association (OIA, 2015) reported that both male and female participation in recreational mountaineering activities in the UK is increasing, yet gender-specific data is not available to support this claim. In contradiction, the British Mountaineering Council's (BMC, 2014) most recent survey reported its female membership remaining static since 2006 at 25%. Statistics on gender participation in mountaineering tourism are also limited, but like recreational mountaineering, there is

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some evidence for a male bias for 'hard' mountaineering holiday participation, while 'softer' activities such as walking are more appealing to women (Mintel, 2015; OIA, 2015). What is unclear from these studies, is why walking is more appealing to women than 'harder' forms of mountaineering tourism.

There is a growing body of literature which examines female participation in mountaineering and climbing activities, although this is almost exclusively from a recreational perspective (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001a, 2001b), while women's mountaineering tourism experiences have been neglected, with the exception of Carr's (1997) earlier work. Carr (1997) identified a number of constraints faced by women in mountaineering tourism, but no other studies in the last twenty years have assessed the extent to which these constraints may or may not manifest themselves in female mountaineering tourists.

Given this gap in knowledge, the purpose of this study is to investigate women's perceived constraints on mountaineering tourism participation, specifically rock, snow and ice climbing, mountaineering skill courses and high-altitude mountaineering; we do this by empirically examining the relevance of intra-personal, inter-personal and structural constraints (Crawford & Godbey, 1987) in this particular context. First, we identify women's perceived constraints on mountaineering tourism participation. Second, we examine the dimensionality of the constraints and identify a new, distinct 'family' constraint dimension. Third, we assess the influence of women's recreational mountaineering behaviour and demographics on the perceived constraints. Fourth, the theoretical significance and managerial implications of the new family constraint dimension are discussed. Finally, we make recommendations for further research.

Theoretical background

The literature on constraints to participation in adventure activities has, for the most part, been informed by Crawford and Godbey's (1987) intra-personal, inter-personal and structural 'leisure constraint' categories. Some variations on this have emerged which have resulted in relabelling existing constraint categories in relation to the context of participation (e.g. Doran, 2016; Fendt & Wilson, 2012). Other studies have indirectly identified constraints from their research in which serious leisure (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010) or gender (e.g. Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Plate, 2007), for example, were more dominant themes. The following discussion examines each of these constraint categories as they relate to mountaineering and climbing specifically and then in relation to adventure activities in general. These contexts will also be examined from both recreational and tourism perspectives, because of the inextricable link between the two. Adventure tourism activities often develop from non-commercial recreational adventure activities; they share the same resources and facilities, and evoke similar social and psychological benefits. The primary difference between them relates to location: adventure tourism is undertaken in a natural environment beyond commutable distance from home (Pomfret & Bramwell, 2014). Although numbers of female mountaineers and climbers have increased in recent years, engagement with, and constraints on participation in these activities in the context of tourism have been neglected in comparison with recreational mountaineering.

Of particular relevance to this study are the conceptualizations of gender and family within Crawford and Godbey's (1987) leisure constraint categories. Western cultures frequently conceptualise gender as a dyadic, binary concept based on sex, where one is either male or female (Moscoso-Sánchez, 2008) and masculinity operates in a binary position to femininity (Voskuil, 1998 in Morgan & Pritchard, 2000). This conceptualisation is adopted in this study, but does not ignore the fact that gender is also 'a dynamic process, not an inborn trait, signifying relationships of power expressed in perceptions, learned behaviours and expectations of what is feminine and masculine' (Henderson, 1994 in Swain, 1995, p. 253). This is echoed by Morgan and Pritchard (2000) who note the dominance of the Western patriarchy which results in power imbalances that favour masculinity as 'natural' and the norm. These conceptualisations form an integral part of the study and are examined herein.

Family, regularly identified as a constraint to participation, generally carries a tacit definition in the extant literature. In an attempt to clarify the use of the concept in this study, we recognise the notion of family being frequently equated with parent(mother)hood (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010). Thus, the presence of offspring in the family nucleus is characteristic of the concept. The gendered division of labour that is evident in the transition to parenthood (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997) further resonates with the conceptualisation of gender above, and underlines the concurrent manifestation of gender and family as constraints to participation in mountaineering activities for women in the extant literature.

Women's participation constraints on mountaineering in recreation and tourism contexts

Of Crawford and Godbey's (1987) three leisure-constraint categories, *intra-personal* constraints have been found to be the least prominent of the three for recreational mountaineering participation. Fear, or the fear of not 'being able' to participate in climbing because of physical or technical skill deficiencies, or the mental inability to overcome inner flight instincts is noted as a core intra-personal constraint (Kiewa, 2001a). Female mountaineer tourists identify similar constraints where fear, anxiety and self-doubt are noted as key intra-personal constraints (Carr, 1997). However, in contrast to the recreational context, *intra-personal* constraints in a tourism context are the most significant barriers to mountaineering participation.

The most salient barriers to women's recreational mountaineering participation are *inter-personal* constraints. This category includes factors such as family commitments (Dilley & Scraton, 2010), gendered expectations (Kiewa, 2001b) and constraints relating to mountaineering partners. Most previous studies report that female climbers view their male counterparts in a negative light due to their patronising, domineering and condescending behaviour (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Moscoso-Sánchez, 2008). In addition, male climbers are found to actively impede female climbers by supporting stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. In some instances, female climbers were expected to make travel arrangements and purchase food before being allowed to climb (Moscoso-Sánchez, 2008). Some males also prefer women to be less skilled so they could be perceived as better climbers (Plate, 2007). Finally, the masculine portrayal of adventure in film was also identified as a constraint to participation (Frohlick, 2005). By comparison, in a tourism context, the reporting of *inter-personal* constraints for female mountaineers has been limited to not having a climbing partner (Carr, 1997).

Structural constraints on recreational mountaineering include a lack of both time (Dilley & Scraton, 2010) and female role models (Rak, 2007; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010). The latter has been attributed to the continued reverence of male leaders, who are considered to be more confident, have more technical skills, and to be better leaders than their female peers, by both professionals and participants, which leads to women exiting the profession (Warren, 2016). Within mountaineering tourism, *structural* constraints include frustration with the lack of local knowledge, having inexperienced or unfit partners, or irritation with restrictive weather conditions (Carr, 1997).

While Carr's (1997) study makes an important contribution as a first step in identifying women's constraints on mountaineering tourism participation, there are several limitations including currency, sample size and representativeness of the sample. Therefore, despite the increase in representation of women in, and general growth of, the mountaineering tourism sector, there is still a limited understanding of the constraints on women's participation in this activity. As such, the literature relating to the constraints on women's participation in adventure activities more generally, in both recreational and tourism contexts, was also reviewed to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the pertinent barriers.

Women's constraints on adventure recreation and adventure tourism participation

Barriers to participation in adventure recreation and adventure tourism activities highlight a number of 'macro-challenges' faced by women and all relate to one or more of Crawford and Godbey's (1987) three leisure constraint categories. For the sake of brevity, only those constraints additional to those which relate to mountaineering activities are presented herein. First, self-perception of being unadventurous is noted as a key additional *intra-personal* constraint to participation in adventure activities (Little, 2002a, 2002b). Second, *inter-personal* constraints in addition to those identified in 'Women's constraints on adventure recreation and adventure tourism participation' include: lack of travelling companions, and experiences of localism in adventure activities (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2002b; McKercher & Davidson, 1994; Williams & Lattey, 1994; Wilson & Little, 2005). Finally, *structural* constraints to adventure activities include the skills-based nature of purchasing, transporting and using equipment, fear of getting lost in unfamiliar environments, lack of time and money and the poor promotion of benefits/opportunities for women (Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Hudson, 2000; Little, 2002b; McKercher & Davidson,1994; Wilson & Little, 2005). The identification of both general adventure activity constraints and more specific mountaineering participation barriers, in both recreational and tourism contexts, provided a comprehensive foundation for the design of the primary research.

Method

Participants

A self-selected sample of female mountaineers was recruited between October 2015 and March 2016 by invitation through the Women's Climbing Symposium, social media of a UK mountaineering tour operator and through the online climbing forums WomenClimb and UKClimbing. Women were asked to complete an online survey of their mountaineering tourism participation constraints, constraint negotiation strategies and participation benefits; this paper examines their participation constraints. A mountaineering holiday was defined as staying away from home for at least one night to participate in mountaineering activities or courses. After deleting six incomplete questionnaires, 307 useable responses were obtained. The sample comprised mainly of UK residents (94.8%) in the following age groups: 18–24: 18.9%; 25–34: 46.6%; 35–44: 24.8%; 45–54: 8.5%; 55–64: .9%; >65: .3%. Respondents' income and education levels were also obtained.

Measures

Participation constraints were measured on a five-point Likert scale comprising items found to be important in previous studies. The survey also included questions about motivation to participate and the type of mountaineering activity respondents engaged in: bouldering, rock climbing, snow and ice climbing, and mixed (rock and ice) climbing. Additionally, it gathered information about the level of expertise attained in each activity type, the groups they climb with recreationally and frequency of participation in mountaineering tourism together with respondent demographics.

Procedure

Twenty-one constraints on women's participation in recreational mountaineering, mountaineering tourism, and other forms of adventure recreation and adventure tourism were identified in the literature. To test the dimensionality of the constraints, respondents' ratings on these items were subjected to exploratory factor analysis (EFA). Five variables (skew > 1.0) were statistically normed using a base-10 logarithmic transformation. Principal axes factoring with Promax oblique rotation was used and items were excluded if they loaded on factors <.3 and had <.10 difference in loadings between two or more factors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The number of factors to be retained was determined by

Table 1. CFA four dimensional model of women's mountaineering tourism constraints.

Factors and measurement items	Standardised loadings	t-values	SMCs
Inter-personal constraints (ξ_1: α = .86; AVE = .54; CCR = .88)			
I have been put off these types of holidays because they are … an activity for men	.87**	–	.76
Being in a minority as a women	.76**	15.15	.58
I have been put off these types of holidays because mountains are portrayed as scary	.74**	14.75	.55
The lack of female guides and/or instructors discourages me…	.73**	14.48	.54
The lack of women featured in promotional material … puts me off partici-pating	.68**	12.99	.46
Concerns about unwanted male attention	.62**	10.35	.39
Structural constraints (ξ_2: α = .80; AVE = .56; CCR = .84)			
Feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments	.75**	9.36	.57
Not having the necessary equipment	.74**	9.50	.55
The high cost of mountaineering on holiday is prohibitive	.61**	8.08	.37
It takes too much time to independently organise mountaineering on holiday	.58**	–	.34
Not having anyone to go with	.48**	6.97	.23
Intra-personal constraints (ξ_3: α = 85; AVE = .41; CCR = .77)			
Being worried about my climbing ability	.93**	6.21	.87
Being worried about my fitness level	.82**	6.37	.67
Not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes	.39**	–	.58*
Family constraints (ξ_4: α = .60; AVE = .31; CCR = .55)			
My family and/or friends don't understand why I would want to go …	.79**	3.90	.63
My household duties or family commitments mean that I have little time to go …	.43**	4.87	.19
I would feel guilty	.37**	–	.14
Model fit measures			

χ^2 (df) = 305.89 (90); Normed χ^2 = 3.40; RMSEA = .056 (90% C.I: .046–.067);
NFI = .91; IFI = .95; TLI = .93; CFI = .95

Notes: RMSEA = root mean square of approximation; NFI = normed fit index; IFI = incremental fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; CFI = comparative fit index; SMC = squared multiple correlation; CI = confidence interval; AVE = average variance extracted: (Σ standardised λ^2)/(Σ standardised λ^2) + (Σ ε); CCR = composite construct reliability: (Σ standardised $\lambda)^2$/(Σ standardised $\lambda)^2$ + (Σ ε). *Complex item loading on 'Structural' and 'Intra-personal' constraints.; **p < .001.

minimum eigenvalues of 1, scree plot examination and the results of a parallel analysis with a Monte Carlo simulation.

Dimensions were labelled on the basis of a thematic analysis of items loading on each factor. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was then conducted using maximum likelihood estimation. With a sample size of over 250 and 17 or more variables, RMSEA values < .07 with CFI and TLI values over .92 indicate a close fit (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 2009). Moreover, a maximum value in the confidence interval of .07 is accepted as a reasonable error of approximation (Steiger, 2007). Finally, a series of one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used to identify differences in the constraint dimensions on the basis of respondents' behavioural and demographic variables.

Results and discussion

The dimensionality of women's mountaineering constraints

In the EFA, four items either did not load on any of the dimensions or had <.10 difference in loading between two factors. The remaining 17 items loaded >.4 (above .3 as recommended by Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) on four dimensions, which accounted for 63.24% of the variance in the data. The adequacy of the four factor model was examined using CFA (Table 1). The model fit indices demonstrated a good fit with χ^2 (df) = 305.89 (90) normed χ^2 = 3.40, RMSEA = .056 with a 90% confidence interval: .046–.067, NFI = .91, IFI = .95, TLI = .93, CFI = .95. Collectively, the results indicate a good fit between

the model and the data. All items loaded significantly on their constructs and the moderate or strong, significant correlations between items loading on the same constructs show evidence of convergent validity. The composite construct reliability (CCR) statistics are greater than the AVE statistics for all four factors and the square root of the AVE is greater than the inter-construct correlation for each factor, thereby indicating divergent validity. Factor 1 represents 'Inter-personal' constraints', factor 2 consists of items relating to 'Structural' constraints, factor 3 loads on the 'Intra-personal' items and factor 4 represents 'Family' constraints. While 'Family' constraints has emerged as a less robust factor than the other three, the parallel analysis, CFA solution, and subsequent tests have established its existence independently of the other dimensions, confirming the four factor dimensionality of the women's mountaineering tourism constraints model.

Previous qualitative studies which focus on female adventurers, including climbers, have categorised family commitments as either intra-personal/personal constraints or inter-personal/socio-cultural constraints. The former represent women's sense of guilt when leaving their family or home to pursue their adventure aspirations, while the latter reflect the social expectations of women to place household duties and family commitments before personal adventure desires (e.g. Davidson & McKercher, 1993; Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Doran, 2016; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2002a; Wilson & Little, 2005). In contrast, previous studies which examined the experiences of both genders did not report family commitments to be a constraining factor for women (e.g. Carr, 1997; Kiewa, 2001a, 2001b; Moscoso-Sánchez, 2008; Plate, 2007), with the exception of West and Allin's (2010) study. They found that, due to family responsibilities, women are more likely to restrict their climbing practices and alter their approach to risk than men, thus highlighting the gendered nature of responsibility. In recognising the social risk posed to others by their actions, exposed or risky routes, which they had once climbed, were avoided to reduce physical risks. Using a quantitative approach and a women-only sample, this study has identified family constraints as a distinctive independent dimension in addition to the three familiar constraint dimensions. This also indicates that the constraints relating to family commitments resonate more with women than men.

The moderating effects of behavioural and demographic variables on participation constraints

Influences relating to respondents' recreational mountaineering behaviour

The moderating effects of female mountaineers' behavioural and demographic variables on the participation constraint factors are shown in Table 2. Items 1–18 show the influence of respondents' recreational mountaineering behaviour on perceived mountaineering tourism constraints. For recreational bouldering participants in mountaineering tourism (1) only the structural constraints are significant. Bouldering requires no climbing partner and requires less equipment and knowledge of the natural environment than other mountaineering activities, such as snow and ice climbing. Therefore, it is not surprising that mountaineering tourism, particularly if it involves other forms of climbing activities, is perceived by participants of recreational bouldering to have significant structural constraints. By comparison, none of the constraint dimensions were significant for rock climbing participants (2), while all four constraint dimensions were significant for recreational snow and ice climbers (3). In particular, these types of holidays are perceived by women as an activity for men, where they would be a minority; additionally, their promotion portrays mountains as scary environments. Similarly, concerns about their climbing ability and knowledge of the climbing routes were also significant constraints. However, the structural constraints were considered to be the most pertinent barrier. By comparison, while the family constraint dimension was significant for recreational snow and ice climbers overall, individual family constraint items, although higher for non-participants, were not significantly higher for recreational snow and ice climbers. These findings reflect the portrayal of this form of climbing as a masculine activity, the lack of female guides for this activity and the difficulty of finding female partners due to the low participation levels. They also mirror the need for costly specialist equipment (the absence of which may heighten

Table 2. Moderating effects of behaviour and demographics on constraint dimensions.

Constraints /Items dimensions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Inter-personal	.51	.81	2.76**	.92	4.89**	2.56*	3.40*	2.21	2.29	2.56*	.79	6.73***	3.55**
Structural	2.35**	1.20	5.85***	3.45**	10.49***	5.66***	7.10***	4.31**	1.17	.40	1.92	8.93***	6.53***
Intra-personal	.62	.95	2.93**	1.62	6.07***	5.08**	4.33**	2.47*	.85	1.02	.59	7.59***	8.54***
Family	1.11	.58	2.55**	1.56	5.40***	4.85**	4.66**	1.92	2.04	.91	1.27	5.57***	5.48***
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Inter-personal	3.21*	4.21**	2.73*	1.59*	4.47***	6.25***	1.17	.62	.76	.47	.63	.60	1.26
Structural	9.35***	6.47***	11.15***	3.39***	4.56***	7.58***	.35	1.06	.27	2.17*	.75*	1.52	1.16
Intra-personal	8.98***	10.74***	4.66**	2.01**	1.38	1.64	1.14	.08	.25	1.27	1.05	.33	.55
Family	2.74**	5.47***	3.83**	1.51*	2.34*	4.70**	.53	.16	.57	.29	.24	1.69	.52
	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37		
Inter-personal	1.16	1.05	1.36	.12	5.36**	7.26***	11.16***	.60	2.34*	.52	1.53		
Structural	1.73	1.09	.71	1.11	6.89***	8.08***	7.24***	2.99*	2.58*	1.04	.86		
Intra-personal	1.80	.56	1.41	1.76	3.30*	1.12	2.79*	.66	1.12	.94	1.36		
Family	1.13	.19	.54	.09	4.02**	2.39	3.00*	1.59	1.68	.48	.35		

Notes: Results obtained from independent samples t-test and one-way ANOVA with Tukey post-hoc multiple comparison tests.
*Significant at $p < .05$; **Significant at $p < .01$; ***Significant at $p < .001$,; 1: Recreational participation in Bouldering; 2: Recreational participation in Rock Climbing; 3: Recreational participation in Mixed (Rock and Ice) Climbing; 4: Recreational participation in Snow and Ice Climbing; 5: Mountaineering is an important part of my life; 6: Mountaineering makes me feel confident; 7: Mountaineering makes me feel self-reliant; 8: Mountaineering gives me new skills; 9: I climb in 'women-only' groups; 10: I climb in 'mixed-gender' groups; 11: I climb indoors; 12: I climb outdoors; 13: At what level are you currently Bouldering? 14: At what level are you currently Rock Climbing (Traditional)? 15: At what level are you currently Rock Climbing (Sport)? 16: At what level are you currently Mixed (Snow & Ice or Rock & Ice) Climbing? 17: How long have you been climbing? 18: Have you been mountaineering or on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday? 19: On average, how frequently do you mountaineer/go on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday? 20: Bouldering activities or courses whilst on holiday? 21: Rock Climbing (Traditional) activities or courses whilst on holiday? 22: Rock Climbing (Sport) activities or courses whilst on holiday? 23: Snow & Ice Climbing activities or courses whilst on holiday? 24: Mixed (Rock & Ice) Climbing activities or courses whilst on holiday? 25: High Altitude (Above 5000 m) mountaineering whilst on holiday? 26: Travel Alone when on mountaineering activity/course holidays? 27: Travel with Partner when on mountaineering activity/course holidays? 28: Travel with Family when on mountaineering activity/course holidays? 29: Travel with Friends when on mountaineering activity/on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday? 30: Travel with Club when on mountaineering activity/course holidays? 31: Days (Average) spent mountaineering/on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday? 32: How do you normally organise your mountaineering activity/course holidays? 33. Which groups do you prefer to climb with/do a course with whilst on holiday? 34: Age; 35: Annual income; 36: Highest level of education; 37: Nationality.

personal fears and self-doubts), the difficulties associated with accessing remote climbing locations abroad, and concerns of family members about the high levels of risk associated with this form of climbing. Moreover, it is difficult to practise this form of climbing recreationally due to the limited snow and ice routes in the UK, the short weather window and the unreliable weather, which can create unstable climbing conditions; therefore, a large number of perceived constraints were to be expected.

As with the recreational bouldering participants (1), for the recreational mixed (rock and ice) climbers (4), only the structural constraints are significant. It is interesting to note that 'feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments', 'not having the necessary equipment' and 'the high cost of mountaineering on holiday' are the key barriers to participation. Like snow and ice climbing, mixed (rock and ice) climbing requires expensive equipment and clothing. Also, there are additional physical risks associated with the natural environment and with unfamiliar climbing routes, which can make people feel unsafe and heighten existing self-doubts. Concurrently, this can also heighten emotional risk perceptions, in terms of the risk to one's self-esteem if they were unable to complete the climbing route (West & Allin, 2010).

It is notable that all four constraints are perceived to decrease with the increasing importance of mountaineering in respondents' lives (5) and with both increasing self-confidence (6) and self-reliance (7) derived from mountaineering. Moreover, as would be expected, there is a significant decrease in structural and intra-personal constraints with increasing agreement that mountaineering gives participants new skills (8). There are no significant differences between those who never, rarely, sometimes, often or always participate in 'women-only' groups when climbing recreationally (9); by comparison, inter-personal constraints are significant for those women who always climb recreationally in 'mixed-gender' groups (10). This finding corresponds to what has previously been found in other studies on women's participation in mixed-gender groups. Feeling unwelcome or in a minority as a woman (Little, 2002a, 2002b) and the lack of female guides and role models (Rak, 2007; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010) can dissuade women from participating. Even if women look to different forms of media, such as films, magazines and books, to find role models, they are still under-represented. These contemporary spaces tend to reinforce traditional views of the heroic white male adventurer, conveying masculine features, such as bravery, risk-taking, competitiveness, physical strength, leadership, sacrifice, ruggedness and resourcefulness (Frohlick, 1999, 2005; Vodden-McKay & Schell, 2010). This can reinforce mountaineering as a masculine domain, compounding existing self-doubts in climbing abilities and concerns over being a minority. Therefore, the results from this study validate the findings of the qualitative recreational research to date in that women do experience inter-personal constraints relating to the masculine portrayal of mountaineering; additionally, they show that this is also the case in a contemporary mountaineering tourism context. This is arguably because they experience men's interpretation of mountaineering and they may prefer more 'gender-neutral' or feminised mountaineering environments (Pomfret & Doran, 2016). Furthermore, the patronising and controlling behaviour of male climbing partners has been reported as a prominent constraint for female climbers (e.g. Dilley & Scraton, 2010; Kiewa, 2001b), therefore stifling their opportunities to make leadership decisions and develop specific skills. Stereotypical gendered expectations have been found to shape the behaviour of both male and female climbers (Kiewa, 2001b; Robinson, 2008). For example, men expect women to be more focused on climbing relationships, less capable and less motivated, whilst women expect men to be more focused on the activity, physically capable and to have a greater pain tolerance. Not all participants in these studies conformed to gender expectations, but generally there was little deviation. Despite these findings, Plate (2007) and Robinson (2008) argue that gender relations in climbing are more complex, and assuming a binary approach where men will possess 'masculine' and women 'feminine' characteristics is too simplistic. While the studies found some male climbers are intolerant of female climbers, they also found that some encouraged and supported female climbers, found them to be their equals and preferred to climb with women because they were less competitive. Similarly, some female climbers were equally focused on the activity as their male peers and preferred to climb with men as they expect to be challenged by them, while other male and female climbers

concentrated on the relationships that develop and enhanced their climbing. However, and in contradiction, research has also found that women are only accepted in the mountaineering community if they display femininity and hide any signs of masculinity (Robinson, 2008). Furthermore, if they show too much femininity, for example crying, they would be denigrated. Faced with 'such diverse and sometimes contradictory meanings given by men to women who participate in rock climbing' (p.88), it is unsurprising that inter-personal constraints are significant for female mountaineers. Within the context of Bourdieu's (1986, 2010) theory of capital, the influence of women's social capital, in relation to their recreational mountaineering group membership, is therefore notable (see Beames & Telford, 2013).

While indoor climbing frequency categories are not significant constraint moderators (11), constraints significantly decrease for participants who often or always climb outdoors (12). Not surprisingly, all constraints significantly decrease with increasing experience levels of each mountaineering activity (13–16), and also with increasing length of time respondents have been climbing (17).

Influences relating to mountaineering tourism behaviour

Items 18–32 show the influence of respondents' previous mountaineering holiday behaviour on the perceived constraints. Unsurprisingly, constraints significantly decrease for those who have previously been mountaineering while on holiday (18) and also with increasing frequency of participation (19), although it is interesting that in both cases, there is no significant decrease in intra-personal constraints. This is notable because despite the positive influence that recreational mountaineering has on reducing intra-personal constraints relating to mountaineering tourism, respondents' past experience of mountaineering tourism is not significant. This may indicate that recreational mountaineering participation is a barometer of how women perceive constraints on mountaineering tourism.

The moderating effect of holiday mountaineering activity type on constraints is non-significant (20, 21, 22) with the exception of structural constraints for snow and ice climbing (23) and mixed (rock and ice) climbing (24), for the aforementioned reasons. The moderating influence of high altitude (>5000 m) holiday mountaineering (25) is also non-significant, as is the effect of travelling alone (26), with a partner (27), friends (28), family (29) or a club (30). This is notable, because previous studies have reported the lack of a travelling companion to be a significant deterrent for women, from a social perspective, but particularly if the activity requires a companion (e.g. Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Little, 2002a). By comparison, all four constraints significantly decrease as the average number of days spent mountaineering whilst on holiday (31) increases, particularly when the activity lasts for over five days. This was expected because it allows time to consolidate skills; in the case of family constraints, it may suggest that perceived guilt decreases over time, possibly because of increased involvement in the activity and/or the support within the group.

The way in which respondents organise mountaineering holidays (32) is significant for inter-personal constraints, which decrease for those who make independent arrangements, as with recreational participation; this may reflect the greater degree of control over the group composition and selection of the guide resulting in reduced concerns over gender minority and unwanted male attention. By comparison, structural constraints increase in line with concerns over safety in unfamiliar environments and the need to both purchase specialist equipment and to find suitable partners. Group membership preference (33) is also significant for reducing all constraint types, as would be expected; this reflects the relevance of social capital in both the tourism and recreational contexts of mountaineering.

Items 34–37 show the influence of demographics on the perceived constraints to mountaineering tourism. Structural constraints are significant for age (34); they are higher for the 18–24 age group compared with older mountaineers, and for those with an annual income of less than £10,000 (35), both of which may reflect cost-related issues. Not surprisingly, these demographic variables among others, which represent respondents' economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 2010), have also been repeatedly linked with participation in outdoor recreation more generally (e.g. Boman, Fredman, Lundmark, & Ericsson, 2013; López-Mosquera & Sánchez, 2013). However, it is interesting to note that from the perspective of cultural capital, there are no significant differences in constraints on the basis of respondents' education (36), or on the basis of their nationality (37).

Table 3. Moderating effects of behaviour and demographics on family items.

Constraints\Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Family/Friends don't understand…	3.99***	.23	1.76	.19	2.96	1.63	1.25	1.12	2.27	.98	1.49	2.20	3.38***
Household duties restricting time…	.22	.66	.65	1.42	2.27	1.88	2.13	2.31	2.62	4.08**	1.50	2.39	1.39
I would feel guilty…	.39	.19	.31	.11	.97	1.72	2.21	1.89	.45	.52	1.26	1.86	.79
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Family/Friends don't understand…	1.72	1.41	2.33	.96	.91	1.79	.73	.53	.70	1.00	.98	1.82	.71
Household duties restricting time…	.12	2.13	.05	1.20	.83	3.83**	.15	1.19	1.46	.62	1.72	.83	.52
I would feel guilty…	.40	.95	.65	1.31	.29	2.10	.40	.90	.52	1.04	.66	1.26	.92
	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37		
Family/Friends don't understand…	1.56	.67	1.18	.57	.67	1.45	.84	1.44	1.85	.85	.75		
Household duties restricting time…	.53	.52	1.52	.33	2.26*	.38	1.93	3.06**	1.82	.41	.67		
I would feel guilty…	.01	.68	2.62**	.26	2.04**	.04	.48	3.08**	.97	1.19	.70		

Notes: Results obtained from independent samples t-test and one-way ANOVA with Tukey post-hoc multiple comparison tests.
*Significant at $p < .05$; **Significant at $p < .01$; ***Significant at $p < .001$.; Variable labels for column numbers 1–37 are given in Table 2.

Overall, the large majority of significant variables for all four dimensions relate to respondents' recreational mountaineering behaviour rather than their holiday mountaineering behaviour or demographics, i.e. mountaineering tourism constraints seem to be influenced more by recreational mountaineering behaviour than by demographics or holiday mountaineering behaviour and preferences.

Behavioural and demographic moderation of family constraints

From the perspective of female mountaineer tourists, the family constraint dimension is distinct and separate from Crawford and Godbey's (1987) intra-personal, inter-personal and structural constraints (with significant convergent and discriminant validity). As such, further analysis was conducted on the three items which loaded on this dimension in the CFA. For each item, the moderating effects of the same behavioural and demographic variables ($n = 37$) used on the four constraint dimensions was assessed using one-way ANOVA and t-tests (Table 3). Only seven variables were found to be significant constraint moderators.

The family and/or friends not understanding their participation in mountaineering tourism constraint was significant for participants of recreational bouldering (1) but not for participants of any other recreational mountaineering activity. This constraint was also significantly higher for those at a beginner's level of bouldering compared with an advanced level (13). Having just begun to climb, their family may still perceive the activity to be dangerous and may not yet fully understand their reasons for participating and/or beginners' may feel that, given their lack of expertise, they cannot justify time away from home. The household duties/family commitment constraint on mountaineering tourism was significantly higher for those who only recreationally climb in women-only groups (10) and increased in proportion to the number of days spent mountaineering whilst on holiday. This indicates that either the participants' sense of family commitment is heightened in women-only groups or that women with strong family connections prefer to climb recreationally in women-only groups. This possibly relates to socially ingrained perceptions that women-only groups are in some way inferior to mixed or male-only groups and this inferiority complex strengthens the obligation to home and family. Moreover, studies have shown that some women seek like-minded women and/or to develop skills in a supportive environment (Myers, 2010). Similarly, they may prefer to climb in women-only groups within a mountaineering tourism context. The increase in this family constraint in relation to the length of time away from home on holiday is to be expected because mothers may only want to spend a few days away from their family (31). By contrast, it decreased with the increasing frequency of mountaineering holidays taken per year (19), presumably because once they have overcome this constraint it is perceived to be less restricting with increasing participation in mountaineering tourism. Furthermore, this is significantly less of a constraint for the 25–34 and over 55 age groups (34), possibly because women are having children later (Office of National Statistics, 2015) or that their children are older and more independent. Not surprisingly, the feelings of guilt for leaving family and/or household duties significantly decreases if participants are travelling with their family (29), but generally increases in line with the number of days spent mountaineering whilst on holiday (31), and as with the household duties/family commitment constraint, it is significantly reduced for the 25–34 and over 55 age groups (34). No other demographic variables were significant family constraint moderators.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceived constraints on women's participation in mountaineering tourism and to examine the dimensionality of these constraints and the moderating influence of a range of behavioural and demographic variables. Previous studies on women's participation in adventure recreation (including mountaineering) and adventure tourism have identified family constraints as a critically important barrier to participation. Using CFA, this study challenges the three-dimensional structure of tourism constraints in the context of women's participation in mountaineering tourism by quantitatively verifying a family constraint dimension, which is distinct

from the previously identified intra-personal, inter-personal and structural constraints. This represents an additional barrier for women's participation in mountaineering tourism.

Unlike other studies on women's participation in mountaineering, which have largely focused on the single activity of rock climbing, this study recognises a range of mountaineering activities that women participate in. Uniquely, this study has also examined how recreational experiences of these activities influence their perceived mountaineering tourism constraints. This is important because the findings show that women's perceptions of constraints on mountaineering tourism are influenced more by their recreational mountaineering behaviour than by their demographics or holiday mountaineering behaviour and preferences. This study therefore makes an important theoretical contribution to the understanding of women's constraints on mountaineering participation in both recreational and tourism contexts.

The findings also have important implications for mountaineering tourism management practice as they provide an insight into the main constraints on women's participation in a range of mountaineering tourism activities. Of particular relevance here is the strong influence of women's recreational mountaineering participation on their perceived constraints to mountaineering tourism. Moreover, intra-personal constraints were found to be the key barrier to mountaineering tourism participation for women, which supports both the results from qualitative research on this subject and the underpinning theory relating to the necessity of overcoming intra-personal barriers to form leisure preferences and commitment to participation (Godbey, Crawford, & Shen, 2010). Adventure tourism organisations should therefore address intra-personal constraints in their communication with female clients. Many adventure tour operators already provide guidance on what level of fitness and experience is expected for their trips. Nevertheless, the findings indicate that more is needed to help women recognise and have confidence in their abilities in order to facilitate participation and reduce emotional risk perceptions, but also to highlight its benefits. However, the results show that all of the dimensions may be barriers to participation, particularly family constraints, when targeting female mountaineering tourists. The findings also suggest that the media has its part to play, and recently the Adventure Travel Trade Association (Adventure Travel Research Association [ATRA], 2017) has recommended that adventure media should make an effort to feature real adventurous women of all shapes and sizes in their communication, with and without children.

The identification and confirmation of the family constraint dimension as a distinctive barrier to women's participation in mountaineering tourism may explain why 'softer' forms of recreational mountaineering and mountaineering tourism, such as mountain walking, are more appealing to women than 'harder' forms, such as ice and rock climbing. The latter are unlikely to involve other family members and as such, they are more likely to take female mountaineers away from their families. However, 'softer' preferences may also be influenced by both societal attitudes to women climbers and the negative perceptions of male climbers who tend to dominate 'harder' forms of mountaineering tourism (Pomfret & Doran, 2016). Moreover, family constraints were found to be significant for those who only recreationally climb in women-only groups. Reasons for this are unclear, and whilst previous studies have praised the benefits of women-only groups in terms of meeting like-minded women and the supportive environment they create, these groups may heighten their sense of family commitment. Further research is therefore needed to explore more fully the roles of women, gender and family relationships in mountaineering.

The participation constraint statements used in the questionnaire survey for this study represent items which have been found to be important in previous qualitative research, which has largely focused on women's experiences in other adventure recreation and tourism activities. Moreover, the majority of respondents (62.9%) were active participants in mountaineering tourism, which indicates that they managed to overcome the constraints to a greater or lesser extent. Indeed, the level of agreement with constraints was higher than disagreement with respect to only four of the constraints: costs, lack of knowledge of climbing routes, and concerns about both fitness levels and climbing abilities. Therefore, future research should attempt to capture the views of non-participants and explore social class and cost-related issues in more detail to identify the critical barriers to participation. Indeed, given that

the findings from this study indicate that social and economic capital, rather than cultural capital are significant influences on women's participation in mountaineering tourism, further research should also examine these elements in more detail using a wider range of objective measures.

In relation to family constraints more specifically, future research should also focus on particular age groups traditionally linked with caring for children, whose participation was found to be significantly influenced by this constraint dimension. Moreover, in view of the existence of multiple masculinities (Wheaton, 2004) and the marginalisation of men who resist dominant stereotypes in the outdoors (Warren, 2016), research could also examine the participation constraints of men. The outdoor industry has been slow in examining masculinity (Warren, 2016) and research examining the participation constraints of male mountaineers may help to reconstruct the dominant male stereotype which is strongly associated with mountaineering, benefiting both male and female mountaineers alike. This will provide further insight into the role of gender in mountaineering tourism.

The emergence of family constraints as a distinctive barrier to women's participation in mountaineering tourism suggests that this may also constrain women's participation in other tourism activities; this is also an important area for further research, which has the potential to enhance our understanding of the psychological mechanisms at work in negotiating constraints both before and during participation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Appendix 4: Publication 4

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Exploring Efficacy in Personal Constraint Negotiation: An Ethnography of Mountaineering Tourists

Abstract

Limited work has explored the relationship between efficacy and personal constraint negotiation for adventure tourists, yet efficacy is pivotal to successful activity participation as it influences people's perceived ability to cope with constraints, and their decision to use negotiation strategies. This paper explores these themes with participants of a commercially organised mountaineering expedition. Phenomenology-based ethnography was adopted to appreciate the social and cultural mountaineering setting from an emic perspective. Ethnography is already being used to understand adventure participation, yet there is considerable scope to employ it further through researchers immersing themselves into the experience. The findings capture the interaction between the ethnographer and the group members, and provide an embodied account using their lived experiences. Findings reveal that personal mountaineering skills, personal fitness, altitude sickness and fatigue were the four key types of personal constraint. Self-efficacy, negotiation-efficacy and other factors, such as hardiness and motivation, influenced the effectiveness of negotiation strategies. Training, rest days, personal health, and positive self-talk were negotiation strategies. A conceptual model illustrates these results and demonstrates the interplay between efficacy and the personal constraint negotiation journey for led mountaineers.

Keywords

Introduction

Adventure tourists are driven by a range of motives from relaxation to challenge, socialising to risk-taking, and play to skill development (Pomfret and Bramwell, 2014). Yet, they face tourism constraints, such as time, expense, transport, climate, location, physical ability, limited knowledge about destinations and activities, and lack of co-participants (Albayrak, Caber and Crawford, 2007). Additionally, they encounter adventure-specific constraints, associated with, for instance, activity skills, using technical equipment or coping with extreme weather conditions (Doran, Schofield and Low, 2018; Fendt and Wilson, 2012). Work has mainly examined pre-activity rather than in-situ activity constraints, and there has been limited focus on negotiation strategies and their

effective implementation. This has prompted calls for more theoretical development which investigates the entire constraint negotiation journey and the interplay of different influences on this (Dimmock and Wilson, 2009; Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell, 2007).

The aim of this paper is to explore the influence of efficacy on the personal constraint negotiation journey for adventure tourists. Self-efficacy is 'beliefs in one's capabilities to organise and execute the course of action required to produce a given attainment' (Bandura, 1997: 3). Whilst this study explores self-efficacy in an adventure tourism context, it impacts on all aspects of human functioning. People's efficacy beliefs influence their motivational, cognitive, decisional and affective processes. For instance, their self-regulation of emotional states is influenced by their beliefs in their coping abilities. Also, their beliefs influence their levels of motivation and perseverance to achieve self-set goals. Efficacy guides people's perceived ability to cope with constraints and implement negotiation strategies (Bandura, 2012). Negotiation-efficacy is 'people's confidence in their ability to successfully use negotiation strategies to overcome constraints they encounter' (Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell, 2007: 22). It stimulates motivation, diminishes perceptions of constraints, facilitates negotiation efforts, and gauges performance in particular tasks. Little is known about the interplay between self-efficacy, negotiation-efficacy and constraint negotiation for adventure tourists. Yet, adventure tourists need high efficacy to deal with core elements such as the challenges, risks, responsibility and uncertain outcomes integral to activity experiences (Swarbrooke, Beard, Leckie and Pomfret, 2003). Understanding this relationship will develop an appreciation of the potentially important role efficacy plays in adventure participation and help adventure leaders to recognise clients' faltering efficacy and to use techniques to bolster this for successful constraint negotiation and goal attainment.

This study investigates participants of a commercially organised mountaineering expedition in the Nepal Himalaya over a one month duration in 2014. Mountaineering comprises a range of activities which span from soft to hard in terms of difficulty and challenge. While soft activities include hill walking and trekking, harder forms such as rock, snow and ice climbing, and high-altitude mountaineering necessitate high levels of stamina, fitness, experience and skill. The commercialisation of mountaineering has led to the categorisation of it as a form of adventure tourism (Beedie and Hudson, 2003; Carr, 2001; Pomfret, 2006). This study is about hard mountaineer tourists as the expedition involved high altitude mountaineering. Prior research mostly examines softer adventure tourism forms (e.g. Elsrud, 2001; Myers, 2010). Such tourists are also known as led mountaineers because they are highly experienced and skilled in mountaineering. We focus on the personal constraints encountered by mountaineer tourists because they were the most prominent from the ethnographic fieldwork data collected for this study, and they were the most strongly influenced by efficacy. Personal constraints dominate decision making because they strongly facilitate people's motivation to participate (Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991) and reflect their beliefs, attitudes and self-perceptions (Wilson and Little, 2005). Accordingly, negotiating these during adventure activity participation is critical to success. The findings from this study present new personal constraints and negotiation strategies, and demonstrate that efficacy, personal characteristics of the mountaineers, their hardiness and motivation levels all influenced successful negotiation.

This ethnographic study uses participant observation together with interviews and informal discussions to capture social meanings in this context (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Scholars are increasingly using ethnography to gain a deeper understanding of adventure experiences (Houge Mackenzie and Kerr, 2013), and in doing so, it is argued that adventure tourism research can gain broader academic recognition and become relevant to, and cited within, other academic disciplines (Buckley, 2014). As we wanted to understand tourists' experiences, ethnography was employed to appreciate their social and cultural setting from an emic perspective. We adopted a phenomenology-based ethnographic approach of 'doing it yourself' and participating in the lives of the people being studied (Pfadenhauer and Grenz, 2015: 599). By using this approach, the study makes important methodological contributions to adventure tourism research, with the potential for ground-breaking findings (Buckley, 2014).

The paper is structured as follows. We initially review the literature associated with constraint negotiation for adventurers and the role of efficacy in constraint negotiation. Next, we consider the study's phenomenology-ethnographical approach, then we present and discuss the key fieldwork findings. These are also summarised in a conceptual model (Figure 1), which is followed by the conclusion.

Constraint Negotiation for Adventurers

Research on adventure constraint negotiation has focused on female recreational adventurers (e.g. Little, 2002; Wilson and Little, 2005) with fewer studies about female adventure tourists (e.g. Doran et al, 2018; Fendt and Wilson, 2012). Findings reveal that women adventurers in both contexts encounter three interconnected constraint types (Doran, 2016). Personal constraints reflect women's beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of self, and influence the motivation to participate in adventure. They include fear, self-doubt, perceptions of being unadventurous, and feelings of guilt. Socio-cultural constraints are influential before and during adventure activity participation and involve perceived barriers such as social expectations, gender stereotypes and finding friends to participate with. Practical constraints are also experienced before and during activity participation. They include lack of time and money, unfamiliarity with the destination, and limited promotion of adventure opportunities and the associated benefits for women. Female mountain bikers, white-water rafters and solo hikers encounter more socio-cultural constraints, such as gender role norms and the lack of companions to partake in adventure activities with (Albayrak et al, 2007; Coble, Selin and Erickson, 2003). Whereas, female mountaineer tourists encounter more personal and practical constraints, including the high cost of participation, needing specific equipment, not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes, and having concerns about their fitness and climbing ability (Doran et al, 2018). Studies on women adventurers have classified constraint negotiation into three groups (Doran, 2016). First, determination, which reflects motivation, passion and exploitation of femininity to overcome perceived ingrained barriers associated with certain adventure activities. Second, planning and preparing is a commonly used strategy, including training before adventure activity participation and researching the destination. Third, prioritising

participation and compromising, which involves being flexible with time and adjusting, or substituting, the chosen adventure activity.

Few mixed-gender studies explore the constraint negotiation process for adventurers, instead investigating the key influences on this journey. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations impact on the propensity to use negotiation strategies to overcome constraints (Jackson, Crawford and Godbey, 1993). For instance, people deal with feelings of stress from outdoor recreation conflict situations, such as negative visitor interactions, through being strongly motivated to enjoy their hiking experiences (Schneider and Wynveen, 2015). Cultural background affects the constraint perceptions of skiers and non-skiers (Gilbert and Hudson, 2000; Hudson, Hinch, Walker and Simpson, 2010). Chinese-Canadian skiers and non-skiers identify more constraints than Anglo-Canadians. Additionally, previous adventure activity experience is influential with novices encountering more barriers than experienced adventurers. For instance, skilled white-water rafters and mountain bikers express fewer barriers to participation than novices, and the latter are deterred by structural constraints such as the expense incurred by mountain biking (Albayrak et al, 2007). Beginner divers are more constrained by personal discomfort, diver interference and equipment issues, than experienced divers (Todd and Graefe, 2000). Divers enjoy more comfortable experiences when they can overcome physical (e.g. the impact of strong currents), social (e.g. apprehension about new diving buddies) and visual (e.g. impact of poor water conditions on divers' ability to navigate) constraints (Dimmock and Wilson, 2009; 2011).

The Role of Efficacy in Constraint Negotiation

Self-efficacy is a complex concept and individual beliefs influence its strength. These include: task efficacy, relating to one's ability to perform an activity; performance efficacy during the activity; ameliorative and coping efficacy, concerning one's ability to cope with different threats; collective efficacy regarding the ability of group members to organise and achieve successful group actions; and, self-regulatory efficacy, relating to one's ability to exercise control over motivation, emotional states, thought processes and behaviour patterns (Bandura, 1997). Accordingly, people with high self-efficacy perceive themselves to be competent in successfully accomplishing an activity. They are strongly motivated, persistent, set themselves challenging goals, and regard constraints as negotiable (Sheard and Golby, 2006).

There are four sources which develop people's efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Firstly, enactive mastery experiences are the most influential sources. Successful completion of activities while concurrently developing skills enhances judgment efficacy about future activities, while failure diminishes feelings of efficacy. Once people believe they can succeed, based on their prior experience and successes, they become resilient in difficult situations and overcome setbacks more quickly. Secondly, vicarious experience influences efficacy whereby individuals observe others' performance and then develop their own judgments. Beliefs are enhanced when individuals perceive their performance to be

superior to group norms (Bandura and Jourden, 1991). Thirdly, verbal persuasion can affect efficacy through significant others encouraging individuals to maintain efforts despite facing challenges. Vicarious experience and verbal persuasion interplay and enhance efficacy, but only if feedback about participants' ability to succeed is provided and this does not signal any doubts. This is particularly important when people feel unable to judge their own performance as it encourages them to continue and sustain their efforts. Fourthly, physiological and affective states impact on efficacy and while positive frames of mind enhance it, negative moods generally reduce it. For instance, physically challenging activities can be exhausting and painful, and they can incur feelings of physical inefficacy. Similarly, stressful tasks can evoke negative emotional responses and feelings of inefficacy (Bandura, 1997).

These sources of efficacy are pertinent to adventure experiences. Mountaineers often experience emotionally intense journeys replete with feelings of risk, fear and uncertainty (Pomfret, 2012). They put themselves against many challenges to achieve mastery and goal accomplishment, and they benefit from such sources as verbal persuasion and vicarious experience to bolster their efficacy. Their affective and physiological states impact both positively and negatively on their experiences. Accordingly, their vicarious experiences and the verbal persuasion offered by peers and staff can help to overturn any negative feelings and increase the likelihood of success and eventual mastery (Sibthorp, 2003). As beliefs influence perceived success in activities (Bandura, 1997) it is thought that individuals with high self-efficacy are confident in their ability to succeed in their chosen activity. They develop strong negotiation-efficacy skills, which encourage motivation, reduce the perception of constraints and enhance their negotiation efforts to overcome barriers. Contrastingly, those who view adventure's core elements (Swarbrooke et al, 2003) as major constraints are less likely to take adventure holidays because of lower self-efficacy.

Efficacy has palpable links to hardiness, a personality construct which helps people to manage stressful situations by seeing them as challenging opportunities to develop rather than as constricting, uncontrollable experiences. Hardiness instils in people strong feelings of control to change situations and persist with what they are doing rather than withdrawing (Maddi, Khoshaba, Persico, Lu, Harvey and Bleecker, 2002). Given the challenging nature of adventure activities, hardiness is a beneficial characteristic for adventure tourists. Hardiness and high efficacy are particularly important in high-altitude mountaineering as risks such as bad weather, altitude sickness, avalanches, snow blindness, disorientation and frostbite are prevalent. These characteristics are also imperative to successful rock climbing (Chroni, Hatzigeorgiadis and Theodorakis, 2006). Novice climbers with high hardiness and efficacy employ active, problem-focused negotiation strategies to cope with situational demands, whereas those with low hardiness and efficacy doubt their ability and are more likely to disengage from the activity. In essence, efficacy and hardiness contribute towards enhanced motivation, an improved ability to develop and use effective negotiation strategies to overcome constraints, and continued participation in adventure activities.

Research Methods

Phenomenology-based ethnography (Pfadenhauer and Grenz, 2015), also referred to as experiential or life-analytical ethnography (Honer and Hitzler, 2015; Sands, 2002), emphasises that researchers cannot understand the subjective meaning people attach to their experiences unless they have experienced it themselves. Therefore, it requires the researcher to become a participating member of the culture being studied. Unlike autoethnography, the ethnographer's lived experience is not central to ethnography, but it is combined with other data collection methods to authenticate the experience and behaviour of those being studied. Consequently, researchers may switch between being an emic member of the cultural group to being an etic outsider. This necessitates researchers to be reflexive and to consider their own viewpoints as group members (Honer and Hitzler, 2015; Pfadenhauer and Grenz, 2015; Sands, 2002). Accordingly, in acknowledging they are part of the social world being studied and active participants in the research process (O'Reilly, 2005; Pfadenhauer and Grenz, 2015), the first author of this paper has been written into the findings. In doing so, the intention is not to overpower the voices of the other participants. Rather, the aim is to operationalise the fieldwork by including all ethnographic insights, as advocated by O'Gorman, MacLaren and Bryce (2014). In accordance with the study's ethnographic nature, this includes the first author as an active participant. From herein, first-person pronouns are used in the descriptions relating to the first author's experiences. Additionally, to further operationalise the fieldwork, this study explains how the findings were elicited and illustrates the challenges of conducting fieldwork in an adventure setting, which is often ignored by tourism scholars (O'Gorman et al, 2014).

As suggested by Sands (2002), the research is presented as a narrative to capture the interaction of the ethnographer with the cultural members, and to authenticate the cultural actuality for the readers by using the ethnographer's lived experiences. As mountaineering engages the whole body, I experienced the same kinaesthetic experiences and feelings as the cultural group members. By experiencing the physical hardship and intense emotions associated with trekking for multiple weeks, climbing at altitude, overcoming challenges and summiting mountains, my whole body was immersed in understanding the meanings, and recording an embodied account of a commercially organised mountaineering expedition. These sensations and emotions would have been undetected through observation by a non-experiential ethnographer (Sands, 2002). Instead, this participatory approach to research allowed for an immediacy of insight into the liminal experience, and it facilitated meaningful engagement with the mountaineer tourists (Spinney, 2006).

The study draws on one-month of field research in Nepal, where I participated in a commercially organised expedition to climb Mera Peak (6,476m), the Amphu Laptsa pass (5,700m) and Island Peak (6,189m) in November 2014. The trip was an introduction to Himalayan mountaineering expeditions and was suitable for mountaineers who had previous experience mountaineering in the Alps or Scotland. Before being accepted on the expedition each participant was required to complete an experience questionnaire, which was screened by the tour operator and the expedition leader. Upon acceptance, participants were advised on how to physically train to develop endurance. This holiday was promoted as an expedition and participants were regarded as led mountaineers rather than guided

tourists. Acceptance on this expedition was made possible through the skills I had previously developed as well as the extensive physical training I had undertaken. As I was a fully immersed participant observer, I needed a high level of fitness to maximise my summit chances and to successfully participate in the expedition while making observations, listening to other participants and asking questions. Therefore, training was essential in physically preparing me for the challenge of researching while mountaineering and it became 'equally important to the research and methodology, as both a means and object of sight' (Spinney, 2006: 716). This expedition was selected because, uncharacteristically, it comprised both female and male participants. Many mountaineering tour operators reported that only one or two women participated in similar expeditions. With the inclusion of myself, there were four female and eight male expedition members aged between 33 and 60 years old from the UK, Norway and Australia. Each participant was given a pseudonym to protect their identity.

As we were walking or climbing each day, ethnography allowed me to apply different research methods while living and experiencing the social phenomenon. This approach to data collection was particularly effective as, due to unforeseen circumstances (illness, fatigue, participants leaving the expedition early), I could not interview all participants, which I intended to do. Whilst in-depth interviews are not necessary in ethnography, as people's lived experiences of the world and their constructions of reality are difficult to elicit through this means (Honer and Hitzler, 2015), there are advantages of including these within ethnography fieldwork. By combining participant observation with methods which allow the researcher to talk to the participants and ask questions, data from each can be used to illuminate the other (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). For example, observations can make the analysis of interviews more credible and what participants say can lead us to see things differently in observation, and vice versa. Despite the challenges I encountered, I was able to carry out informal discussions with individuals, small groups and the entire group opportunistically, to ask questions when they occurred to me and observe and experience things happening in real time. Therefore, I was able to learn about events, feelings, rules and norms in this context (O'Reilly, 2005) and add emerging themes to my research questions to explore as the expedition progressed. Consequently, data analysis began in the field with analytic notes which fed into the data collection. Data mainly comprised extensive field notes from informal discussions (recorded during rest breaks or at the end of each day), overt observations of the group members, and transcriptions of my own feelings and comments recorded in a journal and on a dictaphone. Most group members were eager to talk to me about my research, especially during the evening when there was little to do.

Post-expedition, data analysis initially focused on organising the data into analytic themes based on the constraint negotiation during the expedition. Where possible, each theme included direct quotes. The themes were then sorted into appropriate constraint and negotiation categories and sub-categories. These were then validated by the second author, who read through the transcripts to check that they corresponded with her own interpretation of the data. Where disagreements with the interpretations occurred, these were explored further by both authors and, where needed, reintroduced into the data analysis to enhance its rigor and credibility. For instance, the authors discussed whether

altitude sickness was a personal constraint as this is an inevitable consequence of high-altitude mountaineering, although some mountaineers experience it more severely than others. Through analysis and self-reflexivity, behaviour patterns that shaped the mountaineers' experience also emerged. People's perceptions of their capabilities (self-efficacy) and how these influenced their efforts to negotiate (negotiation-efficacy) dominated many personal constraint and negotiation sub-categories. Therefore, despite other constraint categories and negotiation strategies emerging from the data, we focus only on personal constraint negotiation because this is most closely connected with individuals' efficacy.

Results and Discussion

Four sub-categories of personal constraint emerged as prominent themes within the data. These are personal mountaineering skills, personal fitness, altitude sickness and fatigue. Efficacy played an important role in constraint negotiation, yet this did not act in isolation, and the personal characteristics of the mountaineers, their hardiness and motivation levels were also influential. In turn, each of the four constraints and the interplay between self-efficacy, negotiation-efficacy and constraint negotiation for the mountaineer tourists will now be discussed.

Personal mountaineering skills

Despite having the prerequisite experience, some mountaineers were less confident in their mountaineering skills and doubted their ability to successfully summit, as noted by Nicky during our interview:

> 'It is probably a little bit ambitious for me [the expedition], especially not having done anything [climbing] for a while, but you know, give it a go! Everything they asked I have done before, it has just been a long time, so it is just getting my head around that I am fit and strong enough to do it'.

While Nicky recognised that this hiatus might affect her climbing, her previous mountaineering experience and successes strengthened her efficacy judgment and negotiation-efficacy. She was willing to 'give it a go', thus using positive self-talk, a negotiation strategy which involves convincing oneself of the ability to succeed (Feltz, Short and Sullivan, 2008). Contrastingly, Katherine doubted her ability so acutely that improving it became integral to her pre-expedition training to negotiate this perceived barrier. This included climbing indoors 'as a confidence building thing on the lead up to this trip' and participating in a mountaineering course to refresh her skills and ease her concerns.

> 'I was very conscious that I don't have much in the way of mountaineering skills or experience, so I did this week mountaineering course at Glenmore Lodge in Scotland to kind of consolidate what I learnt on Mont Blanc. Hopefully that will give me just about enough to get through this trip'.

Achieving this enactive mastery experience (Bandura, 1997) through her pre-expedition training should have enhanced Katherine's efficacy, yet she continually referred to her lack of climbing and mountaineering skills during our interview. While I attempted to adopt a researcher-observer role, remaining emotionally distant, unbiased and critical (O'Reilly, 2005), I could not ignore the fact that I was a fully immersed expedition participant. Therefore, I felt obliged as a friend and an expedition team member to reassure Katherine of her mountaineering abilities by reminding her that she would not be on the expedition if the leader was not satisfied with her previous experience. Katherine reluctantly agreed, but it was clear this was still a perceived constraint for her and my positive words of encouragement had little influence on her self-efficacy.

During a group discussion, the other members demonstrated higher self-efficacy, expressing more confidence in their ability to summit. However, they all recognised that their inexperience of using a jumar (a mechanical device that is used to ascend a rope) to climb could inadvertently compromise their chance of summiting. If used inefficiently it could cause fatigue and this would heighten as our bodies acclimatised. Consequently, we focused on practicing this skill during a training session early in the expedition in an attempt to negotiate this potential constraint. This agentic, proactive behaviour supports the proposition that the motivation to participate has a strong effect on negotiation (Bandura, 1997; White, 2008). During this session I observed many of the group members seeking and receiving positive feedback from the leader. Verbal persuasion was used by the leader to convince the group that we had the skills and the strength needed to summit, and this enhanced our negotiation-efficacy. While I also noticed many of the group members providing positive verbal feedback to one another, the persuasive influence of the leader on self-efficacy was much stronger as we considered him to be the expert and more credible in judging our capabilities (Feltz et al, 2008). Group members recounted the positive feedback the leader gave on their individual performance, yet they neglected to talk about feedback from their peers. Scheduling this early in the expedition provided an efficacy-enhancing opportunity and avoided prematurely placing us in a climbing situation that was likely to bring failure (Bandura, 1997). Armed with this positive feedback, our collective-efficacy and motivation were strengthened. In turn, this enhanced our negotiation-efficacy perceptions and reduced our opinion that the jumar inexperience was a constraint, supporting previous research (Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell, 2007; White, 2008).

Summiting Mera, the first mountain on the expedition, provided a further efficacy-enhancing situation as it enabled members to realise their mountaineering capabilities at altitude. Despite successfully summiting and receiving verbal persuasion by group members and the leader, Katherine continued to doubt her mountaineering skills, believing that she was less competent than the others. This comparison with others acts as a vicarious influence on one's self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). However, she demonstrated hardiness and high negotiation-efficacy, viewing the expedition as an opportunity to develop her mountaineering skills and to overcome challenges. In line with Sheard and Golby's (2006) findings, Katherine's hardiness improved as her ability to perceive difficult climbing situations positively increased. By doing this, Katherine began to develop positive self-talk. Her determination to master the requisite mountaineering skills, combined with observing

others' progress in developing these, conveyed that this challenge was achievable. This enhanced her coping efficacy and, consequently, her negotiation-efficacy. Katherine's hardiness, motivation and improved efficacy resulted in her successfully summiting both mountains.

Personal fitness

For some, their personal fitness and the physical exertion needed for the expedition were key perceived constraints and they trained pre-expedition to try to negotiate these. While this worked for several members, others either continued to doubt their fitness or they were not fit enough to endure the expedition.

During a group discussion Liz, David and Nicky felt constrained by their lack of pre-expedition training. David's work commitments, Nicky's travels in the months leading up the expedition and an injury sustained by Liz prevented them from any pre-expedition training. Despite this, they hoped that their general fitness combined with the trek through the mountains to each base camp would be enough to physically prepare them for the summit attempts. Liz and David saw this as a challenge to overcome and they were determined to summit each mountain. Drawing on their previous sporting achievements and knowing that they have a good general level of fitness, their coping- and negotiation-efficacy were enhanced, and they successfully summited both mountains. By comparison, Nicky showed signs of low fitness efficacy and felt that the gap in training 'may have put me back. Do I have the stamina to keep it going? That is the main thing', but conceded, noting that 'I think I am getting there [referring to her fitness level], but I think I have been a bit behind you guys, hanging out at the back, but plodding.' Comparing her performance with others as a source of efficacy information Nicky commented that 'It is clearly easier for some than it is for others and I feel that I would be down the back end of that.' I was surprised by her comments and I began to experience a shifting of roles - between being a researcher, a mountaineer and a friend. Nicky and I had become particularly close as we shared a tent with one another and during this group discussion I found myself moving away from my researcher-observer role and adopting a participant role as I felt compelled, as did the other group members, to tell Nicky that I had not noticed any signs of fatigue. I said this in the hope that verbal persuasion would increase Nicky's perception of her capabilities and increase her fitness efficacy. I then asked her if she felt fit enough to summit, to which Nicky replied 'yeah, I mean I am not giving myself 100% success rate of getting up both of them. I am probably around 50/50 at the moment in my own head.' While Nicky dealt with her doubts about her mountaineering ability by showing high negotiation-efficacy, in contrast, she expressed low self-efficacy about her physical fitness and gave herself only a 50% chance of summiting. Despite Nicky's doubts in her fitness, she engaged in positive self-talk and attempted to stop negative thoughts, enabling her to fight fatigue. This proved to be a successful strategy for Nicky and whilst she did not summit any of the mountains, she was able to continue on the expedition.

During this group discussion, Ron also confessed to doing no physical training prior to the expedition. He had climbed extensively in the Alps and using the success of these previous performances, he seemed highly efficacious, believing that he had the experience

and knowledge to make his own judgment about the training required. Zweifel and Haegeli (2014) refer to decision making based on an individual's memory of past actions in similar settings as a familiarity heuristic trap. While this can usually be a reliable source of information when decision-making, it becomes a trap when the hazard conditions change considerably, for example climbing at a higher altitude on routes that require different skills and in different weather conditions. Ron's previous mountaineering experiences in the Alps are very different to a Himalayan expedition at higher altitude. Consequently, shortly after beginning the expedition Ron realised that he had overestimated his abilities and he had fallen into this heuristic trap. Signs of fatigue due to a lack of fitness became evident immediately as he struggled with the long days' trekking. Despite a rest day and engaging in positive self-talk to try and overcome his fatigue, Ron was unable to successfully negotiate these constraints, and he was asked by the leader to leave the expedition.

Only five group members had done considerable pre-expedition training and consequently they had high self-efficacy for personal fitness. For example, during an informal conversation Katherine explained:

'I tried to follow a marathon training program so that I could be as fit as I could be. I have no idea how I will cope with altitude and I think that when we get onto the tricky stuff that involves ropes and goodness knows what else, I think I am going to struggle. I definitely have less experience than everybody else. So I didn't want to add into the equation being unfit. So I thought that is something I can definitely sort out.'

For these participants, this pre-expedition training proved to be a successful negotiation strategy as it enhanced their fitness efficacy and created high negotiation-efficacy perceptions, thus encouraging them to cope with the physical demands of mountaineering and to fight fatigue.

Altitude sickness

The constraint which everyone most feared was altitude sickness, which is inevitable in high-altitude mountaineering and a less controllable barrier that can resist negotiation attempts. If severe enough, this could prevent someone from summiting or continuing with the expedition. Although the itinerary was designed to help us acclimatise, maintaining personal health, which included keeping hydrated and eating high-calorie food, could be employed as a strategy to reduce the likelihood of altitude sickness. Despite the group using this strategy, all group members experienced acute mountain sickness (AMS) symptoms including headaches, fatigue, loss of appetite, trouble sleeping, nausea and vomiting. Yet, these did not prevent summiting and the group showed high negotiation-efficacy through anticipating and accepting these symptoms. For example, whilst we were walking, David said that 'I was determined to summit (Mera), despite the persistent headache' and Peter said that 'I just fought through it.' The feeling of being unwell and the exertion of summiting were short-lived and soon forgotten once the group had descended Mera. Instead these negative recollections were replaced with positive memories of achievement. The group could appraise their performance in negotiating AMS and strengthen their negotiation-efficacy in preparation for climbing the pass and Island Peak. However, the

group was cautious not to become complacent as AMS could still have prevented members from summiting. Therefore, despite successful negotiation, it was still perceived as potentially constraining the next summit attempt. This was true for Liz who, despite not experiencing AMS when climbing Mera, described becoming short of breath, lapsing into 'tunnel vision' and feeling faint when climbing Island Peak. This made her panic and she explained 'I had to take long deep breaths to try and calm myself down.' Being highly motivated and determined to summit, Liz had strong negotiation perceptions and through positive self-talk she successfully negotiated this potential constraint.

In contrast, despite maintaining personal health, Nicky experienced a high resting heart rate when climbing both Mera and Island Peak, suggesting that her body had not acclimatised and it would be unsafe to continue climbing. Unable to negotiate, Nicky had to descend both mountains without summiting. Reflecting on her emotional state while climbing (past performance), Nicky believed that her increased heart rate was due to anxiety rather than altitude. She felt unable to control it, which led to weaker negotiation-efficacy and doubts about her ability to summit. Her low self-efficacy across many of the constraints was evident from the start of the expedition. During an interview Nicky said:

> 'I have never been to this altitude before, so it is a good test for me. Can I handle myself at that altitude? I have no idea. Will I make it up there? But it is a physical and mental test as well. Can I push on when it gets hard? We will see.'

This combined low efficacy possibly contributed to Nicky's anxiety and her disengagement from summiting, both mentally (thoughts of withdrawal) and behaviourally (reduction of effort and actual disengagement from the task), thus supporting earlier findings (Chroni et al, 2006). Other group members demonstrated stronger hardiness and negotiation-efficacy when experiencing altitude sickness and fatigue by believing in their coping- and self-regulatory efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Like other studies (Chroni et al, 2006) they increased their efforts, stopped negative thoughts and focused on the moment to negotiate these constraints and successfully summit.

As a participating ethnographer I also experienced altitude sickness, which prevented me from summiting Mera, therefore I could empathise with Nicky's disappointment. While climbing Mera I began to experience symptoms of high-altitude cerebral oedema (HACE) and was advised by the leader to descend. At base camp I began to feel much better, however, I had to decide whether to continue or to leave the expedition. Performing at the same level as other cultural members is paramount when doing this form of ethnography in performance-based sports such as mountaineering (Sands, 2002). I feared that if I could not acclimatise and summit Island Peak I would miss valuable insights about the group's summit experience. More crucially, they could refrain from sharing their summit experiences with me, because I would not be perceived as 'one of them' or fearing that they would heighten my disappointment in not summiting. Furthermore, if I could not acclimatise I would have to leave the expedition. Consequently, the financial and emotional costs of both the extensive preparation and participation in the expedition, and the potential impact of withdrawal on my research were weighing heavily on my mind. At that moment I

felt very alone as a researcher. Yet, once I had reflected, my thoughts about the experience became more positive.

Due to the intensive and embodied nature of participant observation, Hume and Mulcock (2004) advise ethnographers to draw boundaries for themselves and create safety zones. However, this was difficult to do as we ate, walked and climbed together, and we shared tents. Being alone while the others were climbing gave me a rare opportunity to spend time by myself and to reflect on my experiences as an ethnographic researcher. By becoming 'one of them' I was able to truly understand the challenges of a mountaineering expedition. I realised how debilitating AMS could be and how immensely disappointing not summiting can make you feel. I appreciated how the long days of walking, the freezing nights, the poor food, not being able to wash and the constant feeling of being unwell can wear you down and make you want to give up. Additionally, I recognised how friendships develop in such intense environments and how health and safety are at the forefront of the group's mind, providing constant support for each other through verbal persuasion and collective efficacy (Bandura, 1997). These reflections defined me as an active group member. I appreciated that being a participant ethnographer is not easy, as noted by O'Reilly (2005). Sometimes I was a mountaineer, a friend and a team member while other times I was a researcher, the person who had designed the study and who would write up my findings. Therefore, I was constantly positioning and repositioning myself (Frohlick and Harrison, 2008). Fortunately, the AMS passed, which increased my efficacy and I felt confident I could continue the expedition and remain a part of the group's lived experience. Mindful that AMS could occur at any time I continued to maintain my personal health by keeping hydrated and eating well, despite feeling acclimatised after successfully climbing the pass without any symptoms. This proved to be an effective negotiation strategy and I successfully summited Island Peak.

Fatigue

Fatigue was felt by everyone and it first manifested itself after summiting Mera. During a group discussion those that summited explained that the ascent was 'a real slog.' Peter said that 'it took everything out of me to get up there.' Katherine explained that she was on her hands and knees when she reached the summit 'because I was just dead', and Ian noted that he was 'walking like a zombie' as he descended. Rest days were built into the itinerary to negotiate the effects of fatigue. However, these were often cancelled. Consequently, due to limited rest and recuperation opportunities throughout the expedition, they had little impact as a negotiation tool and they did not remove the effects of fatigue. This climaxed one day after an exceptionally challenging walk when many members stumbled with exhaustion and Katherine fainted. As a result, the group's negotiation-efficacy began to weaken, but withdrawing from the expedition was not an option. Recognising this, members responded by employing verbal persuasion to enhance our collective efficacy (Bandura, 1997), to encourage us to persist with our efforts and to respond to this constraint resiliently through positive self-talk to stop negative thoughts to negotiate the effects of fatigue. Like previous studies (Bandura, 1997; Chroni et al, 2006; Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell, 2007; White, 2008), our motivation and hardiness had a positive influence on our negotiation-efficacy and, except for one member, we successfully climbed Island Peak. For Ian, however, his

negotiation efforts had little effect and he was unable to overcome his fatigue, which he attributed to a lack of appropriate food. Accordingly, Ian decided not to climb Island Peak.

Climbing Island Peak gave me real insights into the psychological and physical challenges of high-altitude mountaineering, and the strong hardiness and negotiation-efficacy required to overcome them. When I physically and mentally felt I could not take another step, Liz and Katherine encouraged me to dig deeper. They were also tired but showing hardiness and high negotiation-efficacy, they continued to climb, slowly taking one step at a time. I began to emulate their behaviour and through this vicarious experience, combined with verbal persuasion from the leader and these two members, I persisted. These sources of efficacy helped me to believe in myself and to adopt the negotiation strategies of positive self-talk, stopping negative thoughts and focusing on the moment. The sense of achievement in summiting and pushing myself further than I thought possible was overwhelming and it gave me a glimpse into why mountaineers find expeditions so addictive. Without the support of the leader and the other mountaineers to strengthen my efficacy I would not have overcome my self-doubts and I would not have summited.

Conceptual Model

The conceptual model (Figure 1) illustrates the key findings which emerged from the fieldwork data and highlights the originality of this research. It demonstrates the interplay between self-efficacy, negotiation-efficacy and the personal constraint negotiation journey for led mountaineers. It is a fluid, holistic model which reveals the complexities of constraint negotiation for this group of tourists. It regards personal constraints as positive, integral elements of the mountaineering experience which, if absent before and during the expedition, would result in an unchallenging, risk-free non-adventure for participants. The journey is influenced by several factors including the personal characteristics of the mountaineers, efficacy levels and sources of information. The model illustrates that high efficacy is more critical to successful performance in mountaineering compared with other more conventional holidays because tourists on the latter are not challenging themselves in outdoor environments. While focusing specifically on led mountaineers, it can also be applied to other activities, in both adventure and non-adventure settings.
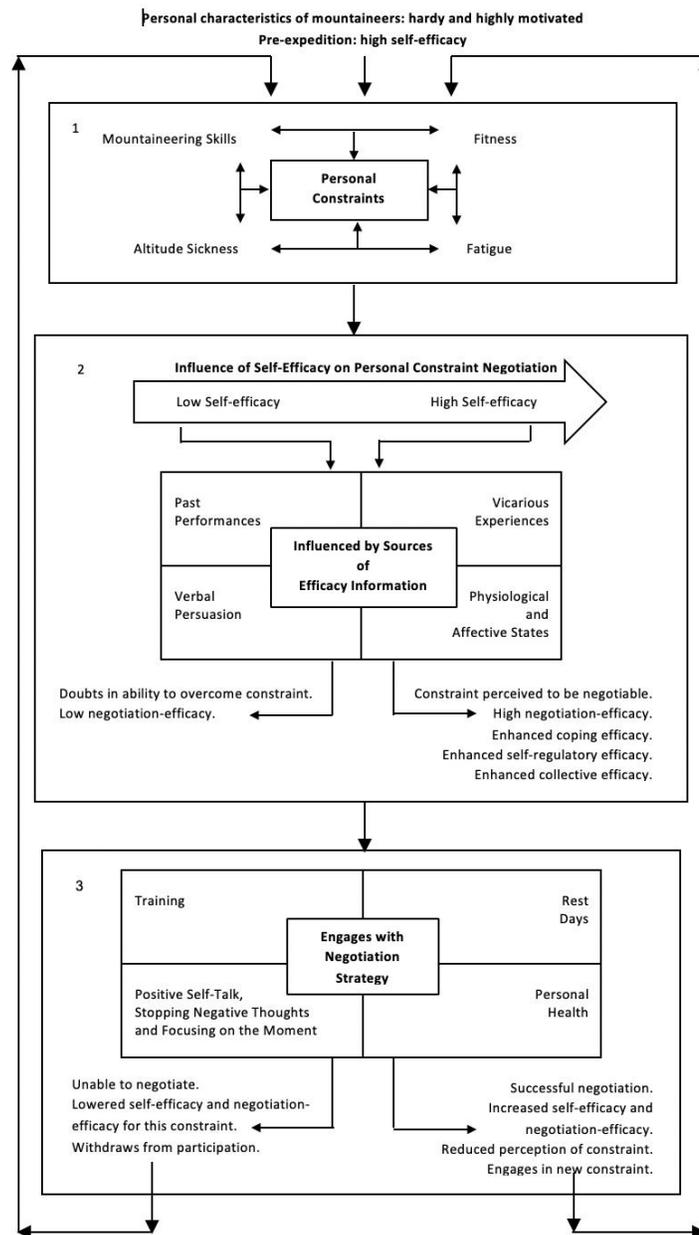
Although developing a conceptual model to illustrate ethnographic findings is different to the norm, we recognise that some researchers, including ethnographers, may not adopt a purely inductive approach. They may enter the field with preconceptions based on previous literature and theories (O'Reilly, 2007). Therefore, they may choose to adopt an interactive-inductive approach, and 'enter into an on-going simultaneous process of deduction and induction, or theory building, testing and rebuilding' (p.27). Taking the stance that analysis and data collection are linked allows for a more flexible, reflexive research design (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Consequently, it is hoped that this model will be a useful tool for others when conceptualising their own research within this area before entering the field. The model is comparable to other socio-psychological theories, such as flow, the adventure experience paradigm, goal-driven behaviour, social

learning and cognitive dissonance. These explain people's behaviour in adventure settings where direct experience, risk taking, problem solving and dealing with uncertainty are present (Ewert and Garvey, 2007). While it is not within the scope of this paper to make this comparison, this would make a valuable contribution to adventure literature and aid our understanding of what happens during adventure experiences. It would also enhance practitioners' ability to motivate clients towards their goals.

The first part of the model (1) presents the four types of personal constraint. These categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, fatigue was experienced by everyone, yet, for some, it was also related to their lack of fitness or a side effect of AMS. Consequently, some mountaineers experienced numerous constraints simultaneously. The second part of the model (2) demonstrates the influence of self-efficacy on the mountaineers' perception that the constraint is negotiable. When faced with constraints, those with high self-efficacy, particularly if enhanced by the four sources of efficacy information, had high negotiation-efficacy. Most group members started the expedition with high self-efficacy and had done considerable training to prepare for the rigours they might face during the trip. Early in the expedition, skills development training facilitated efficacy-enhancing opportunities. Moreover, the use of verbal persuasion and positive feedback from the leader and other group members were particularly effective in strengthening self-efficacy and collective efficacy, resulting in successful constraint negotiation later in the expedition. The latter was contingent on group members' viewing the challenges faced throughout the expedition positively, being confident in their ability to cope with constraints, and dealing with these in a controlled way. Contrastingly, those who doubted their capabilities when faced with a constraint depended more on sources of efficacy information to enhance their self-efficacy and subsequently, their negotiation-efficacy. However, for some, these sources had limited effect and consequently they continued to doubt their ability to overcome the constraint, reflecting low negotiation-efficacy. Although participants did not specifically state this, the data does suggest that, for some, self-doubt in the ability to overcome constraints (low negotiation-efficacy) may have been amplified by a fear of failing the group. This is the case for several group members, who compared their performance to others (as a vicarious source of information) and subsequently felt less competent than others. In practical terms, if these constraints were experienced while climbing and the individual could not negotiate them, the constraints could have prevented both the individual and the group members they were climbing with from continuing and summiting. This is because two or three group members are attached to each other with a rope. However, if constraints were experienced while trekking and the individual could not negotiate these, they only affected that person's ability to continue with the expedition. This is what happened to Ron. There is because there were opportunities along the trail to employ a local resident to guide individuals back to Lukla, where they could return to Kathmandu, while the group continued. In addition to the practical implications, some may have experienced feelings of incompetency compared to other group members, feeling that they were unsuited to this type of expedition, although no-one openly admitted this. Regardless of efficacy levels, each member demonstrated strong motivation and determination as they engaged with one or more negotiation strategies in attempts to overcome constraints. The negotiation strategies are presented in the third part of the model (3): training, rest days, personal health, and positive self-talk

(stopping negative thoughts and focusing on the moment when climbing). Successful negotiation positively influenced self-efficacy and reduced the perception of constraints. Unsuccessful negotiation negatively affected self-efficacy, resulting in several mountaineers failing to summit and for one, it meant leaving the expedition early. Overall though, participants' perceived personal constraints generally diminished during the expedition as their self-efficacy developed and negotiation strategies worked, reflecting White's (2009) findings.

Figure 1: Conceptual model: The influence of self-efficacy on the constraint negotiation process for mountaineer tourists

Personal characteristics of mountaineers: hardy and highly motivated
Pre-expedition: high self-efficacy

1
Mountaineering Skills   Fitness

Personal Constraints

Altitude Sickness   Fatigue

2
Influence of Self-Efficacy on Personal Constraint Negotiation

Low Self-efficacy   High Self-efficacy

Past Performances   Vicarious Experiences

Influenced by Sources of Efficacy Information

Verbal Persuasion   Physiological and Affective States

Doubts in ability to overcome constraint.
Low negotiation-efficacy.

Constraint perceived to be negotiable.
High negotiation-efficacy.
Enhanced coping efficacy.
Enhanced self-regulatory efficacy.
Enhanced collective efficacy.

3
Training   Rest Days

Engages with Negotiation Strategy

Positive Self-Talk, Stopping Negative Thoughts and Focusing on the Moment   Personal Health

Unable to negotiate.
Lowered self-efficacy and negotiation-efficacy for this constraint.
Withdraws from participation.

Successful negotiation.
Increased self-efficacy and negotiation-efficacy.
Reduced perception of constraint.
Engages in new constraint.

Conclusion

This paper contributes to understanding how efficacy and related factors influence the personal constraint negotiation process for led mountaineers. While previous work has mostly considered pre-activity constraints, often neglecting to consider if and how people overcome these (e.g. Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell, 2007), this study explores the constraint negotiation journey both before and during the adventure holiday. Furthermore, whereas existing research has predominantly focused on women (e.g. Doran et al, 2018; Fendt and Wilson, 2012; Wilson and Little, 2005;), this is a mixed gender study. The findings reveal four new types of personal constraint and negotiation strategy which have not been identified in previous studies. They show that high levels of efficacy, personal characteristics, motivation and hardiness are critical for successful personal constraint negotiation.

Adopting a phenomenology-based ethnographic approach facilitated more in-depth insights into the mountaineers' expedition experiences than a detached observer could gain. A small expedition party was beneficial in generating rich data and the first author immersed herself into the group, spending considerable time with the mountaineers. The dynamic tension of the lived experience encouraged the development of a rich reflexive narrative of the participants' cultural experience which accurately represents their cultural reality. She grappled with her roles as researcher-observer, expedition team member and friend to other group members, often switching frequently between the three. It was difficult to disengage and remain emotionally distant, and she regularly found herself reassuring others and using verbal persuasion. No social group remains static and when one enters or leaves the field is arbitrary, as it provides a limited snapshot of a moment in time documented by the ethnographer (Frohlick and Harrison, 2008). Furthermore, different research strategies may produce different data and, perhaps, different conclusions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, we are mindful that another expedition with another group of mountaineers and a different research methodology could reveal an alternative experience and reality.

When analysing the data, the authors presupposed that all group members had high self-efficacy because of the expedition's challenging nature and the pre-expedition screening process, which required them to declare their previous mountaineering experience, ability and fitness level. What convinced us further was that they had to negotiate time off work and away from their families, as well as incurring a high financial cost for the trip. However, efficacy levels varied, and some doubted their fitness and mountaineering skills from the start. Low efficacy was most prominent amongst those who had not fully engaged with the pre-expedition training programme, although fortunately their performance did not hinder others' experiences. These variations could be why some members experienced more severe personal constraints than others. Likewise, gender might explain why two female group members experienced constraints more acutely than the others, reflecting previous studies (Doran et al, 2018; Fendt and Wilson, 2010) which have identified women's self-doubt in their physical ability and technical skills as key barriers to their participation. However, the other two females demonstrated high efficacy and fewer

constraints. Therefore, we cannot conclusively confirm that gender influenced efficacy particularly given the small sample in this study.

Except for altitude sickness, the identified personal constraints might be applicable to other types of adventure activity participation, although further research needs to examine specific constraint negotiation journeys for particular activities (Nyaupane, Morais and Graefe, 2004). This study's findings have implications for commercial mountaineering and the wider adventure tourism industry. They can assist adventure organisations in appreciating the complexity of constraint negotiation, which can facilitate development of the soft skills and emotional intelligence of their guides. They can also help organisations to manage their clients' expectations and recognise when they need encouragement through verbal persuasion to enhance their efficacy. Guides may detect more easily low efficacy during activity participation and whether this reflects reduced motivation, weaknesses in ability or hardiness, or a lack of confidence. The findings may also be helpful to other types of tourism, for instance, those working within social tourism who want to understand how holiday experiences enhance efficacy for disadvantaged individuals. These findings may not apply to independent mountaineers or other types of adventure tourists, who differ as they manage their own experiences, which are sometimes unguided. Guides encourage mountaineers to feel safer because they are highly skilled and experienced, can anticipate and manage potential risks, and exert a degree of control over the entire mountaineering experience (Pomfret and Bramwell, 2014). Independent mountaineers on unguided expeditions are compelled to take on these roles therefore the strength of their efficacy may be more critical to their successful personal constraint negotiation.

While this study has helped to address a research gap, more work still needs to be done, particularly as adventure tourism experiences are enjoying strong growth. Investigations should explore other constraint types faced by mountaineer tourists, and the negotiation strategies they employ on expeditions. The roles of efficacy, hardiness, motivation and personal characteristics in constraint negotiation need further investigation given their importance to successful negotiation. Such traits are likely to manifest themselves in everyday life and improve participants' well-being, although further research is needed in this area. Additionally, research should ascertain the applicability of the study's findings to tourists on other types of adventure holiday. Further work should undertake comparative analyses of the constraint negotiation process for male and female adventure tourists. These studies should adopt a phenomenology-based ethnographic approach to gain rich insights into the constraint negotiation process for adventure tourists.

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Appendix 5: Questionnaire

Women's Mountaineering Tourism Survey

This questionnaire is designed to find out your opinions about doing mountaineering activities whilst on holiday (e.g. rock climbing, snow/ice climbing, mountaineering skill courses and high altitude mountaineering), their benefits, the barriers to participation and how you have overcome them. For the purpose of this survey a holiday would involve you staying for at least one night in a location away from home either in the UK or overseas and would include you participating in mountaineering activities or courses. Your responses will be treated confidentially.

Your recreational mountaineering activities

(*what you do at home, not on holiday or on a mountaineering course)

1. Which of the following mountaineering activities do you do recreationally?
Mark only one oval per row.

	Yes	No
Bouldering	◯	◯
Rock climbing	◯	◯
Snow & ice climbing	◯	◯
Mixed climbing (rock & ice)	◯	◯

2. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.
Mark only one oval per row.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Mountaineering is an important part of my life	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Mountaineering makes me feel confident	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Mountaineering makes me feel self-reliant	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Mountaineering gives me new skills	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I find it difficult to find time to climb as often as I would like	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

3. Please indicate your response.
Mark only one oval per row.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
I climb in 'women-only' groups	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I climb in 'mixed-gender' groups	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I climb indoors	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I climb outdoors	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

4. At what level are you currently climbing?

Mark only one oval per row.

	Haven't done before	Beginner (Rock Mod-S; Sport 4+; Scottish I/II; Alpine F/PD)	Intermediate (Rock S-HVS; Sport 5-6a+; Scottish III; Alpine PD+/AD)	Advanced (Rock E1; Sport 6b; Scottish IV; Alpine D and above)
Bouldering	◯	◯	◯	◯
Rock climbing (trad)	◯	◯	◯	◯
Rock climbing (sport)	◯	◯	◯	◯
Snow & ice/mixed (rock & ice) climbing	◯	◯	◯	◯

5. How long have you been climbing? (years/months)

6. Have you ever thought about becoming a qualified climbing instructor or mountain leader?

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes

◯ No

7. Have you been mountaineering or on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday?

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes   *Skip to question 8.*

◯ No   *Skip to question 16.*

Your experience of mountaineering and/or mountaineering courses whilst on holiday

i.e. staying at least one night in a location away from home either in the UK or overseas participating in either bouldering, rock climbing, snow/ice climbing, mixed climbing, mountaineering skill courses or high altitude mountaineering.

8. On average, how frequently do you mountaineer/go on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday?

Mark only one oval.

◯ Once a year

◯ 2-3 times a year

◯ 4-5 times a year

◯ Over 5 times a year

9. **Which of the following mountaineering activities or courses have you done whilst on holiday?**

   Mark only one oval per row.

	Yes	No
Bouldering	◯	◯
Rock climbing (trad)	◯	◯
Rock climbing (sport)	◯	◯
Snow & ice climbing	◯	◯
Mixed climbing (rock & ice)	◯	◯
High altitude mountaineering (above 5000m)	◯	◯

10. **On average, how many days do you spend mountaineering/on a mountaineering course whilst on holiday?**

    Mark only one oval.

    ◯ 1-3 days

    ◯ 4-7 days

    ◯ 8-10 days

    ◯ 11-14 days

    ◯ 15-21 days

    ◯ Over 22 days

11. **How do you normally organise your mountaineering activity/course holidays?**

    Mark only one oval.

    ◯ Independently

    ◯ Through a mountaineering specialist

    ◯ Both

12. **When you go on your mountaineering activity/course holidays, who do you normally travel with?**

    Mark only one oval per row.

	Yes	No
By myself	◯	◯
With my partner	◯	◯
With friends	◯	◯
With family	◯	◯
With a club	◯	◯

13. **Which groups do you normally climb with/do a course with whilst on holiday?**

    Mark only one oval.

    ◯ Women-only

    ◯ Mixed-gender

    ◯ Both

14. Which of these do you prefer to climb with/do a course with whilst on holiday?
Mark only one oval.

◯ Women-only

◯ Mixed gender

◯ Both

15. Why?

What could stop you from mountaineering/doing a mountaineering course whilst on holiday?

16. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would feel guilty	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Being worried about my climbing ability	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Being worried about my fitness level	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Not having enough knowledge of the climbing routes	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The dangerous nature of climbing	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Being lonely	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Being a minority as a women	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Feeling unsafe when climbing in unfamiliar environments	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Concerns about unwanted male attention	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I think of myself as unadventurous	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
My family and/or friends don't understand why I would want to do these types of holidays/courses	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
My household duties or family commitments mean that I have little time to go on these types of holidays/courses	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Not having anyone to go with	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I have been put off these types of holidays/courses because they are portrayed as being an activity for men	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I have been put off these types of holidays/courses because mountains are portrayed to be scary, uncomfortable and intimidating	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The high cost	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Not having the necessary equipment	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The lack of female guides and/or instructors discourages me from these types of holidays/ courses	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The lack of women featured in promotional material for mountaineering holidays/courses puts me off participating	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
It takes too much time to independently organise mountaineering whilst on holiday	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The unfamiliarity of foreign locations puts me off mountaineering whilst on holiday	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

17. Click here if you:

Mark only one oval.

◯   HAVE been on a mountaineering holiday/course. This will take you to the next section.

◯   HAVEN'T been on a mountaineering holiday/course. This will take you to the final section of the survey.   *Skip to question 22.*

Not much further to go now!

How would you overcome the factors that can prevent you from mountaineering/doing a mountaineering course whilst on holiday?

18. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
My passion for mountaineering makes me determind to overcome the barriers	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Overcoming the barriers adds value to the experience	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Being a women does not deter me from these types of holidays/courses	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I feel confident in my abilities to mountaineer/join a mountaineering course whilst on holiday	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I dress to avoid unwanted male attention when mountaineering	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
When mountaineering I use my femininity by taking advantage of the attention I get from men to further my experience and skills	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Before participating, I research the destination to reduce its unfamiliarity and any concerns about the climbing routes	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Before participating, I research the culture of the destination to assess the potential harassment from males	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I have developed friendships/connections with likeminded people to provide company and safety when climbing on holiday	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I join organised mountaineering holidays/courses to meet likeminded people and to provide company and safety	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Training before going on mountaineering holidays/courses helps me to develop skills and awareness about my capabilities and boundaries	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
When I have not been on a mountaineering holidays/courses for a while, planning and preparing for future trips helps me to maintain my connection with mountaineering and to anticipate future holidays/courses	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I prioritise mountaineering/mountaineering courses whilst on holiday over other types of activities	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I reduce my responsibilities at home to make time for mountaineering/mountaineering courses on holidays	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I reduce or I am flexible with my work hours to make time for mountaineering holidays/courses	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I have to compromise on the time spent mountaineering on holiday/mountaineering courses because of my other responsibilities and commitments	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

Just a little bit more!

What do you gain from mountaineering on holiday and/or doing mountaineering courses?

19. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
The opportunity to have time for myself	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
A sense of independence	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I am able to escape from everyday life	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I am able to take responsibility for my own decisions	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I am able to pursue my own interests	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I am able to learn about myself	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I am able to take risks and challenge myself which has increased my confidence	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I am able to take risks and challenge myself which has increased my self-reliance	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
From participating in these types of mountaineering holidays, I regard myself as a mountaineer	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
The opportunity to meet new people from different countries and cultures	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
The opportunity to develop friendships with like-minded people	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
The relationship with the leader/guide is important to the success of the mountaineering activity/course	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
A sense of belonging to a group where I am accepted	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
A sense of satisfaction with my mountaineering skills and capabilities	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I feel stronger, fitter and physically active	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I feel relaxed	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I feel connected with the natural environment	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
I get a sense of achievement	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

20. Have you been on an ALL-WOMEN mountaineering holiday or course?

Mark only one oval.

◯   Yes

◯   No   *Skip to question 22.*

What are the benefits of mountaineering/doing mountaineering courses with women-only groups whilst on holiday?

21. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
They provide me with the freedom to be myself	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
They provide a supportive and non-competitive environment	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I can escape from gender roles	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
They provide a less intimidating environment	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
They enable me to develop my confidence	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
They provide a sense of community and shared experiences	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

About You

Finally, we would be grateful for a few further details. This information will enable us to analyse your responses to the previous questions more accurately. (It will not be used for any other purpose).

22. Age

Mark only one oval.

◯   15-24

◯   25-34

◯   35-44

◯   45-54

◯   55-64

◯   65 and over

23. Highest level of education

Mark only one oval.

◯   Secondary school

◯   Further education

◯   Bachelors degree

◯   Masters degree

◯   Doctorate degree

24. Current job /occupation?

25. Your annual income
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) <£10,000
- ( ) £10,000 - £20,000
- ( ) £21,000 - £30,000
- ( ) £31,000 - £40,000
- ( ) £41,000 - £50,000
- ( ) £50,000 +

26. Nationality (which country issued your passport?)

_____

27. Ethnic origin
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) White British
- ( ) White Irish
- ( ) White other
- ( ) White and Black Caribbean
- ( ) White and Black African
- ( ) White and Asian
- ( ) Other mixed background
- ( ) Indian
- ( ) Pakistani
- ( ) Bangladeshi
- ( ) Other Asian background
- ( ) Black Caribbean
- ( ) Black African
- ( ) Other black background
- ( ) Chinese
- ( ) Any other ethnic group

28. Where do you live? (Please give the first part of your post code, city and county)

_____

29. E-mail:
Please provide your email address if you wish to be included in the prize draw. Your e-mail address will only be used to contact you if you win the prize draw. It will not be used for any other purpose.

_____

Thank you for your kind co-operation

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