Est. 1841 | YORK ST JOHN UNIVERSITY

Hall, Jenny (2018) Women mountaineers:
A study of affect, sensoria and emotion. Doctoral thesis, York St John University.

Downloaded from: https://ray.yorksj.ac.uk/id/eprint/3793/

Research at York St John (RaY) is an institutional repository. It supports the principles of open access by making the research outputs of the University available in digital form. Copyright of the items stored in RaY reside with the authors and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full text items free of charge, and may download a copy for private study or non-commercial research. For further reuse terms, see licence terms governing individual outputs. Institutional Repository Policy Statement

RaY

Research at the University of York St John

For more information please contact RaY at ray@yorksj.ac.uk

Women mountaineers: A study of affect, sensoria and emotion

Jenny Hall

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

York St John University

School of Humanities, Religion and Philosophy

September 2018

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material. Any reuse must comply with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 and any licence under which this copy is released.

© 2018 York St John University and Jenny Hall

The right of Jenny Hall to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Academically, I dedicate this thesis to the memory of Professor Steve Watson, who through his belief in me changed the course of my life by supporting my application for a Studentship at York St John University. I also thank my supervisors Dr Dai O'Brien, Dr Pauline Couper and Associate Professor Emma Waterton for their unwavering patience, guidance and confidence in my research. They have steered me and provided invaluable insight that has helped this thesis reach a logical and useful conclusion.

I would like to thank all the mountaineers who participated in the research for their candour and support which ultimately made this research possible, as well as Nicola Jasieniecka, Mountain Training (MT), for supplying statistics, in June 2016 and March 2017, on female participation in mountain qualifications.

Personally I could not have achieved this thesis without the support of friends Tim, Vic and Sam, who have provided feedback and encouragement, and my husband Louis, who has been my rock throughout.

ABSTRACT

This thesis has built on the philosophical foundations of Derridean deconstruction to provide a contemporary approach for researching autoimmunitary affective forces of gender in mountaineering. For the first time, this research has traced patterns of behaviour, from the earliest instances through to the present day, so as to explore the emotional and sensorial experiences of female mountaineers in the UK. Using experimental go-along and mobile video ethnographic techniques empirical data was co-produced in situ during eight day-long mountaineering expeditions. The empirical findings produced an expanded notion of 'mountaincraft', incorporating gender specific pedagogies of learning, adaptation and teaching, as well as an understanding, in particular, how silence is used to develop a wider sensorial attunement to risk, and also tactics for managing fear. Exposure to risk through mountaineering was found to be a chief motivation and manner by which women achieved a sense of wellbeing. These findings have demonstrated how gender matters in the male space of mountaineering, impacting on women in very particular ways. However, it has also problematized this hypermasculine space, demonstrating how women, as outsiders, mountaineer differently, offering the potential for growth and development in the world of professional mountaineering.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 3

ABSTRACT 4

CONTENTS 5

LIST OF FIGURES 11

LIST OF TABLES 12

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 13

1.1 Research question and structure of the thesis 16

1.2 Introduction to mountaineering: Tourism, nature and adventure 18

1.3 Hard and soft mountaineering 19

1.4 Mountaineering and climbing: Definitions 20

CHAPTER TWO: INTRODUCTION TO WOMEN'S MOUNTAINEERING 23

2.1 Institutionalisation of mountaineering 24

2.1.1 Codification and the creation of clubs 25

2.2 Early beginnings: Being noble and manly 27

2.3 A hidden golden age (1850 – 1900) 29

2.3.1 Writing and publishing: Being unostentatious and invisible 31

2.3.2 Competition, imperialism and athleticism 34

2.3.3 Manliness and the body 35

2.3.4 Emancipation from the received medical wisdom 37

2.3.5 Victorian understandings of the haptic sublime 39

2.4 Avoiding the 'Mark Twain Method': Achieving recognition 41

2.5 Women only: The land of pure delight 45

2.6 High altitude climbing: Women establish the rules to legitimacy 50

2.7 Public sharing of emotion, sentient expression and pushing boundaries 53

2.8 Solo and without oxygen: Consequences of gender 54

2.9 Motherhood 55

2.10 Representation in the twenty first century: Leadership and training 56

2.11 Clients and softer skills 59

2.12 Twenty-first century generation: Changing attitudes 62

2.13 Conclusion 63

CHAPTER THREE: 'NO MAN'S LAND': GENDER, AFFECT AND MOUNTAINEERING 64

3.1 Female participation in mountaineering 64

3.1.1 Gender and mountain leadership 66

3.1.2 Feminist research in sport and leisure 67

3.1.3 Researching emotion, sensoria and affect in extreme sport 68

3.1.4 Women and serious leisure 70

3.1.5 Mountaineering: Authenticity, identity and subcultures 71

3.2 Philosophical approaches to gender and difference in sport 73

3.2.1 The situated nature of being other: Boundaries as a place to play 75

3.2.2 A starting point not a standpoint 76

3.2.3 Feminist scholarship 77

3.2.4 Gendered bodies, sex and difference 80

3.2.5 Derrida: Difference and indeterminacy 81

3.3 Affect as method: Understanding how female mountaineers feel and act as gendered subjects 85

3.3.1 Mountaineering as a wilful act of resistance: Enacting and resisting masculinities and femininities through risk-taking 87

3.3.2 A methodology 89

CHAPTER FOUR: THE BODY, DERRIDA AND COMMUNITY 91

4.1 Hypermasculinisation 91

4.2 Derrida: Islands, autoimmunity and being free from the herd. 94

4.2.1 The function of autoimmunity in communities: Reinforcing and a turning in 96
4.2.2 A route to a possible solution.....97
4.2.3 Being offline: Rejecting 'the herd' and seeking aloneness in the crowd 98
4.3 Affective dreaming: A body at play 100
4.4 Embodying mountain places: Absolute alterity and functional communities 103
4.4.1 Emotional reflexivity: Troubling notions of raw sensation 105
4.4.2 Beyond the visual: Enskilment, mountaincraft and the freedom to feel 106
4.4.3 Haptic storytelling: To-sense-is-to-touch-is-to-know 110
4.4.4 A rich tradition of haptic storytelling: Sociality of mountain climbing.....112
4.5 Motivations for participation in risk-taking.....116
4.5.1 Spatial practices and politics: Sentient technologies of mountaincraft.....117
4.5.2 Codifying and classifying: The processes of spatial tactics 119
4.6 Risk, control, hardiness, stress 121
4.7 Conclusion.....125
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCHING THE SOCIAL LIFE OF WOMEN MOUNTAINEERS 127
5.1 Introduction: Scope and limitations 127
5.2 Profiling and recruiting female mountaineers.....127
5.2.1 Researcher's positionality 130
5.3 Fieldwork: Practical application of methodology and methods 131
5.3.1 Ethnomountaineering: Going-along in the mountains 134
5.3.2 Ethnomountaineering: Practical application 136
5.3.3 Mobile Video Ethnography (MVE): Detecting affect 138
5.3.4 Transcription and coding.....139
5.3.5 Ethics.....141
5.4 Reflexive methodology.....142
5.5 Conclusion.....144
CHAPTER SIX: MOUNTAINCRAFT: FEMALE PRACTICES IN MOUNTAINEERING.....145

6.1 Place: Ontic practice of puzzling....146
6.2 The practices of play: Immersive haptics, tactics and politics....149
6.3 Silence as practice: Balancing a sense of alterity with autoimmunitary affects....150
6.3.1 Silence as mountaincraft*:* A pedagogy of the senses....151
6.3.2 Silencing others: The skill of silent transmission....153
6.3.3 Self-Silencing: Methods and rituals of self-control in flow....156
6.3.4 Silencing fear and society: The practice of visualisation through self-talk....158
6.3.5 Understanding the value of silence....161
6.4 Going solo: Silent space to feel self-sufficient....162
6.4.1 Soloing: Competitive drive to achieve legitimacy....164
6.4.2 Solo experiences: A feminine space....165
6.5 Exposure: Achieving wellbeing....168
6.5.1 Exposure to extreme environments: A place to grow....170
6.5.2 Repeating exposure to extremes: Desensitising the body....171
6.6 Control: Mastering physical and psychological strength....172
6.6.1 Control in places of chaos: The illusory practice of mastery....174
6.7 Uncommon communities and their impacts....177
6.7.1 Controlling voice: How community impacts on space....178
6.7.2 Climbing with family and clients: The social dynamics of being responsible....181
6.7.3 Impact of professional mountain leading....183
6.7.4 Climbing partnerships: A delicate balance of control....184
6.7.5 Social media: Projecting a heroic connectedness....186
6.8 Conclusion....187
CHAPTER SEVEN: GENDER MATTERS: AUTOIMMUNITARY AFFECTS IN THE MOUNTAINEERING COMMUNITY....189
7.1 Inequality: A need for equity....190
7.1.1 Inequality in the mountaineering industry....193

7.2 Social capital: Building a name 194
7.2.1 Competition and a sense of exclusivity: Hired because I'm a woman 197
7.2.2 Competitive forces: Meeting expectations 199
7.2.3 Competition: Measuring up 201
7.2.4 Competitive drive for qualifications: Making a name 204
7.2.5 Competition: Feminine attitudes 205
7.3 Grade-ism 207
7.3.1 Grade-ism in climbing partnerships and leading professionally 209
7.3.2 Grade-ism and difference 212
7.3.3 Grade-ism: Out on the lead 214
7.3.4 Grade-ism: Maternalism, sacrifice and relationships 217
7.3.5 Grade-ism: Finding space in female company 220
7.4 Subjective barriers, softer-skills and solutions 222
7.4.1 Gender sensitive pedagogy: Softer skills 222
7.4.2 Learning without ego, a feminine approach 225
7.4.3 Space to Lead: Debunking the myth of Superwoman 226
7.4.4 Mountaineering bodies: Perceptions of self 228
7.4.5 Taboos and outing hidden anxieties 229
7.5 Leadership training: Female only spaces 232
7.5.1 Temporal nature of being competent 233
7.5.2 Leadership training: Female-specific courses 234
7.6 Conclusion: Redesigning the room 235
CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION 239
8.1 Research questions 239
8.1.1 Challenges and solutions 242
8.2 Empirical contributions: Wellbeing and risk 244
8.2.1 Mountaincraft: Risk, gender and difference 245

8.2.2 The ontological nature of silence in mountaineering 246
8.2.3 Gender matters and inequalities 247
8.2.4 Identity 249
8.2.5 Resisting and adapting the rules 249
8.2.6 Ethno-mountaineering: Detecting affect 250
8.2.7 Derridean theory 252
8.3 Autoimmunitary adaptation and learning: Softer skills a solution? 254
8.4 Future research 256
8.5 Conclusion 258
BIBLIOGRAPHY 260
APPENDIX ONE 287
APPENDIX TWO 288
Research Participant Consent Form 288
APPENDIX THREE 290
Ethical Consent Form 290
GLOSSARY 308

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Key Codes for Analysis.....140

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number of Qualified Mountain Leaders in the UK (Mountain Training 2017).....58

Table 2. National Mountaineering Award Holders – Breakdown of Female Representation (MT 2017).

.....66

Table 3. Summary of Research Participants' Engagement in the Research.....130

Table 4. List of Main Nodes and Sub Nodes 287

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> That secret the mountain never quite gives away (Shepherd 2011 [1977], p. 58)

Mountains hold a brutal attraction inspiring terror, fascination and scientific curiosity, generating imaginative and material ideas concerning altitudinous locations and human experience over the last two centuries (Cosgrove and della Dora 2009). Mountains in the context of this study are defined as places of high altitude or having alpine-like conditions such as the Scottish mountains in the United Kingdom and are characterised by limited human habitation and development. As much a cultural construct as they are topographical features, mountains are considered sacred sites in the East and are central to Western concepts of the romantic sublime, which emphasised intense emotions, particularly awe and fear, as an authentic way to experience beauty in nature. The sublime framed an era of exploration and nation-building, specifically during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, generating a heroic trope of the intrepid adventurer conquering the unknown. Mountains exerted a 'fatal power of attraction on the human mind' (MacFarlane 2008, p. 16) as a space to explore the limits of the human body in extreme places, physically, scientifically and spiritually. The psychological parameters of the sublime and associated responses may, as Fox suggests, 'prove to have physiological foundations' (in Cosgrove and della Dora 2009, p. 6); and this is a key aspect of enquiry within this study, particularly following the notions of McNee's (2017) analysis of the haptic sublime, where a body can only know something through touch. As such, mountains are geographical assemblages produced through a 'two-way physical and imaginative dialogue' that is in continuous flux and geographically represented through meta and micro semiotic processes (Cosgrove and della Dora 2009, p. 4). The metageography of mountains is a spatial structure (Lewis and Wigen 1997) through which people have come to know what mountains are and should be and in the West, it is imbued with a heroic masculinity developed through the sport of mountaineering.

Mountaineering evolved out of Victorian ideals of manliness and heroism founded on scientific exploration and conquest in the race to be first to summit the major peaks in the European Alps and Greater Ranges. This competitive verve was fuelled by two world wars which accelerated the desire to secure nationhood and dominance (Beedie 2003). As such, mountaineering has evolved as a highly masculinised activity that has largely masked the

achievements of women mountaineers. As a result, little is understood about how women perform and engage in this activity and less is known regarding their sentient and emotional experiences (Humberstone et al. 2016; Pomfret and Doran 2015; Lewis 2000). This study aims to contribute new geographical knowledge by mapping the sensory and emotional experiences of professional female mountaineers based in the United Kingdom (UK).

Cultural geography is a broad and fluid area offering the space to consider female mountaineering from a number of perspectives and leaves room for new directions and possibilities (Horton and Kraftl 2014). By drawing upon cultural theory concerning everydayness, emotion and affect, bodies and embodiment and space I consider mountaineering as a way of life in terms of how it is constructed through social, political and economic interactions within this masculine space. This research acknowledges the critique of the so-called new cultural geographies, to focus less attention on forms of representation by developing and changing practices that aim

> to become more theoretically and methodologically experimental and/or to (re)focus upon social and political issues and/or to 'get over' the concept of 'culture' and/or to become more politically active (Horton and Kraftl 2014, p. 19).

Therefore, I have drawn upon contemporary non-representational theories that explore 'the geography of what happens' in the everyday lives of female mountaineers through the theory of affect, which I consider on p. 85 (Thrift 2008, p. 2). I have taken an experimental approach towards applying affect that makes a departure from Thrift's (2008) notions of affect by considering female mountaineering through the lens of Derrida's theory of deconstruction (considered in chapters three and four). Combining this with feminist concepts of affect I have applied a social psychological approach to explore all forms of human communication as potential sources for detecting the political, social and cultural impacts of affect. Second, I have developed an experimental ethnographic methodology and methods to collect empirical data that have utilised go-alongs and mobile video ethnography (MVE), discussed in chapter five. This has enabled me to co-produce data live in the field with professional female mountaineers in the UK to trace the living affect of the masculine experience of mountaineering. I also set out to contextualise the empirical data in terms of the history of female mountaineering in the UK (in chapter two) to trace the flow of affect through the construction of social beliefs and practices and to investigate how these influence the contemporary experiences of female mountaineers.

The dearth in the literature concerning women's mountaineering has required an interdisciplinary approach that draws from scholarship across philosophy, geography, history and social sciences, including social psychology. It has also required a broadening out to other forms of extreme adventure and leisure/sporting activities to demonstrate the particular characteristics of highly masculinised sporting spaces. Scholarship in sport, leisure and tourism has been critiqued for the lack of academic attention given to the lived experiences of the body in sport in contrast to its focus on 'abstract theorising rather than attending to the sentient body and its experiences' (Fox et al. 2014, p. 74). Scholars have recently begun to study the embodied performances of sport by exploring multisensorily aural, visual, olfactory and haptic expressions through ethnography and auto-ethnography that is argued will produce a:

> broader holistic approach to understanding sentient experiences [and] will act as a platform for problematising the dominance of 'visual' and semiotic traditions within tourism geography and the broader social sciences (Watson and Waterton 2014, p. 2).

A small number of studies within physical culture have considered the sensuous and embodied experiences of cyclists, surfers, climbers, long-distance runners, and scuba divers (Wegner et al. 2015; Fox et al. 2014; Waitt and Clifton 2013; Evers 2009; Lewis, 2000). With a few exploring the sport of climbing, and to a lesser degree mountaineering, through a feminist lens that considers embodiment and gender (Rickly 2017; Dilley and Scraton 2010; Rak 2007; Olstead 2011; Robinson 2008; Kiewa 2001). Although very few have researched the body in a sporting context through nonrepresentational theory, with the exception of Fullagar and Pavlidis' (2018) recent work on feminism and affect in sport. In addition, to Spinney (2015) who has considered affect and (post) phenomenological approaches to sensual geographies in the world of urban cycling through MVE. Both Pomfret and Doran (2015) and Musa et al. (2015) agree that research in the broad spectrum of mountaineering tourism is limited with a complete absence of focus on the emotional, sentient, embodied and affective experiences of women who mountaineer (Pomfret and Doran 2015). Thus, this study sets a precedent as the first to take a geographical approach to develop new understandings of the gendered emotional and sentient experiences in mountaineering from its earliest antecedents through to twenty-first century professional female mountaineers. The research participants were all white, middle class, Western women and were all professional mountaineers making a living from their sport both in the UK and internationally.

What follows is an investigation into what motivates female mountaineers to take extreme risks and how they navigate emotional and physiological responses to fear by crafting gender-specific practices and processes. I use historical references along with my own personal experience to trace how these have been shaped by Victorian values that impact on the space women need to be mountaineers. I then explore why gender matters by highlighting the inequalities that continue to pervade and conclude by pointing to possible solutions and where further research is needed.

1.1 Research question and structure of the thesis

The question I asked was:

> How do women experience mountaineering and what motivates them to take such risks in extreme vertical worlds of rock, snow and ice in the twenty-first century?

In particular, I asked:

> What their sensory and emotional experiences were like and if/how these were impacted upon by political, economic and social influences?

I did so by broadly exploring six key elements:

1. By researching the context in which women experience(d) mountaineering and how it has historically evolved as a leisure pursuit in chapter two.
2. Considering mountaineering as a gendered experience and how this impacts on female mountaineers to develop a feminist affective methodology in chapter three.
3. Developing new philosophical understandings of female mountaineering through the theories of Derrida to establish a conceptual approach for understanding the impact communities have on a female mountaineering body and how this shapes processes and practices in chapter four.
4. Applying new methods for conducting empirical research to capture the lived experiences of female mountaineers through the use of go-alongs and MVE in chapter five.
5. Analysing how women interchange between masculinities and femininities to create unique spaces and practices in mountaineering in chapters six and seven.
6. To consider how spaces of women in mountaineering are impacted upon and also offer potential solutions for reducing inequalities in this professional sport in

chapters six and seven. Finally, chapter eight summarises the contribution to new knowledge and future directions.

The empirical chapters 6 and 7 are presented to reflect the voices of the research participants, to provide deep analysis of their experiences as mountaineers. These chapters have different characteristics. Chapter 6 considers how female mountaineers experience mountaineering without specifically contextualising this in terms of gender. It explores the embodied nature of seeking, being exposed to and immersed in, extreme vertical environments and what this means to women mountaineers. The chapter explores very specific practices, in particular how women attune their bodies to risk as a process of managing fear. Importantly it foregrounds experiences without defending them in terms of the societal context. Chapter 7 explores the political, social and economic impacts on a woman's space to mountaineer. It considers how women navigate the inequalities that exist within mountaineering and wider society and how this impacts on their mountaineering spaces and practises. I provide reflection on my own impact as co-producer of the empirical data and also enrich the analysis with my personal experiences of mountaineering. I draw upon a series of vignettes to evidence new knowledge about the research participants' experiences by analysing these through Derrida's philosophies. In doing so, I identify how women produce space in mountaineering and how affective forces of hypermasculinity are manifest and constrain these spaces.

Ultimately, the aim of this thesis is to problematise the seemingly dominant masculine culture of mountaineering, positing that expressions of female difference may constitute legitimate 'other' forms of mountaineering. I also seek to explore new sentient and emotional geographies of women who mountaineer, with implications for expressing both a social and political voice.

The thesis is supported by a glossary of mountaineering terminology to assist the reader with technical terms. In the remainder of chapter one, I provide a short overview of mountaineering in the context of tourism to define why mountaineers possess certain characteristics and motivations and what these signify. It is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of mountaineering as a sport or touristic activity, however, this overview is designed to provide key definitions to guide the reader throughout the rest of the thesis.

1.2 Introduction to mountaineering: Tourism, nature and adventure

The mass consumption of tourism in the late 1960s and 1970s led to the emergence of a countercultural trend for more specialist holidays, in particular holidays that connected the tourist with nature. Relph (1976) identified this trend as means of alleviating a sense of placelessness created by the homogenising effect of mass consumerism, advocating that specialist and more individualised holidays led to a revival of localism that favoured diversity over uniformity. From its origins as a marginal pursuit in the 1960s, nature-based tourism has quickly grown to become the centre of a substantial global infrastructure, with 71 million tourists worldwide seeking 'nature bound' experiences (World Tourism Organisation (WTO)) 2011). Fletcher (2014) broadly defines the nature-bound tourist as a traveller in pursuit of 'a non-extractive encounter with an in situ "natural" landscape', sharing characteristics with ecotourism, adventure, extreme risk, lifestyle and edgework (p. 7). He defines tourists who participate in this broad milieu of nature-based holidays as those who shun luxury, comfort and passivity in favour of activities that embrace 'austerity and active adventure' (ibid.).

There are many overlaps between the various categories and sub-categories identified within nature-based tourism, adventure being one that in itself 'is an incredibly diffuse and diverse concept that is highly context dependent' (Cater 2013, p. 5). Cater (2013) acknowledges that there are 'some core elements such as uncertainty and risk (real or perceived), difference, and escape … [but] …what matters most is the individual exploration that can result' when engaging in adventurous activities (ibid., p. 17). Seeking escape in search of adventure that combines the elements of risk and uncertainty is a process of pushing physical and conceptual boundaries of a body, which acts to differentiate adventure tourists from others. Categories associated with adventure-based tourism include activities such as white water rafting, freeskiing, skydiving, mountain biking and of course mountaineering (Cater 2013). The level at which people participate in mountain tourism ranges from the novice, who is dependent on the services of a guide, to very experienced independent mountaineers. Those that use the services of a guide or company do so to minimise or eradicate the perception of risks and are classed as 'soft' mountaineers, whereas self-guided independent mountaineers who actively seek risk are classed as 'hard' mountaineers (Pomfret 2006, 2011). Hard mountaineers have a tendency to be individualistic, embracing risk and uncertainty, with a purity of engagement that achieves a personal aesthetic or sublime experience (Boyes and Houge MacKenzie 2015, p. 71). Sublime experiences result from the visceral experiences of the participants creating a highly desirable form of social capital that has been commodified

into touristic mountaineering products like ascending Everest for example (Beedie 2015). As Tuan (1998) expresses, the activity of mountaineering can be likened to a 'ladder of aspiration, at one end of which are the exuberantly or crassly playful and at the other the deeply serious and real' and it is those individuals who pursue mountaineering at the more serious and extreme end of the spectrum that is my focus (ibid., p. xii). For the purposes of this study, the definition of a mountaineering tourist is therefore situated within the extreme concepts of adventure or hard mountaineering that I now expand upon.

1.3 Hard and soft mountaineering

The origins of the massive growth in mountain tourism have been attributed to a reaction to the dehumanising post-war rationalism of industrialisation, in what Boyes and Houge Mackenzie (2015) described as: 'the seminal aesthetic reaction towards valuing nature … [that] also promoted the emergence of alpinism as a form of escape through embracing beauty and first hand experiences' (Boyes and Houge Mackenzie 2015, p. 70). Musa et al. (2015) suggest that since the 1980s the capitalist growth of the mass-produced nature-based tourism industry has been 'due to neoliberal economic policies' of marketisation, capitalism, privatisation and natural resource governance (ibid., p. 4). Thus, the exploits of early pioneers, the first ascensionists and explorers created iconic places commodified and traded through epic storytelling. These narratives acted as a catalyst for newly pioneered routes to be sought after by less skilled mountaineers creating new destinations and the commodification of mountain places (Beedie 2015). They also produced a classification system that distinguished between an elite class of mountaineers and those that were considered tourists. This elite class of mountaineer have generated an atmosphere of exclusivity through a complex web of codes and hard mountaineering rules.

Beedie (2015) discusses how exclusivity characterises this type of hard mountaineering tourist describing them as being attracted to the undeveloped wildness of mountains, actively shunning the intrusion of softer types of mountaineering tourism in the locations they value. He suggests this creates a tension and a social resistance between soft and hard mountaineering experiences, producing a sense of exclusivity that drives the competitive desire to climb new, riskier and more challenging objectives (ibid., p. 46). Thus, the desire to attain exclusivity produces the commodification of extreme places, for example, Mount Everest has become a destination that attracts approximately 1,000 people every year who attempt to reach the summit (Gardner 2015a, 2016; Quora no date). Unlike soft mountaineers, hard mountaineers are attracted to unknown risky or dangerous routes

producing a sense of exclusivity, as mountaineer Hillaree O'Neill states 'Without a doubt, we are … a very egomaniacal group and an unclimbed anything helps separate a climber from the herd' (in Nuwer 2014). So what in 1953 was considered to be the hardest feat of all, to ascend Mount Everest, has become an extreme form of package holiday designed to minimise perceptions of risk and sense of personal responsibility. In contrast, for hard mountaineers risk and uncertainty are what it is all about, rendering Everest by the *normal* route obsolete. Participating in hard mountaineering in both commercial and social contexts is generative of social distinction or capital and is a form of social construction that creates iconic mountaineering destinations, status and even identity. Hard mountaineers 'use their positional experiences to "tighten links to the social group" but tourism operates to "liberate" such groupings to create a more fluid social demographic', creating a tension and competitive driver to find riskier and more challenging objectives to maintain a sense of exclusivity (Beedie 2015, p. 52-53). This thesis focuses on mountaineering as an extreme form of adventure tourism and therefore is a study of female mountaineers who fit the category of hard professionals and as a result, the themes of competition and exclusivity are explored throughout the thesis.

1.4 Mountaineering and climbing: Definitions

Mountaineering has a broad spectrum of styles, approaches and variables that makes its participants hard to define and somewhat resistant to be defined as one particular type or another (Barratt 2010; Robinson 2008). Most interchange between genres based on the season, for training purposes and availability of climbing partners and resources. In the course of a year, a mountaineer may climb Scottish winter routes on mixed rock and ice conditions in preparation for a trip to the Greater Ranges but also participate in summer rock climbing, indoor wall climbing and bouldering for strength and conditioning as well as leisure. Unlike mainstream sport, mountaineering has not evolved the same level of inclusiveness, because mountaineering is dependent on very particular inaccessible places where one must contend with unpredictable, extreme, rock, ice, snow and weather conditions. The activity is conducted in relative privacy and sharing of practice is not as easy as in the way mainstream sports are organised.

In addition, there are differences between the styles of climbing. These include: alpine, a fast and light approach to roped climbing; traditional or 'trad.' similar to alpine roped climbing that uses temporary protection by placing nuts and cams in rock weakness; and sport climbing that uses artificial in situ protection, denoting the ways in which a route is ascended

(see glossary). Alpine and trad. climbing will use protection that is placed and then removed from the rock. In some instances like big wall climbing mountaineers use aid equipment to help them overcome an obstacle that cannot be climbed freely using hands and feet, so may use an improvised ladder made out of nylon cord (slings) for example. Sport climbing has protection in situ or bolts fixed to the rock, whereas bouldering only requires a mat where a climber may fall. There is undoubtedly a hierarchy attached to the way in which a mountaineer climbs, dictated by rules where the objective is to climb as hard and as cleanly as possible (Lewis 2000). Climbing a route cleanly means following a set of mountaineering rules that are more do with aesthetics and are passed on through verbal traditions rather than formalised in rule or guidebooks for the sport. There are different styles and terminologies that are too onerous to discuss here (see glossary), however, in short, the most valued way of climbing cleanly are forms of trad. or 'free' climbing, described above, in particular when pioneering a new route or ascending an exceptionally hard and a little-climbed route. Styles of climbing are also varied from climbing in large teams to going solo, and speed climbing, that is also altered by the use (or not) of specialist equipment and technologies. Most styles of climbing and mountaineering have their own grading systems and guidebooks providing tick lists of the most desirable routes.

Mountaineering is not a sport in the traditional sense in that it does not have a highly formalised or structured form of competition, prizes or league tables, or possess the characteristics of mass tourism. However, it is formalised in that it has governing bodies such as the British Mountaineering Council (BMC), Mountaineering Scotland (MS) and Mountain Training (MT) in the UK. Mountaineering has, from its earliest inception, been a sport synonymised with extreme touristic activities and as such has been widely reported upon and publicised through newspapers, film-makers and a burgeoning body of literature written and published by its predominantly male participants (McNee 2017). This spurred the creation of mountain holidays with Thomas Cook offering the first organised mountaineering tours in the Alps from as early as 1863. In addition, mountaineering shares a closely aligned heritage and taxonomy with climbing and alpinism, thus I use the terms mountaineering/alpinism/climbing/sport/leisure and tourism interchangeably through this thesis (Barrett and Martin 2016; Barratt 2010; Robinson 2008). Like other forms of elite sport, the substantive apprenticeship required to make the grade as a mountaineer is highly challenging, in which an individual has to undertake multiple journeys of often great length and difficulty, suffer numerous privations and regularly fail to achieve their objective to make the standard. The time required to obtain permits, equipment, finances and the need to find

compatible, competent and willing companions makes mountaineering particularly inaccessible. Success is dependent on: substantial experience; networking; weather conditions; being in extreme places at the right time; being exposed to risk and danger and potential death; determination to achieve a goal even alone; and experience that cannot be developed at an indoor climbing wall. The perilous nature of mountaineering requires total dedication making it a lifestyle sport or an extreme form of serious leisure (discussed in chapter three).

Finally, the research focuses on professional female mountaineers from the UK where the term that denotes their professional status is reflected in the mountaineering qualifications they hold. For example, the title 'Mountain Guide' is the highest professional award a mountaineer can achieve, qualifying them to lead clients and groups in high altitude mixed snow and ice conditions internationally. Professionally, anything below Mountain Guide is classed as a 'Mountain Leader' in the UK and various levels of qualification exist (these are described later pp. 57 - 58). In the UK Mountain tourism industry mountaineers, when hired to lead clients, are interchangeably referred to as guides or leaders and for this reason, I use these terms interchangeably. However, qualifications do not preclude individuals from pursuing their own personal projects or indeed securing financial support to do so. I next consider the specific heritage and development of female mountaineering since its earliest inception, to pinpoint key moments and innovations that have shaped the mountaineering experiences of women mountaineers today.

CHAPTER TWO: INTRODUCTION TO WOMEN'S MOUNTAINEERING

The aim of this chapter is to trace the legacy and impact of historical masculinised mountaineering practices on women and to understand how these might be shaping the practices of twenty-first century female mountaineers. The use of historical references to develop new understandings of how women practice mountaineering today has not been attempted before, representing a significant gap in scholarship. I, therefore, posit this as a key contribution to new knowledge. To make my case I set out key moments in history that led to significant developments in women's mountaineering. I then contextualise these developments in terms of how women negotiated the masculine environment of mountaineering to create their own feminine spaces for their practice. (However, it is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive historical or chronological analysis of British women's contribution to mountaineering.) A small and relatively recent group of academic historians have started to reveal the achievements of early female mountaineering, notably McNee, (2017, 2014), Roche, (2015, 2014, 2013), Gifford (2013), Colley (2010) and Mazel (1994). Their historical analyses of women's activities in the mountains provide a useful pointer for considering how mountaineering is practised and experienced by women in the twenty-first century. There is a paucity of literature, mainstream and otherwise, on female mountaineering, so the sources used for this chapter have consisted of a limited number of mountaineering club journals and books such as: Angell's *Pinnacle Club: A History of Women Climbing* (1988), Steven's *Rising to the Challenge: 100 Years of the Ladies Scottish Climbing Club* (2010), Williams' (1973) *Women on the Rope,* and Birkett and Peascod's (1989) *Women Climbing: 200 Years of Achievement*. These largely club-based chronological works have been supplemented by a small number of biographical and autobiographical ones. In terms of academic scholarship Brickell and Garrett (2012) quoting Rak (2007) attribute the lack of research to 'an emphasis on masculinity in the gender politics of high-altitude mountaineering [which] "has meant that feminist studies of women climbers and women-centred expeditions are still rare"' (Brickell and Garrett 2012, p. 3). I begin in the eighteenth century around the time when mountains became more than just feared obstacles to be avoided and end in the twenty-first century in a place where women match and in some cases exceed the achievements of their male peers.

2.1 Institutionalisation of mountaineering

Prior to the mid-1750s mountains had been regarded as 'simply a nuisance: unproductive, obstacles to communication, the refuge of bandits and heretics' (Clark 1982, p. 190). It was not until the mid-1700s that alpine environments began to be understood as places of spiritual and scientific interest. Through the philosophies and writings of Jean-Jacque Rousseau (1712 – 1778) mountains began to be considered places where mystical experiences could be sought. He stated that when he was immersed in nature it allowed a loss of all 'consciousness of the independent self' and that 'our existence is nothing but a succession of moments perceived through the senses' (in Clark 1982, p. 191). Rousseau's notion of 'I feel therefore I am' (ibid.) provided the founding tenet of English Romanticism (1800 – 1850) that popularised intense emotion as an authentic source of aesthetic experience. Notions of the sublime emphasised emotions such as fear, terror and awe, associating these with mystical and spiritual sensations when immersed in nature. Poets and artists such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Turner and Constable transformed ideas of the natural and wild landscape into places for self-discovery and self-actualisation, thus walking and climbing mountains was born as a wholesome and intellectual activity. Writers, poets and artists characterised the picturesque sublime, and a 'belief in the divinity of nature developed. Mountains became the abode of gods rather than of demons' (Williams 1973, p. 15).

In 1800 only 22 of the major peaks in the European Alps had been ascended. The most prized Alpine peaks, for mountaineers, are those over 4000m and this is where early and contemporary pioneers set their sights. The highest accolade of all was and continues to be the first ascent of a route. Moreover, mountaineers perpetuate a tradition of inventing increasingly difficult (new) lines to climb along with innovating new styles of ascent by climbing in both summer and winter, solo, faster, longer, harder, and with increased risk and challenge. Generally, the most dangerous and challenging, and hence valued, routes to climb were and are, the north faces of the highest mountains because these present both the greatest objective dangers and technical problems in terms of the complexities of scale, route-finding, time, weather, altitude and rock quality. Over 140 first ascents of the major peaks in Europe had been climbed by 1865, such that the period (1854 – 1865) became known as the Alpine Golden Age (McNee 2017). It was not until the formation of the Alpine Club in 1857 that mountaineering as a leisure activity gained credence in its own right. Prior to this risking one's life to climb mountains had not been socially acceptable other than for

scientific exploration. The first ascent of Mont Blanc, by Paccard and Balmat in 1786, was conducted in the name of science, with a prize for the first ascent being offered by the scientist and alpine explorer Horace-Benedict de Saussure (ibid.). During the mid-1850s mountaineering grew as a leisure activity for the upper and middle classes producing the first generation of British mountaineers. Early romantic notions of the sublime shifted from the spiritual and ocular, established during the eighteenth century, to a more direct visceral experience of the mountains to achieve authentic sensations of the sublime (ibid.). By the late 1870s, mountaineering was a firmly established pursuit of the upper classes, made popular by significant newspaper coverage that gained 'cultural significance that was disproportionate to the relatively small number of people who pursued it' (ibid. p. 2). McNee (2017) attributes the considerable public interest in this new sport to expressions of imperialism and the association of taking risks with Victorian perceptions of manliness. As a result, mountaineering became an acceptable pastime and a manly way to prove a sense of nationhood and experience the new physical sublime. Hence, the pursuit of the sublime was widely associated with 'masculine power, manly vigor, and depth of understanding. It has been part of a discourse of domination' (Colley 2010, p. 33). The new Mountaineer was preoccupied with the physicality and physiology of effort and fatigue, and it became fashionable and manly to suffer in the name of sport. McNee (2017) claims that the narratives of the Romantics were as much a motive for mountaineering as was the physicality of the experience, in so much that it generated exclusive access to the wilderness.

2.1.1 Codification and the creation of clubs

By the late 1870s systems for quantifying, codifying and systematically organising mountains had been established. The precise details of their height, locations, distances and ranges were recorded. This quantification led to the production of guidebooks and descriptions of routes that aspirant mountaineers could follow and importantly it identified new territories for exploration. Sir Hugh Munro's catalogue of 282 Scottish mountains over 3000ft (914m) in 1891 remains a popular challenge for those now titled 'Munro baggers' (Visit Scotland no date). Such records allowed mountaineers to measure themselves not only against the mountain but against each other as a means of testing physical ability, skill and knowledge.

The Royal Geographical Society (RGS), founded in 1830 as a gentlemen's club, was a chief supporter of the scientific explorers, adventurers and mountaineers who dominated this process of quantification. The RGS did not admit female members until 1913, as 'only the "objective" gaze of white men could explore and describe other places in appropriate

scientific detail' (Rose 1993, p. 9) and so women's contribution to these early processes of quantification was virtually non-existent. Moreover, the codification of mountains was conducted solely by men and was therefore highly masculinised. The popularity of mountaineering from the 1880s onwards saw the growth of climbing clubs in the British Isles: the Cairngorm Club was established in 1887, the Scottish Mountaineering Club formed in 1889, and the Welsh-based Climbers Club was formed by largely Oxford and Cambridge protagonists in 1898. In 1892 the first English regional club, the Yorkshire Ramblers, was formed, with its first president being Cecil Slingsby, a major figure in British climbing and a pioneer in the Alps and Norway. Men dominated the realm of mountaineering during the nineteenth century with very few women accessing the sport: a few notable exceptions are discussed later. In recognition of this the first climbing organisation in the world to represent women, the Ladies' Alpine Club (LAC), was established in 1907 and was shortly followed by the formation of the Ladies' Scottish Climbing Club (LSCC) in 1908 by Jane Inglis Clarke, Lucy Smith and Mabel Jeffrey (Steven 2010). Notably, Cecil Slingsby's daughter Eleanor Winthrop-Young (nee Slingsby), would go on to become a founding member and the first president of the Pinnacle Club, the first all-female mountaineering club based in England and Wales, in Snowdonia in 1921. The Pinnacle Club was distinct from the LAC in that it assisted women in leading and guiding their own expeditions without the support of men. The all-male Rucksack Club was also founded in 1902 in Manchester and was comprised of outstanding climbers, walkers and fell runners. Rucksack club member Eustace Thomas became the first Briton to climb all the European Alpine 4000m peaks in 1932, a feat not matched by a woman until Kate Ross completed all 52 independent 4000m peaks (with prominence of over 100m) in 2010. The English Lake District based Fell and Rock Climbing Club (FRCC) was founded in 1906, admitting both men and women, although there were only eight women out of the 164 members in 1907 (Walker 2004). Up until the 1930s climbing was the preserve of the upper and middle class elite, and as Alastair Borthwick remarked, 'fresh air was still the hobby of an enthusiastic handful, and climbing was a rich man's sport' (in Walker 2004, p. 190). Breaking down class barriers, a new wave of working-class climbers began to form their own climbing and mountaineering clubs in major northern towns such as Manchester, Sheffield and Glasgow, notably the Creagh Dhu, formed of young men from the Glasgow shipyards in the 1930s.

Geoffrey Winthrop-Young was a highly influential figure in British mountaineering and chief protagonist in the establishment, in 1944, of what is now the British Mountaineering Council (BMC). The ambition was to broaden access to mountaineering and climbing across class and

gender and move away from the exclusivity of organisations like the Alpine Club. Winthrop-Young was highly supportive of women's climbing, assisting his wife Eleanor to establish the Pinnacle Club. The BMC consisted of 25 clubs, including the Pinnacle Club and LAC, providing a stronger opportunity for a voice in women's mountaineering. In 1953 a breakaway group from the Alpine Club established the Alpine Climbing Group (ACG). This was 'a real landmark in the history of British climbing as the ACG broke down the class barriers that had existed' and also defied gender barriers by including Gwen Moffat and Denise Evans (nee Morin) on its first committee (Walker 2004, p. 192). The BMC currently has over 84,000 members and over 270 affiliated clubs (BMC 2018). Female representation in both clubs and public organisations has, however, taken much longer to evolve, with Jancis Allison becoming the first female president of the Climbers' Club in 1990. Similarly, the FRCC did not have a female president until 1986 when they were headed by Hilary Moffat, and in the same year Denise Evans became the first female president of the Alpine Club. The Rucksack Club only started admitting women to their membership in the mid-1990s (Walker 2004). The LAC did not merge with the Alpine Club until 1975 and since the admission of women there has only been one female president of the Alpine Club, suggesting a reduction in representation and a dilution of the female mountaineers' visibility as a result of the merger (Roche 2015). Posts within the BMC have also been traditionally filled by members from the older established clubs, perpetuating the masculine environment and norms (ibid.).

Women's representation in mountaineering organisations, public and private, has therefore been limited and patchy. I next consider the achievements of the earliest female mountaineers to start to draw out processes and practices that have impacted positively and negatively on the development of women mountaineers.

2.2 Early beginnings: Being noble and manly

> Since 1808, when little Chamonix maidservant, Maria Paradis, was taken by her boy friends to the top of Mont Blanc, women of all types have responded to the call of the hills (Williams 1973, p. 16).

The significant contribution women made to mountaineering during the nineteenth century are little understood and this lack of understanding continues through to the present day. I go on to discuss that the dearth in knowledge about their achievements was a product of Victorian notions of the feminine, where women were expected to quietly go about their business of making a home and family and not overly stressing their bodies for fear of causing damage to themselves (Roche 2015; Colley 2010). The common medical recommendations

for middle and upper-class women were founded on the prejudices that women should abstain from overly long, arduous exercise and avoid excessive fatigue; the fear was that women might damage their reproductive systems and feminine reputations (Roche 2015). When coupled with the view that it was not considered seemly for women to promote or publish their exploits the constraints on women were considerable (McNee 2017). It is therefore not surprising that nineteenth-century first-hand accounts of the exploits of female mountaineers are rare.

To consider what British women climbers were doing it is necessary to first acknowledge their female European antecedents, notably Frenchwomen Maria Paradis and Henriette d'Angeville. Paradis achieved fame by becoming the first woman to climb Mont Blanc in 1808. Her ascent was all the more remarkable because she was from a working-class background. Paradis' ascent came 22 years after the first ascent by Paccard and Balmat, however, class and gender prejudices concerning who a climb could be performed by having marred her achievement. Even as late as the 1970s, Williams (1973) in the quote above perpetuates the notion that to achieve legitimacy for an ascent of a mountain it must be done cleanly or without assistance and founded on noble motives. This is undermining of Paradis' achievement was initiated by second ascensionist d'Angeville. D'Angeville made comments on Paradis' physical ability and also the impropriety of her action by being *taken* up the mountain by her male companions rather than forging her own path. To compound this, I argue, Paradis' motives were incongruous with a mountaineering ideal or notions of the sublime; they were based on economic gain, rather than the more noble pursuit of exploration and science. She had recognised that an increasing number of wealthy scientific adventurers were beginning to flock to the mountains and saw a business opportunity in creating a souvenir and refreshments stall. Her desire to achieve economic betterment by being the first woman to climb Mont Blanc did not fit with the spiritual and manly ideals of what mountaineering was deemed to be. She had transgressed the norms of modesty, propriety and class, but worst of all she had claimed the chief prize of the first female ascent of Mont Blanc. It then became a matter of wiping the reputation of the mountain clean by making a female ascent in a more noble fashion. French aristocrat d'Angeville made a highly publicised second ascent of Mont Blanc in 1835. Her claim was that she was the first woman to climb the mountain under her own steam, making the ascent the first real attempt by a woman unassisted (apart from her entourage of guides and porters) and thus changing the rules. D'Angeville's achievement received considerable acclaim generated by a substantial amount of propaganda, eclipsing the ascent by Paradis and cementing the perception that

Paradis' climb was the lesser and somewhat inconsequential. This is a perception Williams (1973) reaffirms: 'Maria Paradis can hardly be acclaimed as the first woman mountaineer – she had absolutely nothing in common with those who came after her' (ibid., p. 20), which is a view I argue persists today. Despite this Paradis exploited her achievement to the full by building a successful business off the back of her fame. We will perhaps never know how Paradis climbed the mountain, but one thing stands out in that women, despite social mores, were able to ascend such peaks and achieve prominence in their own right if they did so. Class, however, remained a major barrier for men and women who wished to mountaineer, which, until the twentieth century, remained the preserve of the wealthy.

2.3 A hidden golden age (1850 – 1900)

> No glacier can baffle, no precipice balk her,
>
> No peak rise above her, however sublime.
>
> Give three times three cheers for the intrepid Miss Walker.
>
> I say, my boys doesn't she know how to climb! (in Birkett and Peascod 1989, p. 22).

The Golden Age of Alpinism is said to have reigned from the early 1850s through to the late 1860s when intense activity across Europe saw the ascent of most of the major Alpine peaks. This was dominated by British alpinists and their Swiss and French guides, making heroes out of the first ascensionists: Whymper, who made the first ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865; Stephen, whose first ascents of eight major peaks in the Alps were between 1858 and 1871; and Horace Walker, who made first ascents on eight peaks including the Grandes Jorasses and Mount Elbrus. Horace Walker's sister, Lucy Walker (1836 – 1916), joined him on a number of these ascents, becoming the first woman to ascend the Matterhorn in 1871, just six years after Whymper's first ascent. She claimed many first female ascents, climbing the Balmhorn and then the Eiger in 1864, reportedly on a diet of sponge cake and champagne. Walker did not leave any memoirs, but she stood out, surpassing many women who explored the mountains during the 1850s and 60s, being the first British woman to climb consistently over a period of 21 years, ticking off over 98 summits and passes during the course of her career (Engel 1943). Her achievements were recorded through her guides and hut record books. Remaining unmarried, Walker was significant because she dedicated her life to mountaineering; an unusual and difficult feat for a man, let alone a woman in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Birkett and Peascod 1989).

During this period, there was a fairly closely knit group of around 10 – 12 women who climbed the major summits (see Roche 2014, 2015). Their successes were all the more remarkable given that ascents did not benefit from cable cars, were lengthened by much larger glaciers than exist today and were hampered by the physical constraints of burdensome clothing, with women often wearing full-length crinoline dresses until out of sight of habitation before ditching these for more practical breeches (Roche 2014). Victorian women like Walker either climbed with male relatives, as she did with her father and brother or 'climbed with guides but never alone with a guide; a companion of some kind, or least a porter was de rigueur' (Williams 1973, p. 17). Although women did lead their own expeditions, as in the case of d'Angeville, they were rarely without male chaperones that brought its own complications. Being accompanied by a male chaperone threatened the legitimacy of a woman's mountaineering achievement due to the perception of female dependence.

When women did transgress the social boundaries, they faced cruel criticisms that questioned their reputation in terms of sexual motives, mental health or ability to secure a husband. Despite her aristocratic status, d'Angeville suffered such prejudiced views, which were still prevalent 135 years later in the 1970s. This is illustrated by Williams':

> Never before or since in the annals of mountaineering has there been such a saga; parts of it are reminiscent of comic opera. Perhaps Henriette had psychological abnormalities that caused her to embark on such an adventure; perhaps she craved for publicity and hero worship; perhaps she was unfulfilled (Williams 1973, p. 26).

As an unmarried, outwardly ambitious self-publicist d'Angeville had openly sought and achieved fame. Such behaviour ruffled social mores, highlighting the chief reason women did not publicise their endeavours. This perhaps also explains why the extraordinary achievements of women like Anna and Ellen Pigeon are little known. Similar to d'Angeville, they were unmarried, in their mid-thirties, and through mountaineering realised a different kind of life for themselves. Their exploits included the first female passage across the Sesia Joch pass from Zermat to Alagna in 1869. This daring crossing was considered by the Alpine Club to be most perilous, having only been attempted once before. Newspaper reports concluded that the avoidance of disaster was due to 'the masculine education … which the English give their children' (ibid., p. 48).

Thus, women adopted the masculine 'put up and shut up' approach, a social silencing that women utilised to avoid any unwanted criticisms that might curtail their mountaineering activities. There are several accounts of the kinds of extraordinary hardships women did suffer during their adventures, often sleeping out on the glaciers the night before a summit attempt, losing toes to frostbite after being benighted, and falling into crevasses, but these were pleasurable hardships in comparison to the social exclusion imposed by their male mountaineering peers. Ellen Pigeon wrote in 1892: 'In days gone by many members of the Alpine Club would not speak to us' (in Williams 1973, p. 49). This is typical of the hostility that many male Alpine club members exhibited toward their female peers, believing that mountains were not the domain of women. However, the picture is more complex, with some women being actively supported to climb by male relatives. As a result, many notable husband and wife mountaineering partnerships were forged. One of these partnerships was led by Mrs Hamilton, accompanied by her husband and guides - she became the first British woman to climb Mont Blanc in 1854. Moreover, such partnerships proved to be very successful during the 1860s with many significant first ascents being performed in this manner. It was not that people thought women could not climb, it was how they were perceived to do so that mattered and in the private sphere of the husband and wife this was considered to some degree tolerable.

2.3.1 Writing and publishing: Being unostentatious and invisible

Despite these challenges, women had significance and place within the early mountaineering adventures, claiming many first and daring ascents (McNee 2017; Roche 2013; Colley 2010; Mazel 1994). This status is largely hidden because women had little control over, or the inclination to go against, the social discourse of the period, hence many of their exploits went unrecorded. Mountain summits or routes developed into a conceptual space that required adherence to particular rules such as the production of evidence, generated through written reports, publications, photographic images and films: this is the chief reason why mountaineering and climbing 'has such a strong literary heritage' (Gifford 2013, p. 92). Prior to the use of tools such as photography and film, mountaineers reported their successes based on *'their word as a gentleman'* and trust was bound in the masculine ideals that were diametrically opposed to notions of femininity (ibid.). For women to exhibit masculine traits such as strength, fitness and technical knowledge was to transgress traditional ideas of femininity and was considered indecorous (Gifford 2013). Thus, men dominated the pages of

mountaineering journals and newspaper articles, hence achieving recognition for their achievements, whereas for women this was difficult if not impossible until after World War II.

Historians have started to reveal how a small number of female mountaineers did transcend social conventions and publish accounts of their exploits, however, their control over the reception and distribution of these works was minimal (McNee 2017; Gifford 2013; Roche 2013). The status of their accounts was reduced because they often took the form of intimate diaries. Le Blond's books were the exception, taking a more technical and professional tone, but even such accounts that chronicled achievements on a par with men were largely belittled by reviewers. One critic cast aspersions on Le Blond's 1883 book *High Alps in Winter*, attributing her startling ascents in the winters of 1882 and 1883 to the skill and judgement of her guides alongside her own perseverance. Because of these constraints early nineteenth-century accounts of significant female mountaineering achievements are largely absent. Roche (2015) has identified that significant numbers of women were making extraordinary ascents, evidenced only through the registers from remote mountain huts that contain the signatures of women mountaineers, along with the *fűhrerbűcher* in which female clients of individual (male) guides wrote testimonials (Roche 2015; Williams 1973). In contrast, male counterparts published their exploits regularly in the mountaineering club journals. The first journal dedicated to mountaineering, *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers*, was published in 1859, later becoming *The Alpine Journal*. The journal was popular with the British public and spawned a proliferation of publications from the other mountaineering clubs during the 1890s. Women rarely featured in these journals and if they did, it was generally through a male voice reporting on their achievements. Women conformed to social convention, opting to take a more humble approach and as such

> Women with a few exceptions, climbed unostentatiously; they were careful in the early days not to intrude where they sensed male aloofness and eventually won for themselves the respect of even the most anti-feminine members of the Alpine Club (Williams 1973, p. 17).

Williams' 1973 account of women's mountaineering *Women on the Rope* reinforces that it was essential for women to maintain silence about their achievements if they were not to fall foul of Victorian values of decorum. As a result, women's achievements were not widely published because it was considered sexually improper for women to write publicly about their achievements (Mills 1991).

Careful management of a woman's mountaineering persona was essential to ensure that she did not overstep her position within a less than welcoming masculine atmosphere. Writing was largely the preserve of men and was considered a high-status activity. Meta Brevoort wrote an article, *A Day and a Night on the Bietschhorn,* for the Alpine Club's journal in 1872, publishing under her nephew's name, W.A.B. Coolidge (1872) because she knew it would never be published under her own (in Birkett and Peascod 1989). It was not until 1888 that a woman published in *The Alpine Journal* under her own name. Margaret Jackson was invited to describe her first attempt on the Jungfrau in which she spent a bitterly cold night out on the glacier suffering severe frostbite. The tale capped an astounding winter season cementing the reputation of women mountaineers as Alpine pioneers in both the summer and winter months (Ives 2016a).

For men, recording their achievements was a means to secure place and position and was thus a very public affair. This made men more visible to historians and helped build mountaineering as a 'male space' (Roche 2013, p. 251). When women did write about their experiences, their stories would be devoid of emotional content and self-promotion, preferring to use bland matter-of-fact language, as a way of deflecting criticism; they would often put their successes down to other reasons, such as good weather, as a way of preserving hard-won space. Tragedy or accidents were 'dealt with in a perfunctory, dismissive, even joking, manner' (Roche 2013, p. 252), exemplified in Mrs Jackson's tale of her successful first winter traverse of the Jungfrau. Unlike her male contemporary Leslie Stephen, who commented on her achievement 'Mrs Jackson's toes are better, you will be glad to hear. I am sorry to say two of the guides are said to be frostbitten & I would much rather that Mrs J should be the sufferer' (in Bicknell 1996, p. 357), female opinion was a rarity. Roche (2013) attributes Stephen's acid remark to jealousy, in that Jackson had claimed a key prize in the rush to make first ascents in the Alps. For women like Mrs Jackson, to display the manly traits of physical prowess and bravery and to take extreme risks was a transgression of Victorian notions of manliness (Roche 2013). Mrs Jackson did indeed lose toes to frostbite but was never heard to complain about the obvious suffering she must have endured that effectively ended her mountaineering career (Williams 1973). Women 'got on with it', did not complain, were said to be fierce and stalwart and described their activities with brevity, giving pithy, no-nonsense accounts of their exploits. Their bodily experiences were generally expressed in male terms:

> Happily, after a few minutes we began to recover from the mental shock caused by this most dramatic break in the ridge, and proceeded to reduce its tremendous appearance to the dull and narrow limits of actual fact. So soon as we had realised that we were on a cornice overhanging the precipice, it became obvious that we must climb down the cornice to the real ridge, and from that point seek to attack the difficulties in front. (Mummery 1908b, p. 115).

Mary Mummery describes how her party had reached what appeared to be an impasse, very late in the day, when climbing the Teufelsgrat in 1887. She expressed a moment of 'black horror' at the realisation that they were stuck (ibid.). Retreating was not possible, the only way was to force a route down the cornice and back up the yawning gap in the ridge. Her description of what must have been petrifying portrays a rare glimpse of emotion but then continues in a matter-of-fact way where they then *just got on with it*. Had they not been able to find a way through they would have succumbed to death from either hypothermia or an accident in trying to retreat. What must have been an emotionally traumatic experience for all the party was brushed off and reduced to a factual account.

The act of writing and publishing would often result in harsh criticism for women, both on account of conducting improper activities and then having the impertinence of promoting them publicly (Mills 1991). When women did write it was customarily under a pseudonym, narrating their accounts without emotional drama to avoid appearing weak or overly feminine. Thus, they produced a style of writing masked by masculine bravadoes, like Bristow who described her ascent of the Grépon as being a 'ripping good climb' (in Brown 2002, p. 112). This, in turn, would trigger criticism for not being feminine enough, a conundrum that discouraged women from writing and drawing attention to themselves. Even though they may have remained reticent about their adventures, however, this did not curtail their ambitions, which in many instances matched the competitive nature of their male peers.

2.3.2 Competition, imperialism and athleticism

Competition between women alpinists and women and men was not uncommon during the early days of alpinism. In 1830 Anne Lister claimed the first ascent of Vignemale for Britain, (the second highest mountain in the Pyrenees), racing to accomplish the climb before another party that included Prince de la Moscowa who wished to claim the prize for his country. Lucy Walker raced to be first to climb the Matterhorn, in 1871, on learning of Meta Brevoort's plans to do so, beating Brevoort by four days. The desire to be the first was so compelling that Katy Richardson (1854 – 1927) was famed for racing *herself* to first climb

Meije – the last unclimbed major Alpine peak in the Ecrins in 1888. Richardson had learned that a rival Englishwoman had set out to claim the first ascent of the peak, and duly set off to beat this individual. On arriving at the mountain village of La Berarde she discovered the rumoured other climber was in fact herself. Being the first to ascend a mountain was thus steeped in a competitive culture that was bound in imperial nation-building and asserting dominance (Roche 2013). Evidence that women did ignore the medical advice and the criticisms of those such as Stephen contrasts sharply with Williams' later claim that 'There has been little rivalry between men and women climbers' (Williams 1973, p. 17). In fact, not only were women competitive, they were also athletes possessing a level of fitness that would often rival their male counterparts. Kathy Richardson was purportedly very fast, having to 'stop to allow her guide 45 minutes to recover' (Roche 2013, p. 249). These competitive forces fired the imaginations of those women brave and skilled enough to conquer the mountains as well as resist the pressures of social conformity.

Despite this, women were outliers, oddities and kept at arm's length, and as such, were not accepted into the Alpine Club 'on account of their supposed physical and moral deficiencies in the matter of mountain climbing' (Beattie 2006, p. 210). For nearly 120 years, the Alpine Club and latterly the Climbers' Club, formed in 1897, were a bastion of male dominance and elitism establishing the social codes of who could be and what it was to be a hard mountaineer. This elitism was characterised in the first president's speech by C. E. Matthews: 'Climbing is a sport that from some mysterious causes appeals mainly to the cultivated intellect. 'arry' or 'arriet' would never climb a hill.' Such attitudes only began to change after World War II (in Walker 2004, p. 188). Moreover, to be a mountaineer was to epitomise manliness bound by a code of norms that valued direct speech and action and that was devoid of subtlety or ambiguity. 'Even when manliness was not specifically referred to, it was implicitly assumed to be a central part of the climber's ethos in a great deal of mountaineering literature' (McNee 2017, p.38). Mountaineers thought of themselves as a breed apart performing a 'neo-Spartan ideal' of manliness, which contributed to women being excluded from contemporary accounts of mountaineering (ibid.).

2.3.3 Manliness and the body

> Her wings are cut and it is found deplorable that she cannot fly (de Beauvoir 1997 [1949], p. 616)

Upper middle class conditioning during the Victorian period created a restricted and inhibited concept of both femininity and masculinity. 'Central to the evolution of the male image was the Victorian ideal of "manliness"' (Mangan and Walvin 1987, p. 1) which in the mid to latter part of the nineteenth century was manifest through the qualities of physical strength, courage, stoicism, hardiness, endurance, maturity, and integrity. Thus, 'manliness' as a concept and life philosophy 'stood for neo-Spartan virility' (ibid.). Victorian middle class families wished for their sons to develop and nurture these values through Britain's famously masculine public school system. Such attitudes can be traced particularly through mountaineering, discussed later. Mangan and Walvin (1987) assert:

> Between approximately 1850 – 1940 the cult of manliness became a widely pervasive and an inescapable feature of middle class existence in Britain and America: in literature, education and politics … Both Christian and Darwinian 'manliness' filtered down to the proletariat through an unrelenting and self-assured process of social osmosis … a neo-Spartan ideal of masculinity was diffused throughout the English speaking world with the unreflecting and ethnocentric confidence of an imperial race (pp. 2-3).

Central to the neo-Spartan ideal was a shift from the spiritual to a sense of physicality or muscularity that generated, in the eyes of the more conservative Victorian middle classes, an excessive desire to pursue physical activity. Controversially, this shift towards more physical expressions of manliness were seen to be at the expense of Christianity. This move towards physicality, however, had its polar opposite in the concept of femininity. Social mores required women, in simple terms, to be demure, weak, subservient, and prioritise familial duties (Mangan and Walvin 1987). The topic of masculinity and femininity within the middle classes during Victorian Britain is highly complex and justice to this area cannot be achieved here. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to consider key social mores that Victorian female mountaineers encountered, because many traces of these behaviours I suggest are detectable in the experiences of twenty-first century female mountaineers. For example, manliness meant different things to different people at different times and was not confined to one gender. For Elizabeth Le Blond, she found there to be 'no manlier sport in the world than mountaineering' (Le Blond 1903 p. ix), a quality she clearly embraced in her desire to be considered a serious mountaineer. The Women's Rights Movement of the 1850s stressed health and physical education as a means of bringing about the emancipation of women. Women began to take control of their physical bodies and explore the potential of physiological expression. Sport became more accessible and more importantly acceptable for women and thus participation required the adoption of the manly rules of sport. Manliness

did not therefore apply to just one gender; it provided a useful guide for women denoting self-control, courage in adversity, honesty and perseverance (Roche 2015). These are qualities that have evolved and are still, I argue, highly valued in today's mountaineering.

The Victorians believed that men and women could improve their own health and character through physical activity and hygiene. Engagement in sport aided physical and moral development with mountaineering positively epitomising these qualities. The physical body became a symbol for beliefs about the virtues of muscular engagement in leisure sports, beliefs that were transmuted to the lower classes as a necessary requirement to generate a constant supply of fit healthy bodies required for the various conflicts encountered during the empire-building activities of the Victorian period (Parks 1987). Predominantly, mountaineering was the preserve of fit, educated, middle classes. These were individuals who had access to and were influenced by the scientific and newly emerging philosophies of physicality in contrast to more spiritual pursuits. Consequently, the first Alpine Club members included influential doctors, lawyers, politicians, writers, civil servants, scientists and the clergy, often possessing radical and unconventional beliefs and ideologies, as well as philosophical and scientific knowledge. Men engaged in such professions had little opportunity to explore both the physical and intellectual notions of manliness within their working lives and thus sought outlets to measure up to the new Victorian materiality. Mountaineering thus provided the opportunity to engage in the idea that a healthy body required a certain amount of privation, suffering and struggle (Roche 2015). The manliness of mountaineering strongly identified with those neo-Spartan ideals of honesty, direct language, stoicism, physical prowess, humility and aesthetic appreciation and trustworthiness. This climbing elite believed themselves to be 'a caste apart, a Spartan phalanx tough with virtue, spare with speech, seeking the chill clarity of the mountains' (McNee 2017, p. 38). Despite the complexity of the meanings of manliness during the Victorian era, the dominant semiotic was male, thus only very wealthy women could attempt to transcend such prejudice.

2.3.4 Emancipation from the received medical wisdom

For women such as d'Angeville and Le Blond, social status afforded them the means to pursue their own paths, eschewing the need for familial companions to conduct their mountaineering. Both achieved notoriety and fame for their contributions to mountaineering through publications, photography, film-making and expressing their political opinions. Encouraging others to follow, d'Angeville called for women to make a 'feminine stamp' through conducting and publicising their endeavours (in Stockham 2012, p. 2). Le Blond was

originally sent to the Swiss Alps around 1880 (Brown 2002) to recover her health. She found the mountains to be a source of liberation from the stifling social scene in London, and this became a way for her to achieve a sense of emancipation from those social constraints. Le Blond defied the standard medical advice based on a perceived need to protect the 'fragile' nature of the female reproductive system. During the Victorian era, 'Women's identity was largely biologically determined centring as it did on the role of wife and mother' and also there was the concept of the 'Eternally Wounded Woman', a status assigned by doctors attributed to woman's monthly menses (in Roche 2013, p. 240). Perceptions of what women could do were based on medical advice, to avoid any kind of extreme exertion that may damage their health. Mountaineering was the antithesis of moderate exercise, demanding extreme exertion for extended periods, often over several days. The fact that women did mountaineer, Roche (2013) claims, demonstrates that some women were not constrained by conventional medical wisdom and actively resisted it. Through publishing accounts of their adventures, women like Le Blond, Cole and Havergal publicly encouraged women to ignore medical advice, refuting the notion that women could only ascend moderate peaks.

Mrs Cole's influential guide of 1859, *A Lady's Tour Around Monte Rosa,* was the first in English by a female alpinist, providing practical advice on how to undertake an alpine journey taking in high peaks. Little is known about Mrs Cole, not even her first name, but she left a legacy that expressly encouraged women to ignore the conventional medical advice that they should refrain from strenuous activity. On her ascent of Aeggisch-horn in 1850, she was determined to climb unassisted: 'I saucily declined the proffered help, as, had I accepted it, I should not have been able to say that I had ascended without assistance' (in Mazel 1994, p. 29). Cole rejected the idea that a summit would be fatiguing or even dangerous, believing that 'no one ought to be content with the view from the lower ridge who has strength to climb for an hour and has a head steady enough to enjoy the view from this surprising pinnacle' (ibid.). She created a highly popular guidebook that portrayed women in the role of explorer or adventurer, a rarity in nineteenth century travel writing (Engel 1943). She broke with traditional literary representations of women as poor helpless damsels, thus creating space for them to be more ambitious and daring in their adventures.

In her book *Swiss Letters and Alpine Poems* Frances Havergal (1836 – 1879) rejoice in the emancipating effect of the mountains:

> Oh, the delicious freedom and sense of leisure of those days! And the veritable 'renewing of youth,' in all senses that it brought! How we spied

> grand points of view from rocks above, and (having no one to consult, or to keep waiting, or to fidget about us) stormed them with our alpenstocks, and scrambled and leaped, and laughed and raced, as if we were, not girls again, but downright boys! (Havergal 1881, p. 169).

The sheer joy of movement free from surveillance, comment and constraint gave Havergal and her contemporaries a feminine space to experience the freedoms enjoyed by men and boys. Female alpinists proved that women were not feeble and could transcend the convention of being confined to moderate, medically approved, living. Mountaineering evolved as a space where women could explore their physical potential without censure, emancipated from perceptions of appearing weak, in need of protection or being a *girl*. Mountaineering offered women the same sensations of freedom afforded to men, that of the haptic sublime where they could push the physical limits of their bodies.

2.3.5 Victorian understandings of the haptic sublime

Victorian mountaineers, through their professional connections, undoubtedly had access to emerging medical advances in physiology and psychophysiological aesthetic concepts such as synaesthesia (Harrison 2001). This confluence of physiology intertwined with medical and artistic investigations of the sensory created an atmosphere that situated physical experiences of the body in the world at the forefront of knowledge production. This was a moment when a body's material connection within the world was a site of philosophical and scientific investigation in the field of muscular exertion. Artistic and philosophical debates abounded, notably the contrasting views of the highly influential writer and fine art critic, John Ruskin, and Leslie Stephen, historian, writer and major figure of the golden age of mountaineering: the former, believing that mountains and sublime experiences should be appreciated visually from afar, was diametrically opposed by the latter's belief that mountains could only be understood through total bodily and sensorial immersion. Stephen's influential book *The Playground of Europe,* published in 1871, expressed the experience of mountaineering in sensorial terms whilst making the first ascent of the Schreckhorn (4078m) in the Swiss Alps in 1861. His companions encountered many problems, in particular, one of his guides found a move to be particularly challenging:

> Kaufmann followed, and, as we clung to the crannies and ledges of the rock, relieved his mind by sundry sarcasms as to the length of arm and leg which enabled me to reach points of support without putting my limbs out of joint - an advantage, to say the truth, which he could well afford to give away. The rocks were steep and slippery, and occasionally covered with a coat of ice. We were frequently flattened out against the rocks …

> with fingers and toes inserted into four different cracks which test the elasticity of our frames to the uttermost (Stephen 1871, p. 77-78).

This literary description opens a window into the emotional and sensory experience of this daring ascent. Morphological differences between climbing companions are described through the difficulties of being either too short or too tall for a particular set of movements, in this case increasing the difficulties for Stephen's companion and guide. Stephen makes the allowance that his guide's remonstrations, at a lack of stature, is permissible and not a transgression of his manliness, because Victorian gentlemen were dependent on their guides. To climb guideless, even for men would have been breaking with social convention. Guides like Kaufmann were essential and highly sought after thus deploying diplomacy to maintain good relationships with them were essential, if future ascents were to be achieved. Stephen uses a sensuous language to record his intimate physical sensations, a language of the whole body or haptics. He expressed a new literary perspective inspired by a turn to materialism in what McNee (2014) considers to be a haptic sublime. Unlike earlier manifestations of the sublime or that of Ruskin, where a person observes natural phenomena from relative safety and at a distance, mountaineering and those that wrote about it shifted the emphasis from the visual to the tactility of the body. The mountaineer assumed a privileged status and insistence that to experience the sublime one must be exposed to and engaged in, the mastery of real physical risk and danger. Overcoming these threats represented 'a new kind of subjectivity' (ibid., p. 15) marking sentient experience as evidence of phenomena. This shift to the material concerns of the body, in particular, exposure to risk, increased by the physical knowledge of danger, fear and physical suffering, thus provided a key outlet for manliness. Mountaineering literature privileged the tactile experience over the visual and helped to give 'much of Victorian mountaineering its tone of distinctive modernity' (ibid., p. 20). Stephen's account expresses a stoic matter-of-factness for what must have been a challenging episode in their journey. Emotion and feeling were to be checked and kept in order, to which the comment about his guide's outburst alludes. The language is that of mastery over the difficulty, in terms of a human capacity to overcome its challenges, of icy and wet rocks, and the way a body elastically moves to negotiate upward progress. Literary analyses, like Stephens', introduced mountains in terms of a human bodily capacity to ascend them, and a mountain's physical attributes were thus described in terms of the degree of difficulty a body might encounter when attempting to climb it, from easy through to inaccessible. Once all the easier routes up mountains in the Alps had been climbed, mountaineers turned their attention towards those routes thought either impossible or extremely hard to ascend.

Mountains and their seasonal variations were thus mapped and catalogued in terms of the scale of the human bodily challenge they presented. Mountains and mountaineering became a *playground* where *manliness* could be exercised and demonstrated. The quality of Stephen's book secured its popularity as a classic in mountaineering literature, attracting a wide readership and influencing many who followed and offering a guide to the philosophy, culture, technologies and practicalities of the sport. The term *playground* entered common parlance, helping to secure mountains as a destination for all levels of mountain touristic activity and a rich tradition of storytelling (Roche 2015).

2.4 Avoiding the 'Mark Twain Method': Achieving recognition

By the 1880s, most major peaks in the Alps had seen first ascents. Publicity about the exploits of these early mountaineering achievements inevitably led to greater interest from those who would follow in their footsteps. Thomas Cook, the holiday company, capitalised on the growth of interest in the mountains by offering a tour of Switzerland in 1863. This was so successful it opened a new mass market for Alpine travel and, as such, social acceptance of mountain sports grew (Colley 2010). Women like Le Blond found alpinism socially liberating and owed 'a supreme debt of gratitude to the mountains for knocking me from the shackles of conventionality' (in Stockham 2012, p. 97). A growing awareness of the benefits of vigorous exercise encouraged greater numbers of women to access activities like mountaineering. Le Blond developed a lifelong passion for mountaineering and pioneered many female first ascents, becoming a world-renowned mountaineer, mountain photographer and the first mountain film-maker. Importantly, she also helped to found and became the first president of the LAC. Le Blond climbed in both summer and winter and one of the first to engage in more extreme forms of climbing like winter mountaineering. Importantly she is considered to be the first woman to lead a female only climbing expedition without any male chaperones, with Lady Evelyn McDonnal in 1900 on the Piz Palu. Ahead of her time, this led her to express a reticence about her achievement, perhaps feeling like she had gone too far. It was thus, 'hushed up … as slightly improper' (Pilley 1989 [1935], p. 130). As Brown (2002) asserts 'two women "alone," facing and beating the odds on a tough winter ascent, seemed a bit more than the still-male-dominated climbing establishment could handle' (ibid., p. 88). Women were pioneering not only first ascents but also new ways to climb mountains and therefore, opening new spaces to express themselves.

American mountaineer Fanny Bullock Workman (1859 – 1925) pushed this further by not only pioneering routes but demanding recognition for these achievements, however in doing so

'she suffered from "sex antagonism"' precipitated by 'a woman's intrusion into the domain of exploration so long reserved to man, [which] may in some quarters have existed' (in Mazel 1994, p. 10). In the 1925 *Alpine Journal* obituary for Bullock Workman, it was acknowledged that she had fought hard to gain recognition for women's mountaineering achievements (Gifford 2013). This illustrates 'women were not just passive recipients of the attitudes of male climbers' but actively resisted prejudicial views (McNee 2017, p. 41). Some leading male mountaineers also actively supported women achieving recognition for their successes. The eminent mountaineer Albert F. Mummery expressed his resentment at such prejudice by parodying the comments of the famed mountaineer and Alpine Club member Leslie Stephen, who was also an acclaimed writer and father of Virginia Woolf. Stephen is credited with remarking that any peak climbed by a woman would be an 'easy day for a lady' Mummery turned this comment on its head in his memoir *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus* (1908a). He had included leading male climbers and Miss Lily Bristow in his party that made a daring first ascent of the Grépon, a route considered inaccessible and perhaps the most difficult climb in its day. The chapter is titled: 'The Grépon – An inaccessible peak – The most difficult climb in the Alps – An easy day for a lady' (p. 147). Mummery concludes the chapter with:

> Miss Bristow showed the representatives of the Alpine Club the way in which steep rocks should be climbed, and usually filled up the halts, during which the elder members of the party sought to recover their wind, by photographic operations … we congratulated the first lady who had ever stood on this grim tower … the ascent … will always rank as amongst the hardest I have made (ibid., pp. 185 – 187).

Mummery's ironic use of Stephen's remark was an attack on the strong prejudices held by those within the establishment. Bristow joined an all-male party of accomplished mountaineers, including Mummery, Hastings, Collie and Slingsby, becoming not only the first woman to climb the Grépon but also the first woman to lead an all-male rope for the first part of the route in 1893. In addition, Mummery's second ascent of the Grépon broke with convention because it was conducted without a local guide, marking a new style of ascent on a number of counts. The achievement propelled Bristow into fame and infamy, for climbing in an all-male team without a chaperone. As a result, she was publicly scandalised, in particular, for sharing a tent with her male companions.

Albert Mummery also supported and encouraged his wife, Mary, to undertake many daring mountaineering expeditions. In 1887, they were both in a party climbing the Teufelsgrat, Mary making the first ascent, considered one of the great mountaineering feats of the day.

Albert subsequently ensured that Mary authored the account in his memoir and, seizing this opportunity, she took full advantage to express her views, giving a rare public voice to female mountaineering. Mary demonstrated that women were more than capable of attempting the hardest of routes and she was an early pioneer for a woman's right to engage in such activities. Mary expresses how she could match the daring of any man:

> I had to follow, and great was my elation to find that I could accomplish without help a mauvais pas that had for a minute or two seemed impassable to the stronger and more daring members of the party (Mummery 1908b, p.117).

She achieved the Teufelsgrat without help, in the sense that she was not hauled by others in the party, climbing the route under her own steam. In the chapter 'Der Teufelsgrat', Mary mocks the attitudes of her male counterparts:

> The slopes of the Breithorn and the snows of the Weiss Thor are usually supposed to mark the limit of ascents suitable to the weaker sex – indeed, strong prejudices are apt to be aroused the moment a women attempts any more formidable sort of mountaineering. It appears to me, however, that her powers are, in actual fact, better suited to the really difficult climbs than to the monotonous snow grinds usually considered more fitting.
>
> Really difficult ascents are of necessity made at a much slower pace, halts are fairly frequent, and, with few exceptions, the alternations of heat and cold are less extreme. Snow grinds, on the contrary, usually involved continuous and severe exertion – halts on a wide snow field are practically impossible – and the danger of frost-bite in the early morning is succeeded by the certainty of sun-burning at mid-day. The masculine mind, however, is, with rare exceptions, imbued with the idea that woman is not a fit comrade for steep ice or precipitous rock, and, in consequence, holds it as an article of faith that her climbing should be done by Mark Twain's method, and that she should be satisfied with watching through a telescope some weedy and invertebrate masher being hauled up a steep peak by a couple of burly guides, or by listening to the same masher when, on his return, he lisps out with a sickening drawl the many perils he has encountered.
>
> Alexander Burgener, however, holds many strange opinions; he believes in ghosts, he believes also that women can climb. None the less it was with some surprise that I heard him say, 'You must go up the Teufelsgrat' (ibid., pp. 94 – 95).

Mary's attack on the prejudices levelled at women provides a rare personal account of the chief challenge facing women who wanted to be recognised as physically capable mountaineers and pioneers in their own right. She was not the first woman to undertake

such a difficult route, but she was one of the first to publicly promote a woman's right to undertake routes as challenging as those attempted by men (Mazel 1994). She also cleverly points out how the temporality of climbing harder routes is more suited to women, particularly on steeper and more technical terrain. Astutely using the social and medicalised arguments that women should not engage in activities of extreme exertion, she reasons that women are more attuned to participating in the hardest and most daring mountaineering expeditions because they are conducted at a gentler pace. As McNee (2017) points out, the fact that Mary 'felt the need to condemn such attitudes suggests they were still current and widespread by the 1890s' (p. 41). However, some men like Mummery did support and believe that women were capable of climbing uncharted territories and actively supported their endeavours to do so.

Early women Alpinists had demonstrated mountaineering was not 'a uniquely male activity' (Roche 2013, p. 237), and a growing number would endure extreme privation to achieve their objectives. These are a group of women who Roche (2013) asserts that 'Historians of mountaineering, sport and medicine have overlooked' (p. 237). Although the existence of women mountaineers had been acknowledged before 1900 what is not understood is that 'most female first ascents of the major Alpine summits were complete by 1880' (ibid., p. 239). Yet attitudes from both sexes still shackled women with how to behave in polite society, illustrated in the LAC's club report. In *A Ladies' Week at Wasdale* (1907), Lady Chorley expressed how:

> A man hates a "mannish" woman; but when a slight girl equals him at his favourite sport and yet retains her womanliness, he readily admits her claim to a place 'on the rope' and admires her greatly in consequence' (in Williams 1973, p. 102).

Chorley's comments are tongue-in-cheek but reflect the commonly held perceptions of what it was to be womanly: skirted, diminutive, passive, self-effacing, lacking strength, not athletic, not outspoken, and certainly not wearing trousers. Before World War I, women mountaineers had largely been from upper-middle-class backgrounds, being highly educated women of leisure. However, scholars have revealed that gender in the mountains during the nineteenth century had greater diversity than previously thought. Women may have been subjected to prejudicial views but it did not preclude their active involvement (McNee 2017; Roche 2013, 2015; Colley 2010). Roche argues that men exhibited a variety of masculinities that opened the space for women to actively engage in mountaineering. Wives were actively encouraged to climb with their husbands, like Mary Mummery and Mrs Jackson, and in some

cases led their families on mountain adventures, like Mrs Freshfield. Daughters climbed with male family members, like Lucy Walker, and in some instances arranged their own journeys with guides and companions like Elizabeth Le Blond and the Pigeon sisters. Evidencing a diversity of masculinities exhibited by male family members and guides that created space where women could exert their ambitions to climb.

The social upheaval of World War I opened the door for women from other backgrounds to take up the rope. The convention in climbing for both men and women had been to hire a guide and porters to assist with a summit attempt or climb; and for women, climbing without a male chaperone had been a rarity in the years preceding World War I. A few early pioneers, notably the LSCC, had striven to achieve legitimacy and recognition for women's mountaineering by encouraging women-only climbing parties. Thus, the legitimisation of women's mountaineering achievements was gaining momentum and greater social acceptance. Perceptions about what women could achieve had changed radically and with it, a new English women's climbing club was born, the Pinnacle Club in 1921, with *manless* climbing being at its heart.

2.5 Women only: The land of pure delight

> Look mate, why shouldn't women climb hard (Birkett and Peascod, 1989, p. 11).

The LAC and the LSCC originally 'were founded because the doors of men's clubs were closed to women' (Angell 1988, p. xiv). Although the FRCC admitted women and was a mixed club and the LAC was a branch of the AC, women were still bound by social regulation. The LSCC was revolutionary in its day, being founded on the principle that women should only climb with women and be guideless. Early criticism of the LSCC's ambitions led to the establishment of a particular set of rules: 'Spirit of rivalry should never enter into mountaineering expeditions', 'Always climb deliberately, slowly and carefully; a slip, even when harmless, is something to be ashamed of' (Williams 1973, p. 103). These rules reflect a feminised approach to the masculine rules of mountaineering: women were careful not to appear manly by expressing competitive ambition, and they endeavoured to avoid criticism by appearing incompetent through lack of planning and technical skill. It took a further 13 years before an English club matched these aspirations through the inception of the Pinnacle Club in 1921. One of the founding members of the Pinnacle Club, Pat Kelly, had been very keen to establish a women's only club because although she was a member of the FRCC she found it

'very male orientated' (in Angell 1988, p. xiv). Kelly pushed to create a manless climbing space where women could legitimise their climbing achievements. Drawing from first-hand accounts, Angell (1988) documents the club's history from its inception to the early 1980s. Writing the foreword for Angell's (1988) book, Gwen Moffat makes an appeal to both male and female readers:

> But this is more than a group of women and a cottage … refuting all suggestions that women could lead only with the support of a male second, they led all-women ropes. From that point we developed. We do not dislike men. We marry them, we continue to climb with them, but there is always this deep and wondrous sense of security that, in the event of all else failing, we can go back to Cwm Dyli and live, if only for a weekend, as we were wont to live, climb as we should climb… (in Angell 1988, p. xiii).

Not only did women find a sense of wellbeing in their newfound independence, but they also had a refuge by climbing in their own particular way. They had created a space through the formation of clubs like the LSCC and Pinnacle to be the climbers they wanted to be. Interestingly, founding members of the Pinnacle Club all adopted masculine nicknames: there were Eleanor (Len) Winthrop Young, Emily (Pat) Kelly, Lilian Bray (Bray) and Annie (Paddy) Wells. It was considered 'trendy to be known by one's surname or a nickname' in the club (ibid., p. 6). The masculine nature of these nicknames suggests that women wanted to emulate the masculinised culture of mountaineering, and not be considered separate from but a legitimate part of mountaineering. It perhaps made them seem more 'grown-up' or professional as climbers to both their male peers and themselves. These masculine traits formed the foundation of the club's aim and constitution, for example, a description of the club's aims was carried in the 1922 May issue of the Alpine Club's journal under 'Alpine Notes':

> it was desirable to have a centre – social, educational and advisory – for women and girl climbers. 'In climbing with men where "the best must lead", women have little opportunity to master, or to enjoy, the finer points and sensation of the art itself; to learn the business of finding their climbs, of steering a mountaineering course, or of exercising judgement and responsibility in the actual climbing' (in Angell 1988, p. 15).

Like their male counterparts, club members prided themselves on their technical skills and knowledge-sharing with newer members in the art of mountaineering. Pat Kelly was particularly keen to share her skills, being enthusiastic and patient with those new to climbing. The very essence of leading and being able to express the intimate emotional

connection made between the mountain, rock and climber was evident in a letter she sent to Dorothy Pilley, expressing a profound feeling of the 'awesome exhilaration of a delicate, airy upward step to a toehold on which to balance before grasping a firm bit of rock securely with both hands and raising oneself up to the land of pure delight' (in Angell 1988, p. 7). The club's exuberance for leading combined with a nurturing atmosphere produced and continues to support, some of the most prominent female climbers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries including Dorothy Pilley, Gwen Moffat, Nea Morin, Mabel Barker, Janet Rogers, Eileen Healey, Jill Lawrence and Angela Soper. Within a year of the founding of the Pinnacle Club, the Midland Association of Mountaineers was formed in 1922, offering membership to women from its inception.

Two women stand out in the period between the turn of the century and World War II: Dorothy Pilley (or Pilley-Richards) and Nea Morin. Once the Alps opened up, following World War I Pilley's achievements were astounding. Like Nan Shepherd and Frances Havergal she shared a deep connection to mountains that she felt provided the 'answer to the meaning of life' (in Williams 1973, p. 108). Pilley, along with Lilian Bray and Annie Wells, pioneered the possibilities for women to climb in the Alps guideless and without men. The trio succeeded in climbing two modest Alpine peaks, the Mittaghorn-Egginer and Portjengrat in 1921. They had proved to themselves and their contemporaries that it was possible to climb without male companions, setting the tone for the future of the Pinnacle Club's feminine innovations. Pilley had an astounding career. Ticking off many firsts, she undertook a feat considered to be one of the last great problems of the Pennine Alps, becoming one of the first ascensionists of Dent Blanche North West ridge (4357m) in Switzerland in 1928. In her memoir, *Climbing Days,* Pilley recounts a gripping tale. On the crux section she describes the visceral knowledge required to make a series of intricate moves:

> Most of the passage had to be done by the oddest series of counterpoised pressures I have ever had to manage. All on a surface too steep to allow any of the usual margin of balance. An occasional pinch-hold was a luxury. The friction of a rubber sole or the palm of the hand on some small awkwardly sloping surface had to be enough. It was with a very queer sense of unreality – as though a dream had got out of place – that I came at last to a rapturous [guide] Joseph (Pilley 1989 [1935], pp. 316 - 317).

Although couched in a masculinised technical language, Pilley gives a tantalising glimpse into her sentient and emotional state or, as she put it, 'Une drole de sensation' (ibid, p. 317). She had experienced a moment of deep, embodied connection with the mountain reminiscent of Csikszentmihalyi's (1998 [1988]) notion of 'flow' (discussed in chapter four). In this, 'A spell

had been exorcised, a dream replaced by reality which transcended it' (Pilley 1989 [1935], p. 317). Pilley's writings were yet another innovation in the development of women's mountaineering; she opened up a female perspective of the sentient and emotional world that mountaineering could evoke. Writing about feelings and emotions experienced within mountaineering was becoming increasingly acceptable.

However, there was still considerable work to do in terms of gaining credence for women's mountaineering. Women still felt marginalised despite their growing sense of independence. In a 1930s Alpine journal, Mrs Herbert-Dawson asserted: 'Can we hope that the day is not far distant when our achievements will be judged on their own merits, rather than over-praised because we are women' (in Williams 1973, p. 121). In an attempt to achieve legitimacy and be judged on her own merits and not by male standards, Nea Morin asserted a purist approach by climbing only with women. It was a statement of capability, establishing Morin as a pioneer of the *cordée feminine* (female rope) in the European Alps. Morin's *cordée feminine* included Micheline Morin and Alice Damesme, and the team completed the first successful all-female traverse of the Meije in 1933. This trio continued to make all-female guideless and manless ascents that adhered to strict rules that did not allow their male companions to either lead ahead in an all-male party or follow them up a route. This approach protected their achievement from claims that they had not climbed it 'cleanly', or that they had received male assistance. Between the wars, women had made significant progress establishing their own clubs and overcoming the social barriers to climb how they wanted to climb, becoming independent leaders and pioneers in their own right. Post-war years saw the growth of mother and daughter climbing partnerships, probably due to the loss of so many men during World War II (Williams 1973). Morin and her daughter, Denise Morin, were one of the most productive and famous of these climbing partnerships during the 1950s. Leading *cordée féminine* women also had to innovate new and different techniques for overcoming problems, finding their own particular style of movement, technique and timescale:

> one of the chief difficulties cordée féminine have to face is the fact that women climbers, however expert they may be, find it almost impossible to lead severe pitches while carrying a heavy rucksack. Consequently these impedimenta have to be dragged up separately and valuable time gets used up (Williams 1973, p. 144).

Williams paraphrases the difficulties the Morins' faced both in terms of the perceptions of how hard women could climb and the male orientated equipment they had at their disposal.

Yet she continues if unintentionally, to reinforce the notion that women cannot climb the hardest of routes. Climbing guideless in the Alps would frequently bring with it other social discomforts: 'at the huts you may not receive the same consideration; you may even meet with open hostility, from some guides, and hut guardians disapprove of guideless climbers', an issue faced by both men and women (Morin 1968, p. 182). Women also had to contend with problems caused by male-specific equipment, as described above, which caused them to lose time by having to haul heavy equipment after each pitch on a route, leading to a raised probability of failure. To fail ultimately reinforced the perception that women could not climb harder graded routes, but the satisfaction when they did was gratifying: 'when you do succeed your pleasure is increased enormously by having found your own way in your own time, even though you have had to pay for it dearly' (ibid.). Morin retrospectively enjoyed that her last great Alpine route had been guideless and manless:

> Had Janet and I been with a guide on the Meije he would have found us exasperatingly slow. All pleasure would have vanished had we been hurried and harried, and made to feel that we were not doing as well as we should. As it was, and with the luck of the weather, we were able to go our own pace and to appreciate our freedom to do so (ibid.).

Morin's temporal experience of mountaineering contrasted sharply with male concepts of the speed at which a climb should be conducted. Making the first female ascent with her daughter Denise on the Mer de Glace face of the Grépon, Morin had been concerned about the seriousness of the route and the difficulty faced if they encountered any problems. As a result, she had asked another party to attempt the route at the same time so that if assistance was required there would help on hand. The accompanying party consisted of Morin's friend Janet Roberts and a male guide. The guide proved to be less than competent, having never climbed the route before. He went off-route and had some questionable approaches to safety and equipment, at one point sending down large missiles that nearly killed Denise and left Morin's party to fight their way out of an avalanche on their way down. Roberts was for the duration unceremoniously dragged up and down the route. On completing this ground-breaking ascent, Morin remarked: 'I do not think I have ever come quite so close to annihilation' (ibid. p.187). The lack of care afforded to their clients (male or female) by some guides, was common and part of the reason why women and men were choosing to make their own way in the mountains.

2.6 High altitude climbing: Women establish the rules to legitimacy

Until the 1950s, Nepal had been closed to foreign visitors. In 1953, a British funded expedition made history by being the first to summit Everest, and it was also in the same year that a woman, for the first time, became a professional guide. Gwen Moffat, graduating through a hard school of mountaineering in North Wales, attained a standard that was ground-breaking by becoming Britain's first female mountain guide certified by the BMC. The qualification has a formidable reputation, requiring a mountaineer to have performed climbs at a high standard in good and adverse conditions on rock, snow and ice; to be an excellent navigator; to have knowledge of rescue techniques and technical competence. Moffat opened the door for high-level professional female leadership in the mountains, but as she was to discover, the masculinised perceptions held by her clients were the next hurdle to overcome:

> On that first morning I took them up Middlefell Buttress; five of us, all on one rope. It was slow, cold and boring. They climbed faster than I did, surrounded with an almost visible aura of masculine resentment. So I took them to Gwynne's Chimney on Pavey Ark, and as they struggled and sweated in that smooth cleft, with sparks flying from their nails, and me waiting at the top with a taut rope and a turn round my wrist, I knew that I had won. The atmosphere – when we were all together again – was clean and relaxed … I was no longer a woman with a reputation, but an instructor with a technique superior to theirs, and now we could settle down to work (Moffat 2013 [1961], pp. 271-272).

The heroic masculine ideal of what a mountaineer should be had been cemented so firmly in the public psyche that female guides like Moffat had to continually prove their worth. The tension between creating a female space to mountaineer and living up to a masculine ideal, I will argue, continues to trouble female mountaineers. Williams (1973) lamented that it would 'be many years before another woman qualifies as a professional guide' (p. 160), a stark reminder that 20 years later in 1973, Moffat had only been joined by one other female guide, Brede Arkless. Even now in 2018 female mountain guides are significantly underrepresented, with only six women holding the British Mountain Guide qualification in the UK.

Two years later, in 1955, the first female expedition to the Jugal Himal in the Himalaya was led by Monica Jackson, Elizabeth Stark and Evelyn Camrass. They left families and jobs to 'subject themselves to extremes of discomfort and possibly risk their lives, creeping up and down some singularly lonely, alien and desolate wrinkles on the earth's surface' (Jackson and Stark 2000 [1959], p. 20). The first challenge was to secure a permit, which was particularly

difficult given they were an all-female team. Even though all three had proven records as competent mountaineers it was no 'guarantee that they could cope with a drunken Sherpa' (Williams 1973, p. 162). The expedition proved to be an important experiment that demonstrated women could climb unsupported in the Greater Ranges and cope with the various challenges, including successfully managing a Sherpa team by building mutually respectful relationships; withstanding the cold better than men; acclimatising successfully to climb altitudes of over 6700m; dealing with the strains on relationships such as discomforts and boredom well; coping well with fear, thus building confidence in their own ability; and being pioneers in unexplored regions, climbing uncharted territories and peaks. A lot was at stake; failure would mean a setback for women in general and gender once again had profound consequences: 'if we slipped up and so got into trouble, there were plenty of people who would say, "These women should never have been allowed out in the mountains on their own." We did not mean to give them the chance' (Jackson and Stark 2000 [1959], p. 23). The team, however, proved it was possible to go manless and guideless in the Greater Ranges, opening the way for other women to follow. Women did follow in Jackson's footsteps and throughout the 1960s women made great advances and with each hurdle, they overcame a new a one would arise.

In a similar pioneering spirit to Jackson and Stark, Eileen Healey (nee Gregory) (1920 – 2010) undertook a solo exploration in the Kulu-Spiti-Lahul in the Himalaya with two Ladakhi porters. She made the first ascents of Cathedral Peak (6247m) and Deo Tibha (6001m) in 1956. In 1959 she participated in Claude Kogan's first all-female expedition to the world's sixth highest peak, 8201m Cho Oyu, in the Himalaya. Kogan was fiercely protective over maintaining the purity of a female only approach because she knew the legitimacy of the claim of making the first ever and all-female expedition to climb an 8000m peak was very much at stake. Journalist Stephen Harper from the *Daily Express* was even prevented from joining the expedition in order to maintain the female only status of the project. In 1959 he wrote: 'The team had dreamed of planting a flag on the summit as a symbol of achievement – not the achievement of a nation, but of their sex' (in Nelsson 2009, p.123). The expedition ended following the death of Kogan and another female climber during a storm. Dorothea Gravina, who assumed leadership of the expedition after Kogan's death, believed the expedition to be a 'challenge to international womanhood, and must be climbed by a team of women' (in Nelsson 2009, p. 123). For women like Kogan and Gravina the Cho Oyu expedition was politically charged, as it was a first attempt. For them, the stakes were high, because women not only wanted to prove they could undertake such projects without assistance but were

also insisting on recognition for their achievements. Evidencing their technical skill and mountaineering prowess meant greater access to exclusive resources and projects. Not all women shared these views, with Healey taking a more pragmatic standpoint, perhaps not wanting to seem too staunchly feminist, commenting that she did not mind who helped them to achieve their goal (Douglas 2010). Healey was an early amateur film-maker, taking footage of the ill-fated Cho Oyu expedition; she provided an invaluable and very personal record of the expedition. In essence, Healey produced a visual field diary revealing an intimate portrait of the everyday happenings of expedition life. It gives a rare glimpse of the emotional and sentient feminine experiences alongside the more technical and professional focused activities. The film provides insight into how women operate as an expedition unit and include a portrait of the lives of the Sherpas and Sherpanis that accompanied the expedition, for which a limited amount of research exists (Brickell and Garrett 2012; Frohlick 2004; Ortner 1999; Adams 1996). Healey's film reveals a voice for women who have been neglected in the history of exploration and highlights the 'continuing construction of mountain climbing as a masculine pursuit' (Brickell and Garrett 2012, p. 3). Outwardly the expedition sought legitimacy but inwardly, thanks to Healey's films, it gives insight into the different ways in which women mountaineer in the context of a team. Kogan's expedition set the parameters for other women wishing to climb 8000m peaks, establishing a new standard for a legitimate first ascent. This not only raised the stakes and difficulties for women faced but also, I contend, reinforced the masculinised rules of hard mountaineering (Fowler 2017).

In a bid for legitimacy, women had established an additional layer of rules that were to trouble the very fine achievements of high altitude alpinists, such as Polish mountaineer Wanda Rutkiewicz and Alison Chadwick's first ascent of Gasherbrum III (7952m), in 1975. At the time this was the fourth highest peak to have been climbed by any Briton, and it was the highest unclimbed summit climbed by women as well as the second highest mountain to have received a first British ascent after Hillary and Norgay's ascent of Everest (Mountain Heritage Trust 2017). Undoubtedly Chadwick and Rutkiewicz were the first people to stand on the summit and were part of the team of women that conceived, planned and executed the project. However, controversy surrounded the Gasherbrum III ascent because a party of male climbers, which included Chadwick's husband, followed the two women to the summit. Despite not receiving any outside assistance, this supported the view that Rutkiewicz' expedition had received help from the male party and was unfairly considered not to be an unaided manless ascent. The exacting rules established by women to legitimise their

mountaineering created yet another set of hurdles to overcome that effectively, in some cases, undermined their achievements.

2.7 Public sharing of emotion, sentient expression and pushing boundaries

High altitude mountaineering in the Greater Ranges such as the Himalaya provided women with opportunities to explore their physical and psychological limits. Women were proving they could match their male peers and beginning to express their sentient and emotional experiences more publicly. A number of biographical works appeared on the bookshelves in the 1980s that gave insight into the experiences of these women, notably Arlene Blum's *Annapurna: A Woman's Place*, Julie Tullis' *Clouds from Both Sides*, Alison Hargreaves' *A Hard Day's Summer* and Maria Coffey's *Fragile Edge*. These works provide an understanding of their authors' motives, practices and corporeal experiences. In Tullis' autobiography, written shortly before her tragic death on K2 following a second attempt, she describes the feelings K2 evoked in her:

> at 25,700ft … I sat in the evening sunshine looking out over the thousands of golden peaks stretching as far as I could see, I felt so deeply happy and contented. I climb mountains for moments like this, not only to reach the summit – that is an extra bonus, a special gift … I felt in complete harmony with my surroundings … I was not a passive observer; mountains offer the ultimate human experience – to be involved physically, mentally and spiritually … here I was sitting high up on the mountain that had filled my dreams … the joy was overwhelming (Tullis 1987, p. 209).

It was no longer considered a weakness to express such emotional experiences. The pithy matter-of-fact descriptions were giving way to a new style of expressing what mountaineering meant to women like Tullis, perhaps preceded by a shift in the writing of male mountaineering peers, in particular influential climbers like Reinhold Messner, who wrote in a more spiritual way: 'I wanted to climb high again in order to see deep inside myself' (Messner 1999 [1978], p. 1). Not only was Tullis a formidable mountaineer, but she was also one of the world's first international high-altitude film-makers, working with Kurt Diemberger to produce a film that covered the first French expedition to Nanga Parbat led by Pierre Mazeaud in 1982. She and Diemberger later filmed the Italian ascent of K2 in 1983. This trip was their first summit attempt, and although they failed it sealed Tullis' love of K2 as her 'mountain of mountains' and a place where she found an ultimate sense of wellbeing (Tullis 1987, p. 199).

Yet despite Tullis being the first woman to summit K2 and achieving a significant public profile during the 1980s, her name has fallen out of general parlance, similar to many elite women from the mountaineering world. Writing about the death of Ginette Harrison in 1999, Britain's then high altitude record holder, fellow female mountaineer Sue Black wrote: 'It is really only since her death that much has been written about her achievements … one of her most endearing traits – her genuine and unassuming modesty – meant that she made light of her achievements' (Black 2001, p. 101). Thus, like Black, women continued to reinforce their silence for fear of appearing brash or less than feminine.

2.8 Solo and without oxygen: Consequences of gender

During the late 1970s, a major innovation in high altitude mountaineering involved adopting a speedy lightweight alpine approach over the well-established but cumbersome siege tactics. The use of siege tactics to climb major peaks involves significant numbers of porters, Sherpas and climbers working in teams to establish successively higher camps on the mountain and fixing ropes so that supplies and equipment can be carried up for a final summit attempt. Siege tactics were developed so that summiteers could slowly acclimatise their bodies to the ravages of limited oxygen. Often such expeditions would take several weeks and months to complete. Rejecting the use of siege tactics, Reinhold Messner and Peter Habeler pioneered a lightweight approach that favoured speed, based on alpine techniques established in Europe to climb high altitude peaks, during the mid-1970s. This approach was highly innovative because it involved climbing at extreme altitudes without bottled oxygen. At the time it was considered outrageously radical because scientifically it was unknown whether the human body could function at 8000m and above without supplemental oxygen. The common belief was they were heading for certain death or at the very least severe brain damage. In 1978 Messner and Habeler successfully climbed Everest without bottled oxygen or the support of a siege team. Messner believed in climbing mountains 'by fair means' (Messner 1999 [1978], p. 121) and that siege tactics were disrespectful to the mountain. The rules and stakes were yet again raised setting a new standard for being a hard mountaineer. A chief motivation for Messner was to understand his own physical limits. In 1980 Messner went on to solo Everest in a similar style, so that once again the bar had been raised. Solo climbing is highly risky involving an individual ascending a mountaineering route with minimal protection. Fifteen years later Alison Hargreaves was to become the first woman to do so in the same style.

Alison Hargreaves (1962 – 1995) found that being a female climber in the 1970s and 80s was still very much a novelty: 'two girls in a youth hostel with a rope was highly novel, for all the other women were just walkers. That was nice' (in Birkett and Peascod 1989, p. 162). Hargreaves enjoyed that sense of exclusivity but also suffered from prejudices, particularly at the pinnacle of her career. Hargreaves is perhaps Britain's greatest female mountaineer. She was the first British woman to solo climb the North Face of the Eiger in 1988 and then went on to solo climb all six great north faces in the Alps in a season in 1993, a first for both male and female climbers. Following in the footsteps of Messner, she became the first woman to solo climb Everest, without oxygen, in 1995, with the intention of climbing the three highest mountains in the world. After Everest, her next mountain was K2, which tragically was her last as she died in a storm descending. Immediately following her death Hargreaves' reputation was shattered by a media storm that branded her a bad mother, reckless and selfish for leaving two small children behind. Hargreaves began solo climbing due to the time constraints she experienced as a young mother, which was compounded by the lack of availability of climbing partners able to climb at her level (Rose and Douglas 1999). In the media's eyes, Hargreaves' success as a mountaineer rested on her returning safely to her children (Frohlick 2006). Yet she had proven women could be the best in the world accomplishing firsts that surpassed the achievements of both male and female peers, setting new standards for all mountaineers.

2.9 Motherhood

Negative perceptions regarding women mountaineers and motherhood are all-too acutely understood, particularly following the media portrayal of Hargreaves. Such challenges thus create a very different feminine experience of mountaineering. Despite achieving world firsts that match or surpass the achievements of men, women like Hargreaves face a significant struggle to achieve legitimacy, particularly when they transgress social norms governing perceptions of success. In the 1980s Bonny Masson, one of Britain's top climbers, illustrated the issues women faced:

> I don't believe that women will ever be as strong as men but most women can become strong enough to climb very hard climbs … As far as the question of mental qualities is concerned, I feel that the relatively small number of women leading harder climbs in Britain still reflects social conditioning rather than the lack of any innate qualities. On the whole the British still find independence and aggression difficult to accept in a woman (In Birkett and Peascod 1989, p. 165).

Masson believed that the media representation, casting mountaineering as a dangerous and irresponsible, alongside familial responsibilities, served to put women off entering the sport. This did not seem to be the case in Europe however, where there was a stronger tradition of female alpinism (In Birkett and Peascod 1989). Motherhood in the twenty-first century continues being a conundrum that radically affects women's mountaineering careers. Women who want families have either to cut their careers short or start their careers later in life:

> Children feature, either in reality or as questions in heads. Some admit to frustration when realising that it is only now – when they know how to reach their maximum performance – that they must take steps to motherhood instead. Others have already made a decision and sacrificed this altogether in pursuit of their climbing dreams (Schirrmacher 2008).

Yet some women do manage to have a family and still climb. Libby Peter, one of Britain's few IFMGA Mountain Guides, is a leading example, but not without its costs:

> I guess the most significant 'recent' influence is having children. Logistically it's far harder to contemplate longer trips to the bigger mountains now, but more importantly I just hate being anywhere dangerous, I have these 'What am I doing here!?' moments. Luckily I love rock climbing and there's plenty of safe places to go for that! (Peter no date)

Women thus adapt, and in Peter's case often opt to limit or modify the risks they take within their mountaineering.

2.10 Representation in the twenty first century: Leadership and training

Brede Arkless (1939 – 2006) was a true innovator along with her co-mountaineering peer Jill Lawrence. Arkless was an accomplished high-altitude mountaineer and became iconic in the expansion of women's participation in mountaineering during the 1980s. She was the second woman in the UK to achieve British Mountain Guide and then went on to be the first British woman to achieve UIAGM (*Union Internationale des Associations des Guides de Montagne*) in the 1960s. Membership of UIAGM was highly prestigious and difficult to attain, requiring a rigorous assessment process. The principal was to set an international professional standard for the safe guiding of clients in the mountains. Alongside women's activist and climber Lawrence, Arkless established a highly successful programme of women only mountaineering and climbing courses. Women were establishing different ways of engaging in

mountaineering as well as voicing the barriers and different approaches required to encourage engagement, as Lawrence expresses:

> having been involved in several female meets and climbed with many different females I'm clearer on the benefits. Firstly, there's the role model competitive side: seeing another female do a route provides an incentive – feelings of 'if she can, so can I'. If it was a male there could be doubts: 'he's stronger', etc. There's the satisfaction of dealing with everything, having to accept responsibility and consequences of one's own action; generally it's a more equal sharing of responsibility – no one is definitely in charge. Concrete sense of achievement from successes – there's no 'stronger male' partner others can point to, attribute success to. Also at this point most of the guys I know who climb are in their mid-twenties, whilst many of the females I know are 30+, so I feel I have more to share with them, more in common … Unfortunately, I think many females lack confidence and in mixed climbing pairs allow the male to take charge of the situation even if both have equal ability (in Birkett and Peascod, 1989, p. 166).

For women like Arkless and Lawrence, addressing the sexism that they perceived in the sport was to extend the tradition of providing manless opportunities into the realm of training and coaching. Importantly the training programmes and workshops they offered were open to all women and not just those engaged in exclusive groups like the Pinnacle Club. Key differences like age, approach to competition and building a collaborative and supportive atmosphere served to introduce many women into the sport. Access had broadened with Arkless and Lawrence being innovators of these opportunities. However, as Douglas (2015) points out:

> women mountaineers, small in number, have struggled to have their achievements recognised. When climbing with men they have faced the presumption that they're relying on someone else's superior skill. When climbing alone, or with other women, they have faced criticism as attention-seekers. Praise for an achievement is often undermined by the implication that it's only being given because the climber is a woman. In fact, throughout the history of climbing, there have been capable women operating near their limits of the day, usually in the face of this kind of prejudice (ibid., p. 314).

Douglas (2015) succinctly describes the challenges that women still face in the twenty-first century. One particular issue is the representation of women at the highest level of professional mountaineering. British Mountain Guides (BMG) was originally part of the BMC, becoming an entity in its own right in 1975. BMG offers the highest mountaineering qualification in the UK and is affiliated to the International Federation of Mountain Guide Associations (IFMGA), which is a body that coordinates the standards and mutual recognition

of the 26 national mountain guide associates. Thus, a BMG/IFMGA guide is exceptionally experienced with the ability to lead people in the world's most challenging mountainous environments. IFMGA mountain guides achieve their status through many years of training and experience and this accolade is, therefore, a very challenging and difficult qualification to attain (Cousquer and Beames 2014). A review of all individuals listed as qualified IFMGA guides, in the UK in 2017, totalled 137. Women made up less than five per cent of qualified IFMGA guides in 2017, only six women have full membership and there is one woman, who is an associate, based in New Zealand. When Williams (1973) stated that it would be many years to come before anyone matched Moffat's achievement in becoming Britain's first female guide, she probably had not guessed that the status quo would be so stark in the twenty-first century. Women are also poorly represented across the suite of British mountaineering qualifications ranging from Mountain Leader (ML) in summer, right through to Mountain Instructor Certificate (MIC), which qualifies the recipient to lead and teach on ice and snow routes in UK winter conditions, a topic covered in more detail later (guiding internationally requires BMG/IFMGA status).

Table 1 Number of Qualified Mountain Leaders in the UK (Mountain Training 2017).

Qualification (2017)	Total Number	Number of Women	Percentage
Mountain Leader Winter	2698	267	9.9%
Mountain Instructor Award	1380	146	10.6%
Mountain Instructor Certificate	625	37	5.9%
BMG (IFMGA)	137	6 + 1 Associate	4.4% / 5.1%

Although MT and the BMC are working hard to improve women's leadership in the mountains, women mountain leaders and guides are a rare breed. Representation of women within the IFMGA is relatively buoyant in the UK in comparison to international figures where there are less than two per cent worldwide (Roche 2015). Roche (2014) attests that in the Alps representation is still also poor:

> Undoubtedly it has progressed but according to a female guide I climbed within Chamonix still less than 2% of guides are women and gazing around

> any high mountain hut women remain in the minority. Women are good gymnasts and excellent rock climbers but the wildness of the mountains still does not seem as appealing to them as it does to men. This is probably a confidence thing but also I expect the logistical difficulty of dealing with families. Generally men are more single-minded and will pursue a goal relentlessly whilst women generally are more collaborative and concerned with the effect of their activities on others.

The role models for everyday would-be female mountaineers are thus hard to identify. There are, however, as there has always been, exceptional women who continue to lead and guide other women as well as pursue their own personal ambitions. Adele Pennington made the first British female winter ascent of Ama Dablam (6386m) in the Himalaya in 1998. She is the only British woman to have climbed Mount Everest twice, as well as holding the British female record climbing six of the fourteen 8000m peaks, her latest ascent being Dhaulagiri (8167m) in 2017 (UKC 2017).

Pennington is known for her ability to lead effectively as a technically competent mountaineer, as one client expressed:

> She took every day in her stride and was very good at interacting with everyone on the trip. This said the change in her on the mountain was unbelievable! She instantly switched to be the experienced mountaineer that she is and there was not a second where I felt unsafe on the climb (in Pennington 2014).

2.11 Clients and softer skills

The growth in extreme tourism has meant that mountaineers like Pennington have to adopt new skills to conduct both their own mountaineering and to earn a living from their sport, which is a shift in opportunity itself. The challenges have moved from women wearing heavy tweed dresses to understanding how to keep other people alive on a mountainside. Pennington understands that to be adept as a guide she has to be able to tap into softer skills to assess a person's mental state in order that she can make a decision about their capability to undertake a route, decisions that could have life or death consequences. Therefore, understanding how people are feeling allows Pennington to 'get the best out of people if I know how they feel … because on a long expedition emotional wellbeing is much more important' (Pennington 2014). These skills are often overlooked and can lead to tragic consequences, such as in the case of Tullis and Hargreaves. The drive to succeed, no matter the cost, is predicated on a western drive to never fail (McCammon 2004). Failure is marked by not reaching the summit or completing the climb, or indeed not returning. Tullis felt she

could not turn back for a second time and Hargreaves believed to make a successful career she had to climb one more mountain - K2. The art of knowing when to stop and when to turn around and go down is partly based on what mountaineers call *mountaincraft* or the experience and connectedness to mountain conditions and companions that is not clouded by bias. Pennington's sense of 'mountaincraft' has earned her a reputation for offering clients and team members a level of psychological wellbeing that is invaluable for making successful summit attempts, but more importantly for returning alive, to which her mountaineering record attests. Client Janet Pickett had chosen Pennington as her guide:

> because she was an experienced and careful mountaineer, who would be willing to listen and discuss my ideas and anxieties about climbing the mountain and I thought she would be fun and I am taller than her (in Pennington 2014).

Softer skills are often overlooked by leaders and guides, who are prone to dragging clients up mountains without proper assessment of their mental wellbeing. For Pennington, attending to a client's emotional fluctuations over the course of an expedition is the key to achieving a successful outcome. Poor management of people has resulted in the failure of many an expedition. I contend that recognition of these so-called softer skills has a long way to go before they are given the prominence they deserve. Pennington's second ascent of Everest, although successfully guiding Britain's oldest female to the summit (Amanda Richmond in 2009), was marred by male egos. The leadership struggles that ensued exposed an acute form of sexism and in an email to Pennington's boss one male client wrote:

> I was scared to be on the mountain with her and did not want her decisions influencing my climbing. From a team perspective she did not display the ability to work with other guides that were stronger than her. She had no business guiding on these mountains and I was terrified of having her judgement influence how I climbed the mountain. Just to clarify something that was not in my feedback: I absolutely believe that Adele should continue to guide: she brings tremendous energy to a trip, she obviously cares deeply, is very patient with her clients that are not so strong technically or physically as the group (Pennington 2014).

Eight thousand metre peaks demand extremes and generate extreme behaviours, and Pennington's physical strength was considered not sufficient to be accepted as a leader by some of her clients, a problem that many female mountaineers working as guides encounter. The client stopped short of saying that *women* had no place leading and guiding in the Greater Ranges, but that is undoubtedly what he meant. Softer skills such as being caring, encouraging and patient were not valued in the same way as displays of physical strength.

This skill mark Pennington as being a different kind of mountaineer, one that other women value, but not one that traditionally fits with the masculine ideal of being a *hard* mountaineer.

Pennington is arguably one of the UK's leading high altitude female mountaineers and is a leader who understands the value of softer skills:

> I have learnt where the boundaries of my physiological and emotional resilience are; I am happy to sit and wait or turn back if I don't think things are right; I tend to seek out company that I enjoy being with when I go to the mountains for pleasure; I never admit to know all the answers; I try to work on the strengths of my team members rather than their weaknesses; I have realised it is not always a fair world and I let a lot pass over me that is not worth fighting about; I treat myself and also have inanimate objects to talk to; I care passionately about people and try not to expect the same kind of care back; when things go wrong I talk about them, admit my mistakes and try to move on; and finally I would not return to Everest to guide (Pennington 2014).

Her sense of care for others and herself is palpable; she certainly does not give the traditional impression of being a ruthless mountaineer. Nor, like many of her female contemporaries or those who preceded her, does she overtly promote her achievements in the way that male mountaineers do, such as her contemporary, pioneering mountaineer Andy Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick has written several books, undertaken many lecture tours and is an active blogger on social media. In contrast, Pennington has only recently established a website and made only intermittent posts on Facebook. It is difficult to find anything substantial about Pennington. The historical context for women mountaineers has been to remain silent or risk seeming inappropriate, brash and lacking in femininity. I will go on to argue that this active silence pervades the very fabric of being a British female mountaineer. As Schirrmacher (2008) in her article '*Role models: Women climbers of today'* states: 'Many of the women profiled here would never begin to tell the world about their achievements – because that's just not what British women do' (ibid.). Victorian values are still very much alive, as I go on to reveal; women like Pennington stay silent because the rules of mountaineering require it. There are exceptions, of course, such as journalist and TV presenter Rebecca Stephens, the first British woman to climb Everest in 1993, who has extensively written about and publicised her achievements, and Masha Gordon, British-Russian business-woman and holder of the fastest Explorers Grand Slam record which includes the seven highest mountains on seven continents plus the North and South Poles in 2015. Gordon has set up a charity to encourage more women and girls into mountaineering. Like Pennington, the stories of great

female mountaineers remain hidden due, I argue, to social mores that pervade from Victorian antecedents.

2.12 Twenty-first century generation: Changing attitudes

A new generation of women like climbing superstar Katy Whittaker, are beginning to change attitudes and behaviour:

> I personally don't think first female ascents are a big deal. I don't want to be noticed for climbing something just because I'm a girl. I compare myself with the guys I climb with, and want to climb just as hard (in Beaumont 2013).

Whittaker is part of a group of young British women, including Hazel Findlay, Shauna Coxsey and Leah Crane, who are 'rapidly closing the gap with their male contemporaries, both in terms of climbing ability and ability to manage risk in what some are hailing as a golden age of British women's rock climbing' (Beaumont 2013). There does seem to be a cultural shift with events like the women's climbing symposium and a revival of women's only programmes being offered by the National Mountaineering centres. Stephanie Meysner, one of the organisers of the Women's Climbing Symposium, believes there has been an organic shift with a change of attitudes towards women taking risks (in Beaumont 2013). National organisations such as Sport England recognise that female representation in sport, including climbing and mountaineering, is poor and as a result, they have instigated a national marketing campaign, *This Girl Can*, to promote positive images of women engaged in sport (Sport England 2017). The BMC and MT are collaborators in this campaign and have worked to provide positive role modelling in their publicity, along with providing female specific mentoring for those wishing to achieve their Mountain Instructor Awards. Even so, representation in magazines and the media is still poor because the culture is driven by a style of reporting that favours first ascents and newly pioneered routes. These are the stories deemed to be newsworthy in contrast to repeat ascents by women of hard routes previously only climbed by men, controversially known as female first ascents (FFAs). Some climbers such as Whittaker reject the notion of FFAs because they consider it undermines their achievements in that it requires a man to do it first. This suggests one of the reasons that the reporting of such feats is less than attractive to magazines and their respective readership is because 'trails of men have already achieved that level' (Schirrmacher 2008). However, Schirrmacher (2008) critiques the editorial policies of specialist mountaineering magazines, arguing that 'by applying such a rigid philosophy [it] is exclusive and means that we would

never hear about female achievements', particularly in terms of coverage of FFAs (ibid.). She believes that women need support to be more vocal about their accomplishments regardless of the style of ascent to ensure that future generations have the role models to inspire and encourage participation (Schirrmacher 2008).

2.13 Conclusion

In the nineteenth century's so-called 'golden age' of mountaineering the summit spaces of the world were male domains and remain so (Gifford 2013, p. 92). Mountaineering is predominantly a white middle-class western pursuit dominated by a masculine heritage (Ortner 1999). It has a pervading culture, born in an era of the empire, set out, amongst many other things, to conquer the unknown and summit unclimbed major mountain peaks as symbols of nationhood and national identity (MacFarlane 2003). Historically, mountaineering provided men with an opportunity to 'perform adventurous masculinities' retold through the familiar trope of the white male Hollywood hero (Frohlick 2006, p. 109). Yet, over the last 200 years since Paradis first climbed Mont Blanc mountaineering has been an emancipating space for women to free themselves from the constraints of everyday life. It remains, however, a sport that is dominated by masculine traditions and societal prejudices that women have navigated with varying degrees of success. Evolving and inventing their own particular ways of doing mountaineering, through the creation of female-specific clubs, styles of climbing, training and mentoring, women have innovated new approaches for engaging in the sport. However, mountaineering has maintained a set of values and codes of behaviour strongly reminiscent of those that constrained the earliest female mountaineers. Rules that promote self-effacing modesty serve to keep hidden the extraordinary achievements of these women. The story of mountaineering is still very much a male space, and although that is changing, it still has a long way to go in terms of generating the scholarship, publicity and representation that will do justice to women who mountaineer.

CHAPTER THREE: 'NO MAN'S LAND': GENDER, AFFECT AND MOUNTAINEERING

I have begun to explore, mountaineering is a male institution protective of its privileged status and superiority. Society in general prioritises male concerns and ambitions and seemingly:

> Within this patriarchal paradigm, women become everything men are not (or do not want to be seen to be): where men are regarded as strong, women are weak; where men are rational, they are emotional; where men are active, they are passive (Gamble 2001, p. vii).

Gamble's point is certainly reflected historically in women's mountaineering, demonstrating how access has been both unequal and different, from wearing cumbersome clothing to their push for legitimacy, explored through the empirical research in chapters six and seven. Next I aim to carefully navigate feminist scholarship to contextualise how mountaineering is gendered and to establish a framework for considering difference. In doing so, I sketch a route that builds a mixed methodological approach for conducting the research. To make my case I first contextualise the space in which women conduct their mountaineering; secondly I consider gaps in geographic and feminist scholarship in terms of gendered bodies in extreme sport, emotion and sentient experience; thirdly I discuss the practice of serious leisure as a lifestyle and how this plays out in terms of identity and participation; I then draw upon feminist post-structural theories of difference to build a framework for exploring gender in the context of mountaineering; and finally I conclude by establishing a practical methodology for researching the affective lives of female mountaineers.

3.1 Female participation in mountaineering

Just over 84,000 men and women participate in the activity of mountaineering and climbing in the UK (BMC 2018). Despite limited data on female participation the BMC have recorded an upward trajectory in their female membership numbers: 16 per cent in 2002; 25 per cent in 2006; and almost 27 per cent in 2014 (Gardner 2015a, 2015b, and BMC reported figures relate to those that rock climb and go mountaineering). This steady increase in participation is mirrored in the growth in popularity of indoor climbing competitions, further popularised by the recent successes of female climbers like Shauna Coxsey becoming the first British IFSC Boulder World Cup Champion and being awarded an MBE in the Queen's 90th Birthday honours in 2016. In addition, the profile of climbing has been enhanced by being included in

the 2020 Olympics in Toyko, Japan. Pomfret and Doran's (2015) research concerning female high altitude mountain tourism suggests that there is a relatively equal gender split (57 per cent male and 43 per cent female) across both hard and soft styles of participation in sports such as off-piste skiing, mountain biking and snowboarding. Although their research found that the majority of the clientele are male, who participate in commercially guided mountaineering expeditions, there is some evidence that women's participation is increasing (ibid.). They argue, however, that this is not true of women who participate in high-altitude mountaineering despite the increase in the number of all-female teams summiting high altitude peaks since the 1980s (ibid.). It would seem that women are still under-represented in high-altitude mountaineering, but evidence as to why this might be either does not exist or is patchy (ibid).

In the United Kingdom, women pursuing a professional career as mountaineers or guides are significantly under-represented. Recent statistical analysis conducted by Mountain Training England and Wales (MT) indicates that of the total number of people registering and completing national outdoor leadership qualifications only 19 per cent are women. The national mountaineering qualifications programme requires candidates to take a training programme usually lasting one week to ten days then consolidate this learning by building a log book of achievements. Once an aspirant mountain leader has completed this period they can then take their assessment – again lasting between a week to ten days. The fallout rate between training and assessment is significant for women with 66 per cent failing to move through to securing the award for Mountain Leader Winter (MLW) and 67 per cent not achieving Mountain Instructor Certificates (MIC). In 2017 MT reported 2,698 current MLW award holders (267, 9.9 per cent) being women - this award allows leaders to take walking groups out into winter mountain conditions in the UK. The total number of MIC award holders is 625, of which only 37 (5.9 per cent) are women - MIC qualifies instructors to lead clients in winter conditions on climbing routes in the UK. MICs hold MLW as a prerequisite for undertaking the MIC qualification (MT 2017). Even fewer hold the British Mountain Guide (BMG) award with just over five per cent being women. Despite MT supporting the high profile Sport England (2017) *This Girl Can* campaign and putting significant resources into marketing, mentoring and engagement programmes for both young women and experienced female professionals, these figures have not changed in the last six years (Gardner 2015b). Female representation at the highest levels of mountaineering leadership are shockingly low, as the following table further illustrates:

Table 2. National Mountaineering Award Holders – Breakdown of Female Representation (MT 2017).

Award Type (2011 – 2016)	Total Registrations	Total Passes	Female Registrations	Female Passes	Fallout Rate	Total Award Holders (2017)	Total Female Award Holders (2017)
Mountain Leader Winter (MLW)	1081	485	161 (15%)	55 (11%)	66%	2968	267 (9.9%)
Mountain Instructor Award (MIA Summer)	485	244	52 (11%)	30 (12%)	52%	1380	146 (10.6%)
Mountain Instructor Certificate (MIC Winter)	146	112	12 (8%)	4 (3.6%)	67%	625	37 (5.9%)
British Mountain Guide (IFMGA)	No figs.	No figs.	No figs.	No figs.	No figs.	137	7 (5.1%)

3.1.1 Gender and mountain leadership

Little, it would seem, has changed since Sharp's (2001) paper on gender differences in mountain training 'Take me to your (male) leader'. He discusses the barriers to participation in leadership programmes, focusing on how women tend to integrate themselves into groups and organisations, whereas men concentrate on the acquisition of skills. He goes on to describe how male leadership incorporates aspects of competition, confidence, strength, toughness and the need to prove themselves, whereas women leaders exhibit qualities of co-operation, emotion, personal development, consensual decision-making and being relationship orientated, suggesting these differences contribute to a perception that women cannot cope or are not physically strong enough to endure the challenges of hard mountaineering. It has been evidenced that women mountaineers are positioned in a more passive role than men are, where they are seen as less physical and less competitive (Robinson 2008) perpetuated by a mythology that women climb in a more delicate and technical way than men (Dowling 2000). In addition, women tend to disavow outwardly

pursuing competitive goals that challenge others, evidenced in Black's (2001) obituary for Ginette Harrison that applauded her extreme modesty and thus, invisibility. The use of *Girl* in the *This Girl Can* campaign is, I contend, illustrative of an androcentric view of women engaging in mountaineering, by reducing women to girls and therefore a perception that they are weaker, of less importance and less skilled. Therefore, gender matters, as Pomfret and Doran (2015) state:

> mountaineering landscapes have evolved as, and remain strongly masculinised concepts … mountaineering has been, and still is male dominated, despite more women participating in this adventure activity (p. 150).

In contrast to the male/female dualism which Sharp (2001) applies to mountain leadership, Robinson (2008) has evidenced that there is a far greater fluidity in the way men *do* mountaineering and I contend this is equally true of women. Robinson (2008) considered the mobility of masculine identity of male climbers and their 'capacity to move between residual identities' showing how male climbers could be hard and emotionless in contrast to demonstrating vulnerabilities considered more feminine (p. 163). As such I aim to show that women also have evolved a fluidity between masculine and feminine approaches when engaging in hard mountaineering activities.

3.1.2 Feminist research in sport and leisure

Although a wealth of scholarship exists regarding the motivations of individuals who participate in mountaineering, a topic covered in chapter four, (Barrett and Martin 2016; Davidson 2015; Ewert and Taniguchi 2015; Monasterio and Brymer 2015; Lester 2004; Stebbins 1982), little is known about how women experience mountaineering. Sporting scholarship, however, provides many useful pointers for analysis of mountaineering and in particular the feminist scholarship in sport. Feminist scholars have theorised women's exclusion from mainstream sport along with critiquing how research has neglected the female body in sport, a full analysis of which is not within the scope of this thesis (see Warren 2016; Wheaton 2010; Robinson 2008; Aitchison 2005; Wearing 1998). There is a growing interest within academic circles to redress the balance of research in terms of women's participation in extreme sports (Pomfret and Doran 2015; Krein and Weaving 2015; Wegner et al. 2015; Humberstone 2013; Fullagar and Pavlidis 2012; Thorpe and Rinehart 2010). One key area has been to problematise notions of hegemonic masculinity, in terms of women participating in aggressive competition, strength, morphology of movement, risk-taking and

bravery, in sport. As a result, masculinity in sport has shifted to encompass a more complex view, incorporating the often contradictory and interchangeable nature of the identities bodies assume in different contexts and at different times (Warren 2016; Dilley and Scraton 2010; Robinson 2008; Wheaton 2007; Wearing 1998). However, this scholarship has largely concentrated on mainstream public sports involving younger people. Sports such as mountaineering have been neglected and, in particular, femininity in this sphere has been ignored. Robinson (2008) has considered the intersection between hegemonic masculinity and new masculinities in the context of the non-mainstream extreme sport of rock climbing and how this might generate the possibility of 'transformatory masculinities and gender relations' (ibid., p. 22). I posit that transformatory gendered relations produce different kinds of masculinities and femininities that create pockets of resistance to the dominant regulatory norms practiced by male and female mountaineers. Notions of female fragility cast sport as a masculine pursuit rendering femininity and physical strength and athleticism as contradictory (Dowling 2000). Female participation in sports such as mountaineering is transgressive of the masculine norm because they change the dialogue and perceptual understandings of what that sport is and could be (Wearing 1998). Specifically, substantial gaps in scholarship concerning the gendered, emotional and temporal practice-based experiences of women in climbing, mountaineering tourism and leisure have been identified (Evans and Anderson 2018; Rickly 2017; Pomfret and Doran 2015; Olstead 2011; Dilley and Scraton 2010; Rak 2007; Frohlick 2006, 2005, 2004; Kiewa 2001). Pomfret and Doran (2015) specify key areas for investigation, including: research exploring landscapes; approaches to masculinity and femininity; media representation; gendered experiences; motivations; expectations; identity and guiding.

3.1.3 Researching emotion, sensoria and affect in extreme sport

The paucity of research that explores how women experience extreme sports is also matched by an absence of research that explores affectual geographies in mountainous regions and in particular one derived from a female perspective. As Humberstone (2011) points out there is a lack of research that considers the sporting female *body* in terms of how affect influences behaviour and resulting sensorial and emotional responses. She states: 'The body's absence is echoed by sociologists, albeit frequently gender-blind, exploring physical activity and bodily performance' (p. 496; also see Hall 2018; Waitt and Clifton 2013; Evers 2009; Pomfret 2006, p. 113;). Wheaton (2010) argues that:

> despite the centrality of embodied experiences in lifestyle sports, few studies have managed to realise, articulate and communicate the complexities of sensual, emotion and aesthetic aspects of these experiences … there are few activities that are so vividly entwined with the 'acting, perceiving, thinking and feeling body' (Thrift in Wheaton 2010, p. 1071).

One exception includes Waitt and Clifton's (2013) research into bodyboarders (surfing) that applied the theories of feminist philosopher Elspeth Probyn on affective experiences of shame and pride, to illustrate the importance of group affiliation through shared language and embodied experiences. This work suggests that 'Bodyboarding is illustrative of an affective community – that is, how bodies connect with each other through shared experiences and feelings' (ibid., pp. 493-494). However, unlike Probyn and Waitt and Clifton, it is not my intention to focus on just one aspect of affective lived experience such as shame, anger, fear and happiness, for example, but to take a holistic approach to understand the flows of living affect on women who mountaineer.

Treatments of affect in terms of feminist theory have shaped new approaches to considering gender, power, and embodiment (Wetherell 2015; Ahmed 2010; Probyn 2010; Clough 2008) and most recently in the context of sport (Fullagar and Pavlidis 2018; Spinney 2015). The study of affect and emotion has enabled sport to be theorised as:

> affective practice …'[through the extension of]'… post-structural critiques of the rational, self-present subject, while also questioning the limits of language through a desire to explore the relational forces that shape embodiment (in relation to other bodies, surfaces, textures and feelings) (Fullagar and Pavlidis 2018, p. 447).

Similarly, experiences derived from the senses have received little attention in the field of extreme sporting experiences (Humberstone 2011). Sensations of risk explored by Stranger (1999) through the bodily aesthetics in surfing culture contends that aestheticisation in surfing is integral to attitudes towards risk. This is certainly true of mountaineering where a particular form of aesthetics is 'appreciation of the sublime' (p. 273). McNee (2014) conceptualises bodily aesthetics in terms of the tactile or haptic sublime, bound by sensations of exposure to risk and uncertainty; whereas Lewis' (2000) study of rock climbers illustrates the importance of risk being closely linked to flirting with sensations of death or being prepared to die for one's climbing.

Drawing on Lefebvre's (1979) work on everyday life, Wheaton (2007) suggests that for Lewis (2000) climbing spaces are not just a place of escape but places for sentiently 'critiquing it' and for challenging the 'form and mechanics of urban life' (Wheaton 2007, p. 299). Applying this to the context of mountaineering:

> resistance is not a struggle with dominant hegemonic culture but is located at the levels of the everyday and the body. To understand the meaning and significance of these activities, we need to be attentive to the different ways in which resistance is interpreted, defined and played out, moving beyond dichotomies of passivity or resistance, body discipline or pleasure, freedom or control (ibid., p. 300).

The co-mingling of sensation and emotion with the influencing factors of lived experiences of mountaineering thus offers a rich ground for researching how women mountaineer and a means to:

> 'Reveal the meaning of female participation' and 'empowering feminine identities', and to 'enunciate the specifically white femininities being articulated' and the '…ways in which difference constructs social identities' (ibid., p. 291)

which are absent from geographical or sporting discussions on female mountaineering. As a geographer, I also place importance on the geographical specificity of this study into mountaineering, to 'map the ways in which power inequalities are played and reproduced through space' (ibid., p. 292) to examine a collective mood, atmosphere and culture of mountaineering as a medium for what is felt and the mechanisms and schema that contribute to that (Crouch 2015; Anderson 2014), thus valuing intense experiences of the body in place (Wheaton 2007). The specificity of such spaces where a hard mountaineer performs their sport is next considered through Stebbins' (1982) concept of serious leisure, which provides a useful lens through which to consider how female mountaineering identities evolve.

3.1.4 Women and serious leisure

The dominant hegemonic traits or rules of participation in a sport like mountaineering have been conceptualised as 'serious leisure' (Stebbins 1982, p. 251). People engaged in serious leisure are those who have crossed over from casual, hobbyist and amateur into a world that is all consuming, where leisure becomes work-like and thus a lifestyle (Bale 2011). Those that engage in serious leisure derive their economic, social and sense of personal wellbeing from the activity and as a result, devote a large proportion of their time and social and economic

resources in the process. It is certainly not a pursuit of the casual leisure seeker and is thus a lifestyle choice. As such mountaineers undergo a substantive apprenticeship, with their lives being dominated by the pursuit of objectives of great difficulty, comparative to their age and ability; even pursuing professional qualifications (whether or not these are not used to generate income) to satisfy their apprenticeship (Cousquer and Beames 2014; Bale 2011). Scholars including Stebbins have sought to address some of the limitations posed by this concept (Stebbins 2015, 2005; Dilley and Scraton 2010; Raisborough 2006; Elkington 2006; Bartram 2001). Feminist scholars have critiqued 'serious leisure', as a theoretical framework, for taking an androcentric view that focuses on the individual and activity with little reference to the wider social context in which leisure is formed (Dilley and Scraton 2010). Dilley and Scraton (2010) explored how highly committed female climbers negotiated their relationships with everyday concerns such as work, childbearing, sexual relationships, gender identities and motherhood, arguing that to understand a woman's commitment to something as risk-laden as climbing, a wider analysis of their lives is essential. Thus, their critique has contributed to broadening social and contextual understandings of how physicality and social relationships shape the serious leisure activities of women. Importantly their work also considers how women resist and subvert gender norms and identities that lead to achieving a sense of empowerment, making a call for scholars researching 'serious leisure to take gender seriously' (ibid., p. 137). Taking a serious approach to an activity by treating it in a work-like way, marks a participant out as being different from the crowd and is identity forming (Beames and Pike 2008). It is an identity that is coveted, yet hard to pin down, in terms of female participation and is perhaps a sub-culture within a sub-culture, as I go on to discuss next.

3.1.5 Mountaineering: Authenticity, identity and subcultures

A single activity may not fix a mountaineer's identity, as many participate in a variety of forms of climbing. These can include: scaling peaks in the Greater Ranges; trad. rock climbing; bouldering (climbing large rocks without ropes or safety equipment); sea cliff climbing; mountain walking; mountain biking and mountain lake swimming. The range of activities are certainly not as homogenised or tightly woven as the subculture of mountaineering might imply. Mountaineers distinguish themselves through the extreme form of climbing they undertake where authenticity is signified by how hard, variable and chaotic a climb is considered to be (Beames and Pike 2008). Robinson (2008) notes that even the type of rock, ice or snow climbed authenticates and demarcates a climber from their peers producing a

version of a 'new macho' (ibid., p. 49), which she believes produces 'troubling masculine behaviours' that constrain and critique difference (ibid., p. 50). This is evidenced through rules that govern who can receive sponsorship, whereby the Alpine Club, BMC and commercial sponsors place a preference on those that pursue unexplored peaks, routes and first ascents, which women struggle to access.

Mountaineering is a place where identities are constructed and are bound in a variable and complex set of relationships between men and women, men and men and women and women (Robinson 2008). Climbers, and this is true of mountaineers who participate in climbing activities too, move between activities and scenes at different times and for different reasons. The mountaineering community that scales alpine peaks in the Greater Ranges is often very different from the community a mountaineer may inhabit whilst living and working back in the UK. For example, the Scottish Highlands or Northern Welsh climbing communities are localised, where everyone is interconnected and networked. The diversity of a mountaineer's life and the various identities they assume are different at different times, ranging from leading a client on Everest, to setting speed records and pioneering new routes and ways of climbing mountains at high altitudes by not using supplementary oxygen. Add to this being a mother, wife, daughter, demonstrates that post subcultural theory insufficient as a methodology to explore the diversity experienced in their lives.

Robinson (2008) has considered difference as a theoretical and political challenge in terms of how men 'do masculinity' through climbing (Wheaton 2007, p. 296), acknowledging that to research masculinity she also had to consider femininity. This provided a more holistic approach to understanding how identity through the practice of climbing manifests itself than just considering masculinity in isolation. Like Robinson (2008), however, I do not intend to compare men with women but do explore the masculine world of mountaineering as a means of understanding how women negotiate this environment relationally. I aim to consider how women interchange between masculine and feminine identities, producing indeterminate spaces, as discussed later in this chapter. I argue that mountaineering creates, with the exception of one's companions, a private sphere of activity often conducted away from the surveillance of others; creating space for privacy that can have an emancipating effect for female mountaineers. This is certainly evidenced through the lives of Victorian female mountaineers and their predecessors as already discussed. Moreover, the actual experiences women have had and the stories they chose to relate often revert to the discursive social norms of mountaineering that match the masculine ideal, where only heroic

deeds are portrayed in a formulaic way and privations suffered are dealt with in a matter-of-fact and neutralised way (Beames and Pike 2008). Social capital is secured through this kind of storytelling, serving to shape identity and affirming status, and cast through a familiar trope of the all-action hero that adheres to the hard rules that govern it as a sport.

The dearth of literature that examines gendered experiences of extreme mountaineering or indeed sport requires a turn to other disciplines for assistance in researching female mountaineers. As Robinson (2008) notes 'Power in gender relations, are still theorised more explicitly and systematically, elsewhere, such as within (materialist) feminist perspectives' (ibid., p. 32) and as such I next turn to philosophers and feminist scholars such as Derrida, Butler, Haraway, Wheaton, Wetherell and Ahmed to establish a theoretical and methodological framework.

3.2 Philosophical approaches to gender and difference in sport

Connell (2005 [1995]) defined hegemonic masculinity as those practices that legitimise men's dominant position in a society that justifies women's subordination, a social ascendency played out on a global scale reinforced through media, business, governments and tourism. Hegemonic masculinity assumes a white heterosexual male body as the dominant norm whose positionality is an ideal. Connell's 1995 concept emphasised the manliness of men, setting out a series of key characteristics such as aggression, competition and unwillingness to admit weakness or dependency. She describes how this is a stereotypical or extreme view of masculinity that is not generally practiced or considered to be the norm, going on to explain that there are particular moments in everyday life where some (not all) men may perform such masculinities that emulate this ideal. Classic representations of this ideal are ubiquitous within Hollywood movies where the familiar trope of the muscular, aggressive, white-male hero dominates (ibid.).

Similarly, this is true of mountaineering literature and film-making (Gifford 2013; Frohlick 2005). Exposure to such imagery and behaviours serves to reinforce the idea that particular masculine traits, such as strength, muscularity and self-control, in the face of extreme danger, are the norm; in contrast to feminised traits such as empathy, collaboration or emotional expression. The foundations of mountaineering have thus been built upon concepts of the manly ideal that pervades from a Victorian era, governed by rules forming a gendered regulatory force and space in which mountaineering is performed. Such an idealised place has masked any sense of 'otherness' or 'others' who may mountaineer differently.

Butler (2011) considers 'The category of "sex"' as 'normative' and a 'regulatory ideal' that:

> not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce – demarcate, circulate, differentiate – the bodies it controls (p. xi – xii).

Moreover, through a process of reiteration, the material practices of a body reinforces the norms of a regulatory ideal that are forcibly materialised over time. Yet the material performances of reiteration are in themselves flawed, allowing imperfections to creep in, and disruptions to occur. 'Bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is impelled' (ibid. p. xii). This creates instabilities, causes fissures to appear and openings to emerge that exceed or escape the norm and thus question the dominant hegemony. When a woman occupies the male space of mountaineering, she transcends the regulatory norms; whether she complies with the mountaineering rulebook or not, she challenges the hegemonic imperative. The temporal qualities of this space are fluid: 'sex' is not a 'static description of what one is … which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility' (ibid.). The performance of a material female body, even when reiterating norms, cannot replicate the regulatory ideal of mountaineering. Difference is the space that she creates. Identifying these differences, however, is challenging because they are largely hidden. For Rose (1993) difference is perceived from within because 'identity is relational' whereby who a person thinks they are depends on establishing how they are similar or different to others (p. 5). Situatedness is where difference is realised, creating a space in which one becomes the mountaineer one wants to be. Insisting, switching, resisting and enacting all produce an indeterminate state of being, where male characteristics can be adapted and transformed into female mountaineering practices (Grosz 1995; Derrida and McDonald 1982), which are often instinctive, affective forces and are largely unknown to the subject. Thus understanding the inner lives of female mountaineers is a particular challenge because it requires an unearthing of hidden differences that are so buried they may not even be recognised by the subjects.

Ultimately, mountaineering is an activity female mountaineers are passionate about and choose to do. It is undeniable that women have suffered structural oppression in mountaineering, however, to research female mountaineers from the standpoint of oppression and inequality would miss much of the richness that mountaineering represents for women (Frohlick 2005; Ortner 1999). Admittedly I consider the experiences of a particular group of female mountaineers, but do not intend to offer a feminine perspective as the only

point of departure, because this would be reductive (Aitchison 2005; Hartsock 2003), chiefly because the research participants themselves exhibited a diversity of perspectives and identities, depending on circumstances and conditions.

3.2.1 The situated nature of being other: Boundaries as a place to play

A primary objective is to unearth and challenge dominant perceptions of what mountaineering *is* by examining femininity in this context. However, I recognise that the mountaineering spaces women occupy are far more complex and contradictory than a fixed standpoint allows. Because experiences are relational and situated, experiences of oppression or conversely sensations of wellbeing, are felt at different times by different people in different ways, meaning that there is no one particular female experience of mountaineering. This is despite the fact that historical accounts and anecdotal experience point to patterns and connections that weave through women's experiences of mountaineering and butt up against specific boundaries. These boundaries, and transgressions of them, are rich with the semiotic understandings of how to practice mountaineering covered in the previous chapter, for example the way in which Pennington cared for her clients. Extreme mountaineering is situated at the playful boundary of physical knowledge. For Haraway (1988) the boundaries bodies encounter are productive of knowledge and 'are material-semiotic generative nodes. Their boundaries materialize in social interaction. Boundaries are drawn by mapping practices' (p. 595). Applying this concept to mountaineering opens an opportunity to explore how women map boundaries through situated experiences and thus how knowledge is crafted, utilised and evolves through mountaineering projects and social interactions. Lester's (2004) comprehensive analysis of mountaineering historical literature has determined specific boundaries such as: overcoming fear; achieving a sense of freedom from society and self; asserting and finding a better self; and experiencing the vital feelings of power and energy or physical sublime. However, as Haraway cautions, 'But boundaries shift from within; boundaries are very tricky' because they are subjectively constructed in situ and change with each encounter (Haraway 1988, p. 595). In this context, the risk in terms of this thesis is not to disengage from objectivity but to recognise the mutuality of my position and the uneven structures that mean I take a risk in not having ultimate control or clarity in this research. Therefore, I can give only partial and situated knowledges at the point when experiences are most potent, providing a lens on 'possible bodies and meanings' (ibid., p. 596).

3.2.2 A starting point not a standpoint

To take a route that actively seeks to establish equality would, therefore, miss the point since equality is a reductive standpoint reducing women to emulating the achievements of men (Grosz 2005). Aitchison (2005) argues that feminist work in leisure and tourism studies should:

> seek to go beyond earlier empiricist and standpoint accounts but pull back from the extremes of the 'cultural turn' and its denial of systems of oppression. As long as women experience inequality and oppression on a global scale, but differently across space and time, we need more than simply the polemic of radical feminism or the rhetoric of academic post-structuralism to bring about meaningful change (ibid., p. 221).

With Aitchison's (2005) call to strike a balance between the difference strengths of standpoint and post-structural feminist theory in mind, I intend to tread a careful path that draws from both areas of theory. So rather than taking a standpoint of women's experiences of mountaineering I aim to treat this as my starting point. Moreover, this study is situated within broader feminist debates about critical post-humanism or the 'desire to produce, or materialize, different embodied knowledges' (Fullagar and Pavlidis 2018, p. 448) to consider how 'bodies as relational multiplicities … move knowledge in different directions' (ibid.). Fullagar and Pavlidis have challenged the liberal assumptions in sport that position women as 'voluntaristic, rational, agentic subjects' leaving little room, by 'privileging agentic selfhood … for women to articulate how they are subject to contemporary power relations' (ibid.). I, therefore, set out on a journey to explore the very frontier of female mountaineering practice or a 'no man's land' that aims to problematise dominant perceptions in mountaineering.

In this section, I have considered boundaries as a playful and situated space where mountaineering bodies can test and exceed potential as a primary motivation for mountaineering. I next move to situate this study within feminist scholarship in terms of philosophical approaches to gender and difference. I do so by tracing this lineage through theories of affect to understand how female mountaineers feel, act and become gendered subjects. My aim is to reveal the dominant characteristics of female mountaineering and the impact this has on how women engage in mountaineering and thus construct identity and practice by enacting and resisting masculinities and femininities through risk-taking. This will lay down the foundations for a methodological approach.

3.2.3 Feminist scholarship

In this section, I sketch four key strands of feminist scholarship to outline the approach I intend to take within this thesis. I cannot do justice to the proliferation of feminist literature produced during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries because it is not within the scope of this thesis to do so. Beginning with postmodernism, I draw upon key figures, themes and critiques and then conclude with the approach that I intend to take.

Despite postmodernism offering the opportunity to critique the ideologies of modernism (for example rationality, universalist notions of objective reality, morality, truth, human nature, reason, language and social progress) there have been surprisingly few feminist scholars who have engaged in postmodernist theories of sexual difference (Duignan 2018; Gamble 2001; Owens 1983). Owens (1983) considers postmodernism as perhaps being 'another masculine invention to exclude women' (ibid., p. 61). Judith Butler, perhaps, in her book *Gender Trouble* (2010) is one of the few to approach notions of gender and difference through the postmodernist lens. Butler (2010) destabilised fixed definitions of gender, deconstructing 'existing authoritative paradigms and practices' (Gamble 2001, p. 298) and argued that sex or gender is constructed through language. Drawing on the work of de Beauvoir, Foucault and Irigaray, Butler (2010) posits that *being* a woman or *being* feminine is reflective of socio-normative understandings of what is masculine. She troubles the notion of what it is to be male or female to the extent that boundaries between sexes are dissolved, opening up possibilities of indeterminacy, mobility and interchangeability. In contrast, post-structural feminist scholars have critiqued this approach of deconstructing the very essence of man and woman because it creates a 'being' that resides 'nowhere' and 'runs the risk of cutting the ground from under [a body's]… basis in political action, that is the foundation of a politics based on difference of gender' (Terry and Owens 2005, p. 129). Such postmodernist deconstruction renders sexual difference as indeterminate and potentially apolitical. Post-structural theorists such as Foucault and Derrida focused upon the ways in which discourse is bound in systems of power that legitimise the subject, further developed by feminist Post-structural theorists such as Julia Kristeva's 'attempt to find the gaps and paradoxes within' legitimising systems to trouble 'dominant patriarchal ideology' (Gamble 2001, p. 299).

This study examines how women seek sentient experiences that are perceived to be free from everyday politics through engagement in risk. However, I trouble this sentient expression by considering the gendered foundations upon which mountaineering is built. I do so by tracing Butler's (2010) notion of language as a model of constructing gender through

the lens of the affective theories of Ahmed (2010) and Wetherell (2015) later in this chapter. Although I do refer to biological differences throughout this study, particularly in relation to the production of particular skills, I aim to challenge this through theories of affect. I attempt to do this by emphasising how perception, partly shaped through affective forces, is implicated in the construction and application of specific bodily practices in mountaineering. One method for achieving this is to use language as a way to trace these forces. For Post-structural feminists, the emphasis is upon power systems that flow through discourse, which they believe ultimately shapes identities. Moreover, the social construction of gendered subjectivities establishes that there is no single category of 'woman' or 'man'. Taking the standpoint of a woman is therefore problematised by the many societal factors: political, economic, gendered, race, and faith, that course through everyday life. Post-structuralist scholars such as Oakley and Haraway considered the everyday nature of women's lives. Oakley considered the role of being a housewife, childbirth and motherhood in the early 1970s, arguing for the recognition of domestic work as both subjugating and also raising its status to that of work outside of the home. Haraway (1988) argues for situated and embodied knowledges recognising that the standpoint of the subject is not 'innocent' through the practices of denial, repression and forgetting (p. 410). For her:

> Feminist embodiment, then, is not about fixed location in a reified body, female or otherwise, but about nodes in fields, inflections in orientations, and responsibility for difference in material-semiotic fields of meaning (ibid., p. 413).

Thus, for Haraway (1988), 'situated knowledges are about communities, not isolated individuals' (p. 415). The universal notion of woman is expanded to multiple viewpoints where a splitting of identities is not reduced to one generalised feminist standpoint. Such an approach allows one to have only a partial view of a subject at any one time, however as Haraway (1988) suggests this gives a clearer perspective of the social lives of women.

Such an approach is in direct contrast to postcolonial feminists concerned with how different colonial and imperial relations throughout the nineteenth century have affected race, gender and class relations. The particular emphasis is on the way power within society is structured. Spivak (1988) in her paper 'Can the subaltern speak?' expresses how those who are outside of the hegemonic power structures of the colony have limited voice and those who are female are 'even more deeply in the shadow' (ibid., p. 28). Feminist scholars have critiqued post-colonial approaches for being divisive, by considering smaller groups of women in

isolation from a broader milieu as ethnocentric (Chatterjee 2016). Chatterjee (2016) suggests that

> Understanding postcolonial feminism as 'half-full' entails knowing that maps – of space, bodies, and identities – are constantly redrawn, and there are many and varied maps than those that meet the eye (p. 38).

Chatterjee (2016) considers an intersectionality where race, class, sexuality, gender and disability are interwoven within everyday social life. This approach, it is argued, can be used to understand social inequalities with theorists considering all forms of oppression as interrelated systems at the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination (Crenshaw 1991). However, intersectionality also has its critics who purport that by over-simplifying forms of oppression one risks the creation of a homogenised view that those considered to be oppressed do not share. Indeed, those who could be considered oppressed may even reject and contradict the notion of what it means to be oppressed or what constitutes social injustice, for example, two women who have suffered an incident of sexism (Reilly-Cooper 2013). In addition, the idea that the individual who is oppressed is the best at understanding the injustices they have experienced is also contested. There are many subtle and hidden ways in which people are controlled through multiple power structures, so to reject the usefulness of generalised views misses an opportunity to build a collective voice that can be highly effective at raising political voice and traction (Reilly-Cooper 2013).

In sum, this complex web of feminist theory creates both opportunities and constraints for this thesis. The research participants are from a white western middle-class background and therefore to follow postcolonial feminist scholarship would be inappropriate. However, I do draw upon the insights of scholars such as Puwar, Chatterjee and Hill Collins in terms of their consideration of being 'other' and being an 'outsider' on the inside of a community (Puwar 2004; Hill Collins 1986). In particular Hill Collins' (1986) notion of 'outsiders within' or those who enter a space that is not traditionally recognised as being for them, yet either suppress or strive for legitimacy in these contexts which in Hill Collins' (1986) view is reductive of diversity (ibid., s. 14). A parallel can be drawn with Puwar's construct of 'Space Invader' or those outsiders who push into spaces that are not traditionally considered for them (ibid., p. 11). Both of these notions are pertinent to the lives of female mountaineers, who are outsiders in a very masculine mountaineering community. In tandem, I make a nod to both postmodernist and Post-structuralist concepts that have influenced the development of theories of affect and emotion in the context of geographical research. Butler's (2010) notion

concerning the fluidity between masculine and feminine identity is an opportunity to consider the interchangeable nature of identities female mountaineers adopt in the production of their activity. The focus upon difference and the body reflected in the work of Bordo (2003), Haraway (1988), and Grosz (2005) situates the body in place, time and sociality, affording focus upon the micro bodily processes but also on the impact which wider social norms have on the everyday lives of women mountaineers. Finally, I draw upon Derrida's notions of otherness, indeterminacy and play to explore how women mountaineers negotiate their everyday lives. I thus intend to draw from an eclectic mix of theory to illustrate both the micro and macro perspectives of contemporary female mountaineers' lives based in the UK.

3.2.4 Gendered bodies, sex and difference

Philosophers such as Derrida, Deleuze and Foucault challenged the Cartesian dualism that separated mind from body. The body became central to how power is both formulated and resisted, as de Beauvoir asserted 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman' (de Beauvoir 1997, p. 295) Feminist scholars have argued that 'theorising the body is especially pertinent to women, as the gender conventionally aligned with the body' (Carson 2001, p. 117). Scholars such as Oakley (1972) have contested binaries such as sex being considered biological and gender being socially constructed. Oakley (1972) argued that sex and gender identity are closely associated, but that gender is not biologically determined. Thus, 'gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex' and is thus an opening to 'multiple interpretations of sex' (Butler 2010, p. 8). Butler (2010) also critiqued the reductive nature of a split between sex and gender through widening concepts of gender identity to include the movement between sexual identities such as transgender, transsexual, cross-dressing etc. Likewise she considers that '"sex" is a political and cultural interpretation of the body, there is no sex/gender distinction along conventional lines; gender is built into sex, and sex proves to have been gender from the start' (ibid., p. 154). On the one hand Butler (2010) considered how societal norms associated with acceptable behaviours for men and women act as inhibitors and regulators reducing freedoms to be other. Yet in contrast, its analysis found a positive turn toward the uncoupling of gender from biological determinism because:

> when the constructed status of gender is theorized as radically independent of sex, gender itself has the potential to become a free-floating artifice, with the consequence that man and masculine might just as easily signify a female body as a male one, and women and feminine a male body as easily as a female one (ibid., p. 9).

In this context female mountaineers can enter a masculine space such as mountaineering and adopt, enjoy and be free to express masculine characteristics such as aggression, leadership and autonomy and can cast off the apparel of fragility (Dowling 2000; Wearing 1998). Although a highly gendered space, I argue mountaineering can also be an emancipating space for women where they can affect a sense of indeterminacy or adopt quite radically different ways of being, such as those exhibited by female mountaineers like Katy Richardson or latterly Bonny Masson, who were highly competitive and used aggression to accomplish their goals. The notion of difference is a central concern for Western philosophers as a process for distinguishing one entity from another. In Post-structuralist theory, difference is understood to be constitutive of meaning and identity and was significantly developed by Derrida. Derrida (2006 [1978]) argued that meanings are not determined through fixed differences between objects and subjects in a structure, but are only ever partial and shifting processes. Thus meanings derived from lived experience are ephemeral and ever-evolving or situated (Derrida 2006 [1978]). Such Post-structural notions of difference have been foundational to the work of leading feminist scholars considered next.

3.2.5 Derrida: Difference and indeterminacy

Grosz (2005) suggests 'Derrida is really the first (male) philosopher for whom feminism is essential if philosophy is to be undertaken properly, adequately, or well' (p. 88). In her view Derrida's gift to feminism, although not his original intention, was his approach to theories of difference:

> the very concept whose contours explain not only the relations between the sexes and relations between sex and gender but also the relations between subjects and the relations constituting subjects (ibid., p. 89).

The ever-shifting and ephemeral nature of meaning and thus identity, although not explicit in Grosz (2005), can be traced in theories of affect (expanded upon later in this chapter) generated by difference. Grosz (2005) explains that the production of identity constructed through difference 'is the gift of infection or contamination, the insight that every "thing", concept, being, is always already infected by its other, its outside, its adversary, its boundary or limit' (p. 89). Similarly to theories of affect, subjects are relational and constantly changing and in flux. As Colls (2011) points out, Grosz' analysis of difference as 'force' (Grosz 2005) has similarities to non-representational geographies:

> Grosz (2005) uses force as a way of opening up new possibilities for the constitution of sexual difference. This means developing an account of

> difference that is not pre-given, hierarchical or oppositional (Colls 2011, p. 441).

and thus indeterminate. Moreover, subjects are freed from sexual differentiation and become indeterminate enabling fluidity between masculine and feminine norms. Grosz (2005) suggests that Derridean approaches to difference foreground the very essence of feminist theory concerning scholarly political interrogations of the body, desire, emotion, subjectivity and identity; differences that can transform and produce other ways of knowing. Female mountaineers become an extreme form of other by pushing, splitting and forcing new frontiers of experience within a masculine space, unsettling the norm. By breaking the shackles of conventionality women like Le Blond and Bullock Workman become intruders within the male space of mountaineering. In this sense Derridean theories open a doorway for understanding the material essence of *being* that is not reducible to binaries or dualisms, as Grosz asserts:

> Derrida … demonstrated that difference exceeds opposition, dichotomy, or dualism and can never be adequately captured in any notion of identity or diversity ... he understood … all entities, things in their specificity and generality and not just terms … Difference is the very heart of materiality, of ideality, and of their difference or opposition, just as it is the core of being and its differentiation in becoming, or the 'essence' of identity and its excesses (ibid., pp. 90 – 91).

Importantly, Derrida rejects the notion of equality between men and women in what he described as a '*reactive*' feminism (Derrida and McDonald 1982, p. 68) that could not be resolved through the acquisition of certain rights or values in a bid to make women and men the same (Grosz 2005). Derrida worked on the principal of a fundamental indeterminate difference between the sexes. He understood difference to be the 'methodology of life' (Grosz 2005, p. 90), determinant of specificity; it should not be reduced to dualisms such as equality/inequality, aspiring to emulate 'men's accomplishments and positions' (Grosz 1995, p. 121). Instead Derrida offers a model built on indeterminacy between the sexes where one is complicit with the other. This allows analysis of more active and positive forms of difference (Grosz 1995). Therefore, Derridean notions of difference provide an opening to explore temporal qualities of sex, gender and material movement. It is one that is not founded upon differences between the sexes or achieving equivalence, but one that commits to maximising understandings of the complexity of difference.

Grosz (1995) makes two points: firstly, bodies, male or female, are intrinsically linked and inscribed by one another; and, secondly, have the capacity to become and play between masculinities and femininities, assuming different identities at different times but not 'take on the body and sex of the other' (p. 122). Thus, I argue through empirical research that the ontological position of women in mountaineering unsettles the status quo because of their capacity to interchange between femininities or masculinities by becoming 'outsiders within' (Hill Collins 1986, p. 14) as epitomised by Mary Mummery, who argued contrary to the notions of her *weaker sex* she was more apt to climb formidable routes due to the slower nature of the hardest climbs. I go on to suggest that this is not, however, an 'innocent' action (Haraway 1988, p. 584), if a female mountaineer has her opposite in a male mountaineer she is implicated in and complicit with her opposite, by her very participation in mountaineering (Grosz 1995). This does not mean a dismissal of binary oppositions, between how men or women mountaineer, but a blurring of the boundaries between opposites, creating an opening for re-transcribing the ontological basis of mountaineering by tracing the affective lived experiences of female mountaineers.

Moreover, masculinity in the context of this thesis takes an embodied perspective, one that is situated but ever shifting, and bound by affects upon a body and that a body exerts in place. In definition, Connell's (2005 [1995]) perspective on masculinity is pertinent in that:

> Masculinity, to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience and culture (p. 71).

The very act of being a female mountaineer is thus a political act of resistance that I contend creates a highly specialised form of interaction, identified by Mary Mummery who believed that a woman's 'powers are, in actual fact, better suited to the really difficult climbs' (Mummery 1908b, pp. 94 – 95). Applying indeterminacy to the ways in which women do mountaineering, and specifically how women play at the boundaries of risk, allows a detachment from a politics of equality, offering a possibility to consider the somatic material experiences of female mountaineering in tandem with the emotional re-transcribed experiences that occur both during and after mountaineering is performed (Grosz 1995). Therefore, Grosz' approach to Derridean theories of difference provides a theoretical foundation to interrogate both the affective cabling between the corporeal and perceptual experiences of female mountaineers, and how difference is manifest. It also allows an opening to consider how difference is constructed in this context. Ingraham (2005) argues

that society constructs male and female as opposites or the 'opposite sex' and, therefore, in potential conflict: 'This is a social priority and NOT something that is naturally occurring' (ibid., p. 2). Women are thus different but not opposite to men. Yet the dominant semiotics imposes a belief system that opposites exist when they do not – and in fact only differences exist. This is a naturalising process that is not recognised as 'social, political and economic' in everyday life (ibid.). Thus:

> Sexuality is highly variable over the life span. To manage this reality, we have created a set of identity categories and corresponding belief systems to produce the illusion that sexuality is fixed and unchanging and not highly organised and regulated-institutionalized. We use these categories to situate ourselves within a value system that is patterned hierarchically (ibid.).

This is illustrated by American mountaineer, Steph Davis', view that:

> When I think about alpine climbing, I think of really heavy packs, sleep deprivation, weird and dangerous snow, ice and rock, horrific body odor, and being exhausted/hot/wet/cold/scared. Most women are not naturally attracted to these things. Alpinism is much more experience-dependent, and there is zero glamour involved. It takes hard training, hard work, a strong mind, and a willingness to endure. Yet I would say these are all things that women excel at, physically and mentally, if they can get past the initial turn-offs (heavy packs, stinkiness, grovelly climbing, etc.) and the cultural feminine stereotypes of our current society. (Britney Spears and Nicole Kidman are not alpinist material.) (in Loomis 2005)

Although, as Davis notes, women excel at the hard work and are capable of enduring the privations in mountaineering, women who engage in such activities place themselves in opposition to the norm. Social conditioning that reinforces what women are and 'are not naturally attracted to' thus, limits what women can *naturally* do (in Loomis 2005).

In sum, indeterminacy is a space where women can play with risk, if only fleetingly. To experience the unknown is not a silent practice; experiences of risk are traded with peers through the verbal and non-verbal language of the body which is the material that forms the empirical evidence for this research. I next turn to affective theories as a methodology for understanding the different ways women mountaineer. I begin by considering Post-structural notions of affect as a methodological foundation for interrogating the social lives of female mountaineers, and I conclude by defining the particular approach I developed to do so.

3.3 Affect as method: Understanding how female mountaineers feel and act as gendered subjects

The influence of the post-structural philosophies of Deleuze and Derrida laid the groundwork for a return to affect as a conduit for interrogating the 'dynamism immanent to bodily matter and matter generally' (Clough 2008, p. 1). Scholars during the so-called affective turn conceptualised affect mainly following Darwinian and Deluezian models of thinking (Thrift 2008; Massumi 2002; Blackman 2012; Berlant 2011; Probyn 2010; Clough 2008; Stewart 2008; Protevi 2004; Sedgwick 2003). This approach has been critiqued by some academics because it rejects the idea of discourse and also on account of its emphasis on pre-subconscious actors that affect us in imperceptible non-representable ways, described as the matter that invades our bodies at a biological pre-subconscious level (Wetherell 2015). Moreover, non-representational theories developed by Thrift (2008) establish affect as 'transhuman': 'in large part a biological phenomenon … [a] sensation that is registered but not necessarily considered in that thin band of consciousness we now call cognition' (Thrift 2008, p. 236). Geographically this conceptualises affect as an outside stimulation that somehow first hits the body and then reaches the cognitive apparatus. Thus, bodies that are both human and non-human act as 'receivers and transmitters' (ibid.), continually affected by the flow of messages. Such messages are beyond comprehension and manifest themselves at a local, regional and global level. Although Thrift (2008) uses emotion and affect interchangeably, he is careful to avoid the pitfall of equating 'everyday emotional life' with 'individual subjective experience' (Bondi 2005, p. 438). This contrasts with Butler's (2011) notion of gender being determined through language alone opening the body to forces that are not necessarily directly connected to it and yet still have an impact. Scholars who have critiqued this transhuman approach have moved towards a more material and humanistic perspective. Pile (2010) challenges the distinctions made between emotion and affect (the pre-personal and personal). His point along with others is that by not engaging with the richness of discursive practices, and the semiotics of conscious representation synonymised with emotion, risks reducing the empirical researchable data available to an incomprehensible mystery (Wetherell 2015; Stewart 2011; Pile 2010; Ahmed 2010; Bondi 2005). Lorimer (2005) begins to re-humanise affective life by reconnecting with everyday concerns, conceptualising affect as more-than-representational by turning attention to the insignificance of:

> how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive

> triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions (p. 84).

Such a focus, Lorimer suggests, provides a practical way in which to research affect and escape from the 'academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation' *(*ibid.). Lorimer (2005) in turn, like feminist geographers, critiqued non-representational theory for its largely Anglo-phonic origins and focus, suggesting that affect becomes, in these terms, de-humanised or a body that is undifferentiated without the apparatus to consider difference, gender, ethnicities, or dis/ablement (Wetherell 2015; Colls 2011; Ahmed 2010; Anderson and Harrison 2010; Pile 2010; Anderson and Wylie 2009; Bondi 2005). Bondi (2005) suggests that non-representational theory is 'too abstract, too little touched by how people make sense of their lives, and therefore too "inhuman", ungrounded, distancing, detached and, ironically disembodied' (p. 438). Similarly to Lorimer, Stewart (2010) materialises how the insignificance of everyday affective lives are constructed and ever-evolving, where 'everything depends on the dense entanglement of affect, attention, the sense and matter' (p. 340). Stewart (2010) considers how affect is generative through repetition of everyday micro-actions: 'It is the production and modulation of "life itself" through worlding refrains. Synthetic experiences become generative repetitions of care and potentiality' (ibid., p. 353). Conceptual framing that applies to climbing a mountain, breathing glacial air, sensing danger, feeling exposure, caring about those left behind, fear of failing, lacking confidence and sensing wellbeing is epitomised by Tullis' (1987) experience of climbing K2 where the 'mountains offer the ultimate human experience – to be involved physically, mentally and spiritually' (p. 209). Stewart (2010) offers a geographical perspective on how atmospheres circulate and generate forces that build emotional expression locally, regionally and globally. Affect is the cabling between objects and subjects making 'emotional reaction possible and inevitable' (Wetherell 2015, p. 158). None would argue that affect is distributed, in-between, relational and situated or that it has practical and social implications, or material affects.

Both Ahmed and Wetherell reject the notion of a split between the pre-subconscious and reflexive discourse. In the context of this thesis, such a split is not conducive to understanding the everyday lives of extreme mountaineers who interpret and construct meaning and communicate their experiences socially. Like Stewart (2007), Ahmed (2010) posits that emotions are synonymous with affect. In her essay *Happy Objects,* Ahmed (2010) considers how '*happiness is happening*' and how it 'functions as a promise that directs us toward certain objects, which then circulate as social goods' that become 'sticky', sticking to bodies

such as those mountaineering and being synonymised with manliness/masculinity, thereby excluding women/femininity (p. 29). Ahmed's approach to the cultural politics of emotion and affective economies provides a foundation for considering the connections within communities and how some bodies become marginalised. With Ahmed's work in mind, I aim to ground embodied experiences of female mountaineers within the complex, live and often problematic personal and interpersonal practices of mountaineering (Wetherell 2015). Although Wetherell's (2015) critique of Ahmed's work on affect and emotion suggests Ahmed 'reify[ies]' emotion from its 'practical context' (p.158), Ahmed offers a more regional and geographic approach to understanding the movement of forces that shape perceptions, an approach useful to the study of female mountaineering. Wetherell (2015) does acknowledge however '*the specificity of the relational and historical emphasis*' (p. 159) of Ahmed's work. Wetherell, however, offers a more practical methodology for researching affect in a move to: 'affective practice, so that it becomes the topic, rather than the circulation of emotion and affect in itself' (ibid.). She points towards, a social practice approach that provides a means to research the immediacy of situated emotional events that occur and their constituent parts.

To conclude, Ahmed and Stewart offer a social psychological and geographical approach to consider the local, regional and global flows and 'sticky' attachments that occur with and without conscious decision-making (Ahmed 2010, p. 29). This mixed approach enables consideration of both 'the affective states and meaning-making processes involved in the transmission of affect' (Wetherell 2015, p. 139) to access the 'raw material' (ibid., p. 140) of what it is to be a female mountaineer, providing useful approaches for researching those intensities that make feelings feel because:

> Without affect feelings do not 'feel' because they have no intensity, and without feelings rational decision-making becomes problematic (Damasio 204-22). In short, affect plays an important role in determining the relationship between our bodies, our environment, and others, and the subjective experience that we feel/think as affect dissolves into experience (Shouse 2005).

3.3.1 Mountaineering as a wilful act of resistance: Enacting and resisting masculinities and femininities through risk-taking

Women mountaineers have made a wilful choice (Ahmed 2017) to resist social pressures to conform to a collective will to be a good daughter/wife/mother and find happiness in the things that others expect them to find happiness in. This is epitomised in the case of Alison Hargreaves (p.33), further discussed below. Ahmed (2017) describes the wilful subject as a

person who is not satisfied by the things that make others happy, taking a different path that others find hard to understand or even reject. Women who undertake independent adventures or extreme sports do not conform to what society deems normal because they reject the expectations of the collective will (Warren 2016; McNeil, Harris and Fondren 2012; Wheaton 2007; Raisborough 2006; Newbery 2003). As a result, women mountaineers are perceived as, wilful, strange, and incomprehensible, for taking what others consider extreme risks, in order to achieve a sense of wellbeing. Lewis (2000) refers to this as a binary between a climbing body in opposition to a metropolitan body, where a climbing body is defined as being organic, self-determined, tactile and of the ground; in contrast to a metropolitan body defined as inorganic, passive, ocular and groundless. Lewis (2000) refers to the 'tension wrought of suspicion, a thought of what the climbing body is not' (p. 59). It contends that the metropolitan body and climbing body only exist because of their co-presence and are part of what it is to be a whole human being. Thus exploring gender as part of the multiplicity of what it is to be human and a mountaineer raises questions of difference and the tensions that arise from this.

In the context of Lewis' (2000) analysis of climbing, mountaineering is thus not only a marginal activity due to its courtship with death, a pursuit at odds with metropolitan society, it is also politically motivated (Lewis 2000). The pursuit of wellbeing and happiness becomes an embodied form of politics for female *hard* mountaineers, pushing the meaning of 'woman' by opening a different pathway and expanding the space for what a woman can be (Hall 2019). It creates space and a different route for achieving feelings of happiness or wellbeing and is a measure of difference. Being a woman like Alison Hargreaves defied social norms. As a mother of two young children she wilfully risked and lost her life pursuing her mountaineering ambitions. She was portrayed as selfish, a consequence not experienced by male peers (Frohlick 2006). Her actions resisted the restrictions imposed through the social pressures to conform to the role of mother, of wife, of being feminine, opening a pathway for different possibilities (Ahmed 2017; Wearing 1998). Hargreaves' actions were to right the wrong that had restricted her space to be a mountaineer. By resisting socio-cultural norms, Hargreaves' gender became a matter of consequence (Ahmed 2017). The price paid because of wilfully resisting conformity to social norms, by wanting to be a mountaineer, is a burden that the research participants faced daily (see chapter seven for more on this). Deviating from social norms concerning expected feminine behaviour can, as McNeil, Harris and Fondren (2012) point out, lead to social sanctions of being labelled too manly, lesbian, unfeeling or cold, regardless of sexual orientation. In addition, women suffer conflictual feelings of

appearing less attractive through being too masculine and being viewed as such. These concerns have been explored through research that considered how sporting women negotiated their lives between two worlds, that of sport and wider society (Messner 2002). Thus, the consequences of gender ripple through a woman's mountaineering life exerting pressures from metropolitan society and from the mountaineering community itself. For female mountaineers, mountaineering becomes a 'weapon of resistance' in both worlds (Lewis 2000, p. 64), resistance that requires a careful negotiation and management of outward expressions of emotions.

3.3.2 A methodology

As I have argued, women are outside and in opposition to the norm in mountaineering and when they participate in mountaineering they become *other,* perhaps even 'outsiders within'. By transgressing normative social values to undertake high-risk activities women move into a highly masculinised space, bringing a whole different set of constraints to bear (Hill Collins 1986, p. 14). Of particular interest to this study is the question of how women negotiate space to be the mountaineers they want to be in such a gendered environment so as to achieve a sense of fulfilment and wellbeing, and I thus seek to explore how they utilise resistance and coping strategies.

However, it is not from a particular standpoint that I propose to research female mountaineers, instead I aim to take a broader approach that encompasses the complexity of difference in terms of how women assume different identities at different times (Beames and Pike 2008; Haraway 1988). As a result, I have opted for a methodology that aims to tread a careful path through a complex arena of feminist scholarship. I take a broad geographical approach that aims to avoid oversimplifying what constitutes a female mountaineer in the UK, but still attempt to identify patterns through the affective lived forces that course through mountaineering communities. I choose to follow the affective scholarship of those who synonymise emotion and sensation with affect in an attempt to develop a practical methodology that encompasses social discourse along with bodily expression to pinpoint methods for detecting affect(s). In this thesis, I take up Pile's (2010) call to explore that space between the flows of affect and bodies. He attributes emotions and affect with a shared ontology that is fluid, describing emotions as moving and affects as circulating. Pile (2010) states 'emotions are experienced and expressed within the body, affects define what the body can do' (pp. 10-11). The liminal space between sensation and emotional reflexivity is a

place where I propose to start exploring the affective lives of women mountaineers, or the space where the co-mingling of imagination and corporeal experience occurs.

The masculinised arena of extreme sports is differentiated by the level at which participants engage. Serious leisure and edgework are defining characteristics that build perceptions of exclusivity and establish different spaces to do mountaineering. These are spaces where women can interchange between masculinities and femininities with the potential to develop 'transformatory [femininities] and gender relations' (Robinson 2008, p.22 my emphasis). Exploring the potential of female participation in mountaineering to be transformatory could have both an empowering and emancipating effect on perceptions of identity (Wheaton 2007); particularly when considering how resistance is constructed, interpreted and practiced (Wheaton 2007). Understanding this could lead to enhancing women's perceptions and experience in mountain spaces and ultimately finding a social and political voice.

Through chapters two and three I aimed to show how masculinised attitudes and behaviours have persisted from the middle of the nineteenth century through to the present day in mountaineering. Historical restrictions handed down through the generations have continued to control how a female body performs mountaineering. Controlling the body in such a way maintains hierarchies, distinctions and differences: the body is a site that is contested and a means to interpret acceptable behaviour in respect of conformity or rebellion. Thus, a situated body is pivotal to how mountaineering is represented and performed (De Beauvoir 1997 [1949]). I have attempted to trace a line that illustrates how women have deployed methods of resistance and coping strategies since the early days of Victorian women's mountaineering. In the next chapter, I turn to the body by drawing upon Derridean philosophy to build a theoretical foundation for understanding female mountaineering bodies and the embodied practices of connecting to mountaineering communities.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE BODY, DERRIDA AND COMMUNITY

I have identified in the previous two chapters how women achieve legitimacy within the mountaineering community by innovating new ways to mountaineer. To achieve legitimacy, however, often conflicts with a desire to seek escape and thus absolute alterity from the everyday; creating a dichotomy between senses of freedom and conforming to social norms. I aim to explore this tension by building a framework through Derrida's theorisations of absolute alterity and his metaphorical use of the body's immune system to represent how communities function or become dysfunctional. In doing so I show how individual mountaineers are in a continual cycle of ethical crisis, precipitated and affected through connectivity to communities and the sense of responsibility towards 'others' this produces. I then explore the specific practices within this context through interpreting Derrida's theory of play as 'mountaincraft', forming an epistemological basis for how mountaineers acquire and shape sentient knowledge through the process of emotional reflexivity. Thus I develop mountaincraft as a model to understand how extreme sensations of exposure to risk produce particular kinds of bodily expressions and practices, by exploring how such practices enable mountaineers to transcend fear.

I also consider mountaincraft in terms of how touch is crucial to the enskilled practices of bodies in extreme environments and how spatial practices are formed haptically. I conclude by synthesising these philosophical concepts in terms of a mountaineer's desire to seek out risk to understand what motivates women in this highly gendered arena. Thus, Derridean deconstruction offers a 'rational operation … that traces the fault lines in any system or structure' (Mitchell 2007, p. 286) to interrogate how women exceed their potential to be other in the context of the hypermasculinised community of mountaineering (Frohlick 2005). I start by using Frohlick's (1999, 2005) conceptual development of hypermasculinisation as a means of demonstrating how Derridean theory can open productive ways to explore how women experience mountaineering.

4.1 Hypermasculinisation

Ortner (1999) describes mountaineering as a form of hypermasculinisation, having been predominantly a male sport, built on male styles of interaction and all-male institutions. She states:

> while it was about many things – nature and nation, materiality and spirituality, the moral quality of the inner self, and the meaning of life – it was always in part about masculinity and manhood (p. 217).

Frohlick (1999) argues for a broadening of the concept of hypermasculinity to allow space for the complexities of gender within mountaineering to be better understood. This is echoed by Moller's (2007) critique of hegemonic masculinity for being overly prescriptive and not attending to 'what men actually do, say and feel' and because 'men's practices and motivations are often more complex than the concept of hegemonic masculinity allows' (p. 263). By broadening perspectives about what women say and do space is opened in which to consider the processes of renewal and flux through their reiterative and resistive performances in mountaineering (Butler 2011; Frohlick 1999). In her analysis of mountain film festivals, Frohlick (2005) describes how hypermasculinisation continues to perpetuate the traditional view of the male adventurer performing feats of extraordinary endeavour through conquering summits, personal fears and incomprehensibly hard achievements. These achievements are described as 'hardcore' in a masculinised discourse that contrasts starkly with how women are portrayed in this genre of films, where they are marginalised as 'soft' mountaineers and often depicted in films as less significant others (Frohlick 2005, p.182). Frohlick (2005) argues that mountaineering narratives portray men in a hypermasculine way, using language that is often matter-of-fact or supposedly neutral that reinforces the social norms of the sport; in contrast, narratives that express women's adventures are inflected with their *sex* or gender. Film-making, in the same vein as the practice of naming and ranking mountaineering ascents, is largely pioneered and categorised by men, producing a hypermasculinised landscape which 'women are not expected to occupy' (Frohlick 1999). Thus, the representations of women in mountaineering literature, film-making, and all forms of marketing are marginalised within mountaineering. Yet as Pennington has shown through her care for clients in high altitude mountaineering expeditions, women's presence challenges the nature of mountaineering, as it is understood to be, by showing how softer skills are crucial for survival.

Frohlick (1999) challenges the notion of hypermasculinity as a fixed entity of manly performances and traits, by revealing inconsistencies in mountaineering literature to show how men observe ethical concern for 'others' that resists the dominant machismo. Randall's (2015) film *Operation Moffat* depicts the struggles climber Claire Carter has with confidence, an emotion more prevalent in women when pushing boundaries of risk (Sharp 2001). The film draws inspiration from Gwen Moffat's mountaineering achievements, representing a

departure from the familiar heroic masculine trope to reveal a different way to approach climbing. Throughout the film, Carter uses the mantra 'what would Gwen do?' to push beyond personal barriers, revealing an inner voice (in Randall, 2015). The fact that the film won many accolades within the international mountaineering film circuit, including at Banff Mountain Film Festival, suggests that both men and women support and empathise with difference. Randall's (2015) film, however, is not the norm in this genre and I suggest situates women's different approach to mountaineering in opposition to the norm. Further, I posit that it could contribute to perpetuating the perception that women are weaker than and not as hard as others. Headliners at the major festivals perpetuate legitimate ways to mountaineer and are still heavily dominated by masculinised narratives that reinforce and regulate normative behaviours. For example, Lee's (2013) film *The Last Great Climb* promotes Leo Houlding's attempt on a new route in Antarctica as 'an epic to end all mountain epics'. Similarly, the portrayal of British mountaineer Andy Kirkpatrick in his film *Psycho Vertical* opens with the statement 'I am a dangerous person' (Kirkpatrick 2017). Both are major award-winning films that epitomise dominant masculinised representations of strength, bravery and being hard. In contrast, films like *Operation Moffat* are still very much on the periphery as outliers and oddities whose protagonists struggle not with the mountains but with their inner fears.

I contend masculine narratives mask the fluid nature of the gendered experiences of mountaineers (male or female), largely omitting the everyday differences of 'others' and the 'otherness' in mountaineering. The hypermasculine traditions of mountaineering, borne of its earliest antecedents, foreground the struggles for legitimacy and sense of freedom, robustly expressed in Kogan's politically charged expedition to Cho Oyu which aimed to be 'a challenge to international womanhood' (in Nelsson 2009, p. 123). At this point, I make a distinction between feeling a sense of legitimacy within a community, in contrast to achieving sensations of freedom from everyday worlds. The latter is a space where women mountaineers can feel a sense of absolute aloneness or alterity through 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi 1998 [1988]), described later in this chapter. These two very different kinds of sensations, I argue, create a paradox that causes women to simultaneously reject and reinforce the hypermasculinised community of mountaineering. I begin by building a philosophical framework to demonstrate how this is manifest through Derridean notions of achieving an absolute sense of freedom or alterity that is continually troubled by always being connected to communities. Applying Derridean philosophical theories through a feminist affective lens offers the potential to develop an understanding for the complexity of

the interrelationships, interchangeability and inconsistencies manifest through masculinities and femininities which women perform in mountaineering. The aim is to reveal the gendered patterning of their sentient and emotional lives and to build knowledge about how women utilise resistance or coping strategies to understand how women 'do masculinity' in mountaineering (Evers 2009, p. 893).

4.2 Derrida: Islands, autoimmunity and being free from the herd.

> The effects of the absence of 'others' are the real adventures of the spirit (Deleuze 2015 [1969], p. 344).

Describing the shipwrecked Robinson Crusoe's revelation that 'others' (the things that constitute everyday life) are what disturb the world, not the loss of them, Deleuze (2015 [1969]) proposes that absolute isolation produces a purity of 'being' that cannot be achieved when connected to others. Similarly, Derrida considered Crusoe's marooning on an island as an analogy for absence or the notion of being disconnected from others. In striking contrast to Deleuze and many major thinkers of the twentieth century, who believed human beings could possess knowledge of others, Derrida considered absence as a state of being without others, in the sense that he assumed 'the singularity and absolute alterity of the other' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 258), thus making an absolute refusal to allow for any sort of communication between one so-called subjectivity and another (Hillis Miller 2007a). Derrida was suspicious of Heidegger's existentialist concept of the human body 'Being-in-the-world' or *Dasein*, in particular the paradoxical experience of being that is peculiar to human life in terms of awareness of living 'with-others' or *Mitdasein. Mitdasein* is considered a primordial feature of *Dasein* or 'the world is always the one I share with Others … a with-world [or] Being-in-themselves-within-the-world' (ibid., pp. 251 - 252). Derrida's assumption *is* that every self or *Dasein* is isolated from all others (Hillis Miller 2007a), thus denying that the interiority of the self can be shared with others – that we are islands – and do not have access to the inner worlds of others. In particular, this notion also breaks with the majority of geographic models of enquiry in its absolute refusal that one human life can know the inner life of another (Wylie 2010; Hillis Miller 2007a). Not only does this notion deconstruct the possibility of knowing others, but also challenges the assumptions of being part of or having inner knowledge of a community. Thus, Derrida assumes that a being has absolute alterity or is 'wholly other' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 255). Of course, we make connections with others, families, communities, peers, continually, but when these interrelationships are made with 'others', through language, gaze or request, this disrupts the singular 'self' that results in a

sacrifice of ethics or of an inability to achieve absolute alterity. Like Crusoe, each person is marooned on his or her own island, a world that is singular and alone, where interaction within a community inhibits a person's ability to achieve a state of absolute alterity (Derrida 1995). Hillis Miller (2007a) illustrates this from his translation of Derrida's unpublished papers:

> Between my world, the 'my world'; what I call 'my world,' and there is no other for me, every other world making up part of it, between my world and every other world, there is initially the space and the time of an infinite difference, of an interruption incommensurable with all the attempts at passage, of bridge, of isthmus, of communication, of translation, of trope, and of transfer which the desire for a world and the sickness of the world [mal du monde], the being in sickness of the world [l'être en mal de monde] will attempt to pose, to impose, to propose, to stabilize. There is no world, there are only islands (in Hillis Miller 2007a p.265, Unpublished Translation).

As Deleuze asserted, the absence of others is the real adventure of the spirit and in this sense Derrida's notion of absolute alterity offers the ultimate space where mountaineers can experience sensations of complete freedom, or what I interpret as, and Csikszentmihalyi (1998 [1988]) calls, 'flow' (p. 3). Flow is characterised by complete absorption, where a sense of space and time have an infinitude that produces positive feelings of control and wellbeing. To achieve such a sensation a mountaineer must expose themselves to unknown physical boundaries or risk that enables an uncoupling from societal connections and cares. I posit that the theory of absolute alterity can be traced through concepts such as flow along with other key motivations cited by mountaineers for doing what they do. I also interpret this as a bodily state that produces sensations of indeterminacy, where the politics of gender are transcended and an absolute uncontaminated sense of self can be experienced.

Although, in this context, having inner knowledge of others or communities is impossible, being affected by communities is ever present resulting in a tension between a perceived sense of freedom and conforming to achieve sensations of legitimacy within communities. Extreme forms of exposure are thus vital for a mountaineer to achieve sensations of freedom to reach a pure sense of being, 'wholly other', and I argue this is a primary motivation for a mountaineer (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 255). Therefore, the theory of absolute alterity for Derrida was in opposition to the concept of community. For him communities represented interconnections that can only affect individuals' inner-selves, where a *body* can only react to the affect on *it* and has no control over the affects *it* has on *others.* As such, this perhaps offers an explanation for how the hypermasculine atmosphere of mountaineering can

produce a diversity of manifestations and impacts and could be argued as doing so across communities in general (Lingis 1999). This offers a possible explanation for the contradictory nature of female audiences at mountain film festivals who both distance and place themselves within such hypermasculinised 're-articulations of adventure' (Frohlick 2005, p. 175). In this way the potential for misunderstanding, misinterpretation and misrepresentation can occur rapidly within communities. Ambivalent attitudes towards what freedom *is* in contrast to how legitimacy is achieved thus troubles the landscape of female mountaineering.

4.2.1 The function of autoimmunity in communities: Reinforcing and a turning in

Following 9/11 in an interview with Giovanna Borradori (2003), Derrida used the biological analogy of the immune system to describe how communities exist and become autoimmunitary or dysfunctional (see Mitchell 2007 for an in-depth discussion). The premise of his argument was that biologically the immune system acts to protect the body, creating immunity from foreign bodies and aliens; for which, in the same way, the hard rules of mountaineering are highly effective by establishing exclusivity through the processes of achieving legitimacy. However, communities can also produce autoimmunitary reactions when the immune system turns in on itself. In this context, 'the immune system is riddled with images … of invaders and defenders, hosts and parasites, natives and aliens and of borders and identities that must be maintained' (Mitchell 2007, p.282). I posit that women oscillate between the states of defender and alien within mountaineering communities, as illustrated by Pennington (see p. 60) being ostracised for having the temerity to lead where only men were perceived to be able to do so, in contrast to her maintaining the status quo by under-promoting her achievements, she epitomises the silencing affect communities can have through fear of autoimmune reactions towards being perceived an alien or 'outsider within' (Hill Collins 1986, p. 14).

The words 'community' and 'immunity' share a Latin etymological root in *mun,* meaning a sense of fellowship, feeling or relationship with another and thus have a base in a socio-political discourse, not a biological one. 'Immunity' in Latin, or *immunitas,* originates in the legal concept of exemption and it is in this context that Derrida applied the concept of autoimmune processes to illustrate how communities can self-destruct (Mitchell, 2007). In so doing, Derrida produced a powerful tool to interrogate how a community strives to keep itself uncontaminated from aliens or invaders, which can produce an autoimmune reaction that effectively 'shoots itself in the foot' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 270). Moreover, each

community produces antibodies to protect itself, for example the rules that govern particular activities like mountaineering that act to auto-immunise members from challenges to the status quo and openings for greater diversity and difference. Derrida theorised that communities, through repression, generate the very thing that they seek to exclude, thus producing the alien, the terrorist, the criminal, the female mountaineer, from within. As such, political, economic, legal, and social structures inevitably produce oppositional autoimmune reactions within communities. Derrida used the notion of the terrorist cell as an autoimmune reaction that is located within and not outside a community, creating a terrifying vision of how impossible it is to develop a blanket antidote, epitomised by the 'war on terror', to tackle such a perceived threat as terrorism (Hillis Miller 2007a). This illustrates how undifferentiated approaches to perceived problems lead to autoimmune reactions where a community turns in on itself (Mitchell 2007). Mitchell (2007) argues how the war on terror has been ineffective, evidenced by the global proliferation of attacks by terrorist cells, or individuals/groups that reside within the community. The alienation produced by the blanket application of rules produces resistance from those who feel alienated from their community which in turn creates an autoimmune reaction to such measures of control.

Viewed through this lens, the mountaineering community is a highly regulated and oppressive regime which has produced its own kind of autoimmunitary reactions or terrorist cells. Kogan's expedition, for example, sought to legitimise women's mountaineering by rejecting any form of male help. This escalation of rule-making had a reductive effect upon women's efforts to achieve legitimacy, rendering later outstanding achievements by women as lesser or inadequate, such as Rutkiewicz' first ascent of Gasherbrum III, a prime example of how the female mountaineering community shot itself in the foot (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 270). Like Pennington, if women step too far out of line they risk being ostracised and lose access to valuable social resources. If they reject the hypermasculine culture and take action, they can produce greater barriers to legitimacy than experienced before. Women are 'Damned if they do' and damned if they do not (Douglas 2015, p. 314).

4.2.2 A route to a possible solution

The solution Derrida offers is based on specificity, collaboration and learning systems as a way to resolve differences within a community:

> the auto-immunitary haunts the community and its system of immunitary survival like the hyperbole of its own possibility. Nothing in common, nothing immune, safe and sound, heilig and holy, nothing unscathed in

> the most autonomous living present without a risk of autoimmunity … this death drive that is silently at work in every community, every auto-co-immunity, constituting it as such in its iterability, its heritage, its spectral tradition. Community as com-mon auto-immunity: no community <is possible> that would not cultivate its own auto-immunity, a principle of sacrificial self-destruction ruining the principle of self-protection (that of maintaining its self-integrity intact), and this in view of some sort of invisible and spectral sur-vival. This self-contesting attestation keeps the auto-immune community alive, which is to say, open to something other and more than itself: the other, the future, death, freedom, the coming or the love of the other (Derrida 2002, pp. 82, 87).

Although the autoimmunitary analogy used by Derrida has dark implications it also demonstrates how bodies such as communities are vital, ever changing forces with the absolute potential for change, adaptation and innovation. If, as Derrida suggests, we work to detect the processes of learning and apply them through practice, perhaps difference can be integrated and inequalities can be reduced. Until the hypermasculine nature of mountaineering communities is challenged more robustly and change is embraced, the necessary adaptation and learning that integrates and legitimises difference cannot occur in mountaineering. When, as Derrida also suggests, difference becomes a point of learning the fundamental meaning of hero/heroine – the central tenet of mountaineering - can effectively be challenged and evolve. Next, I consider how Derrida attempts to reconcile the dichotomy between absolute alterity and being part of a community.

4.2.3 Being offline: Rejecting 'the herd' and seeking aloneness in the crowd

These seemingly diametrically opposed notions of the self as an island separate and always alone, unable to connect to the interiority of others, in contrast to being within a community as either pathogen or commensal, Hillis Miller (2007a) suggests, can be reconciled by Derrida's definition of community as 'das Man, the they … or "the herd"' (p. 274). As such, Derrida does not define himself as being *'one of the family*' (Derrida and Ferraris 2001, p. 27) or the herd/community, refusing 'to belong to any family or community because it is only in isolation from such belonging that a responsible, responsive ethical relation to another person can take place.' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 274). Derrida expresses:

> 'I am not one of the family'. Clearly, I was playing on a formula that has multiple registers of resonance. I'm not one of the family means, in general, 'I do not define myself on the basis of my belonging to the family,' or to civil society, or to the state; I do not define myself on the basis of elementary forms of kinship. But it also means, more figuratively,

> that I am not part of any group, that I do not identify myself with a linguistic community, a national community, a political party, or with any group or clique whatsoever, with any philosophical or literary school. 'I am not one of the family' means: do not consider me 'one of you,' 'don't count me in,' I want to keep my freedom, always: this, for me, is the condition not only for being singular and other, but also for entering into relation with the singularity and alterity of others. When someone is one of the family, not only does he lose himself in the herd, but he loses the others as well; the others become simply places, family functions, or places or functions in the organic totality that constitutes a group, school, nation or community of subjects speaking the same language (Derrida and Ferraris, 2001, p.27).

In fact, as Derrida goes onto assert 'the desire to belong to any community whatsoever … implies that one does not belong' (ibid., p. 28). I posit in this context that female mountaineers effectively detach themselves from the herd, in a rejection of normative society. This loss of belonging opens a space for adventure, producing a sense of wellbeing or otherness. In contrast, when connecting with what could loosely be described as the community of mountaineering, female mountaineers experience a loss of self, suggesting that the ethical self is compromised, creating autoimmunitary reactions that are gendered, evolving, and have both negative and positive impacts within the communities women mountaineers are connected to. Female mountaineers are 'outsiders within' (Hill Collins 1986, p. 14) and they enjoy a status that sets them apart from normative society, bringing with it a sense of exclusivity. However, that sense of exclusivity shifts when experienced within the mountaineering community where achieving legitimacy becomes highly gendered. Hargreaves' solo ascents were a way to achieve legitimacy without male assistance and retain a sense of alterity when performing her climbing. I go on to show that solo climbing is an important aspect of female mountaineering for these reasons.

The space of adventure is at the interplay between absence and presence/dreaming and being – where subjects are engaged in play and are free from the politics of society or 'wholly other' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 255). Yet a mountaineer in search of absence is haunted by a 'responsibility-to-others' or communities and is always alone, unable to connect to the inner worlds of others, illustrating Derrida's claim that 'There is not a world, there are only islands' (in Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 276). Through this Derridean lens, I approach subjectivity via an ethos of a responsibility-to-others to explore, as Dilley and Scraton (2010) point out, that women are subject to different kinds of responsibility and care established through normative social values, in particular, those governed by perceptions of what constitutes an acceptable level of risk which women can take, such as familial values where they are

expected to be more risk-averse than men. I posit that these values shape how women encounter mountains. In sum, Derridean theories provide a philosophical platform for exploring and understanding the complex and different ways women encounter mountaineering and how they create spaces and places of significance (Ahmed 2010; Relph 1976). In what follows I first consider classical phenomenological understandings of the body and how these theories cannot, in the context of this thesis, provide the potential for a broader geographical enquiry. I then turn to Derrida's notion of play to foreground my approach to the emotional, sensing and embodied experiences of female mountaineers. In addition I use Ingold and Pálsson's approach to the concept of enskilment to establish how women become skilled at developing an acute knowledge and intuition, foundational to the enskilled practices of mountaineers or 'mountaincraft'.

4.3 Affective dreaming: A body at play

> There was one blank moment while I took it in, and then my knees began to shake. Below, literally, vertically below, and a very long way down, was Vicki's head. I was out on an overhang and almost the whole abseil was free. I wouldn't touch the rock the whole way down (Moffat 2013 [1961], p. 210).

In classical phenomenological terms, Merleau-Ponty considered a sensing body to be 'caught in the fabric of the world … [and] … the world is made of the very stuff of the body' and is therefore, creative of the spaces it occupies (Merleau-Ponty 1996, p. 124 – 125). For Merleau-Ponty *Dasein* – Heidegger's notion of being-in-the-world – is an embodied, immersive, mobile, connective experience that is relational and situated. In this context Moffat's (2013 [1961]) experience of fear, expressed in the quote above, is illustrative of how mountaineers build visceral stories where a body is gripped by physical sensations of risk producing vital embodied knowledge (Barrett and Martin 2016; Monasterio and Brymer 2015; MacFarlane 2003; Lewis 2000). The act of making a scary abseil produced, for Moffat (2013 [1961]), a sense of fear creating a conscious experience of being-in-the-world, where a subject is cognitively infused by and 'of-the-world'. Encounters like Moffat's are imbued in the physical stories that describe and re-inscribe what mountaineering *is* through the act of storytelling. Thus, the stories mountaineers tell of their exploits are productive of knowledge of the relational self.

I argue that such phenomenological approaches to the body, although hugely valuable in revealing somatic understandings of spaces and places, are not sufficient to achieve the

broader affective and geographical study of the gendered nature of female mountaineering foundational to this thesis. Moreover, classical phenomenological understandings do not provide scope for consideration of the wider affective implications and interactions between bodies, politics and power (Langdridge and Butt 2004). For these reasons, I turn to Derrida's theories because they offer scope to consider the complexity of bodies that are simultaneously inside/outside, local/regional, self/community. Derrida's theory of absence and presence expressed through play considers how a body *in play* is simultaneously 'wholly other' when mountaineering and within community (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 255). Moffat's (2013 [1961]) visceral storytelling of a body immersed in an act of survival gripped by physical reactions to risk and fear, I argue, is founded in an innate sense of play, because a body at 'play is the disruption of presence' and signifies a system of differences and the movement of a chain where female mountaineering is formed through its practices (Derrida 2006 [1978], p. 369). As Derrida states, '[p]lay is always play of absence and presence' (ibid., p. 369), where we seek to be absent or to escape from everyday life, and become '…enisled…' that is the preserve of the ethical self (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 287). Absence is, however, presence. Bodies possess knowledge of absence through dreams of presence where the intangible and impossible are crafted into a living mountaineering experience or in other words play is practice and practice is foundational to building knowledge (Hall 2018). For Derrida (2006 [1978]):

> Being must be conceived as presence or absence on the basis of the possibility of play … For there is a sure play: that which is limited to the substitution of given and existing, present pieces. In absolute chance, affirmation also surrenders itself to genetic indetermination, to the seminal adventure of the trace (p. 369).

Play can be a space of indeterminacy where bodies become inscribed with traces formed from sentient and emotional experience or dreams of 'full presence', thus play can release a body from gender (ibid., p. 370). We dream of play and of physical adventure and therefore play is ephemeral in nature and is 'an imagination of, and a movement towards, presence … and a means of attempting to hold onto a world that always eludes our grasp' (Rose 2006, p. 538, 545). Thus play is chance where presence is felt through the residual traces of imagined adventures and is the 'affective cabling that connects self and world' in a 'dreaming of full presence' (ibid., p. 537, 545). By troubling Heidegger's notion of *Dasein*, Derrida committed to deconstructing notions of subjectivity enisling the inner sensations of bodies at play; yet the trace of the others haunts attempts at self-definition found in 'dualities such as self/other, speech/writing, culture/nature' (Wylie 2010, p. 107). 'Dreaming of full presence'

is a yearning for something that may not arrive and in this sense, there can be no absolute alterity. Thus, places are formed from absent presences that displace a sense of self, creating distance, and this is what we perceive place(s) to be (Wylie 2010). Mountaineers dream of mountain-place(s) as a space of play, which is enisled and indeterminate and can only be known by the somatic self. However, mountain-spaces are constantly ruptured by ethical concerns for others or by affects that define, name and categorise when given to life experiences, and these are affects that '…move(s) us…' (Rose 2006, p. 537, 545). To be wholly 'with-oneself', to be absolutely alone, is a dream of presence and what moves mountaineers to transgress the everyday and take risks.

Risk and the unknown are spaces to be 'wholly other' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 255) and in which to feel free before ethics are sacrificed by a 'call to care' for others (Rose 2006, p. 542). The elusive nature of securing space to be wholly alone produces what Wylie (2010) considers to be a yearning and sense of loss for something that can never be achieved, a factor that motivates mountaineers to try again, to repeat exposure to extreme danger and to play at the frontier of risk. We are islands of the everyday in search of otherness, the true adventure of the spirit, subjectified through a playful dreaming of happenchance, anticipation and unknowns. Rose's (2006) conceptual development a 'dreaming of full presence' (p. 537) points to a methodological approach for studying affect through material practices. Building upon this I aim to develop this concept by synonymising: emotion with affect; the cognitive with bodily sensation; the physical with the psychological; and the cultural with the biological apparatus. The processes of affect are not separate or externalised but experienced from within and in situ through the material practices of the body. (Wetherell 2015; Ahmed 2010).

Derridean theories of absolute alterity, the autoimmunitary nature of communities and the notion of play and presence are foundational to this thesis, providing the philosophical tools to explore post-Heideggerian concepts of being-in-the-world. Following Wylie (2010), Derridean theories, in a broader context, may contribute and 'inform a new array of narratives and subjectivities within cultural geography' (p. 108) and therefore provides the underpinning for this thesis to contribute new knowledge. I now consider approaches for researching the sentient and emotional experiences of female mountaineering bodies, by exploring material ways of crafting subjectivities, knowledge and identities in mountain places and spaces.

4.4 Embodying mountain places: Absolute alterity and functional communities

Predominantly, mountaineering narratives describe feats of great endurance through sentient experiences of cold, heat, exposure, movement, ground, and the rock, sensations that form as physical memories. McCarthy states that these 'tales of intense awareness and connection reveal a more fundamental integration between human subject and natural object than our culture has imagined' (McCarthy 2002, p. 179). Mountains come into 'being' through the imaginative traces of sensoria, (Anderson 2009) where impossibilities are possible, a place where the 'seminal adventure of trace' (Derrida 2006 [1978], p. 369) is played out. Moreover, the world of mountaineering is an embodied world created through the meshing of imaginings and sensorial traces. Mountain places are not just representations that reside in perception alone, they are material and embodied. Relph (1976) argued that 'Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world' (p. 141). The phenomena of mountaineering produces muscular stories of mountain adventures opening space for subjective imaginings that flow into corporeal experience. Movement in place foregrounds embodied experience in the sense that 'our mobilities create spaces and stories - spatial stories' (Cresswell and Merriman 2011, p. 5) that have the potential to bring place into being. Therefore a mountaineer cannot know how it feels to climb a route until they do it themselves and this drives the desire to both imagine and repeat the sensation. Mountain-places then are a 'dreaming of full presence' or hauntings that trigger physical memories or traces of desire to reconnect to past felt sensations and relive them (Rose 2006, p. 537). Mountaineering routes are places that represent a space to experience flow or absolute alterity or play for play's sake because it feels good to move in a certain way and to touch surfaces and to defy gravity (Csikszentmihalyi 1998 [1988]).

When sentient feelings translate into emotion meaning is attached to place, place is formed and a sense of absolute alterity or play for play's sake is lost. These experiences of the inner self cannot be shared, only a trace of what had been can be communicated through semiotic processes of emotional reflexivity. Communities transmit experiences as currency through stories, which in turn are shaped into social goods that create place, and place becomes symbolic of the kinds of sensations that can be experienced (de Certeau 1988). This repetition builds places, creating social capital that is traded through the sharing of sentient knowledge expressed through story, imitation and replication. Therefore, I make a distinction between those places shared with 'others' or within communities as being functional where a sense of

self is lost in contrast to those places of absolute alterity where conscious and sub-conscious raw sensations experienced in situ produce a highly desirable form of sentient expression. I contend that these are two very different kinds of places experienced by female mountaineers and I seek to explore how these two worlds are experienced.

Suggesting that the embodied experiences of place are politicised by the interconnections woven in and through communities. For example, hypermasculinised filmic representations, such as the familiar trope of the epic tale of a mountaineer conquering the mountain, reinforce how embodied experiences should be performed in mountaineering. Ever since Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay first climbed the highest mountain in the world, in 1953, Everest has been a national place of significance for the British people. Consequently, Everest functions as a political statement of national pride and so to climb it is a function of being part of a community of 'others' who share that experience or desire. Sharing experiences is commensal, diluting a sense of absolute alterity and represents a loss or a joining of 'the herd' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 274). Even though climbing Everest for many is considered extreme, for hard mountaineers climbing Everest has become functional, everyday, and mundane. Everest is not an unknown, it is not a place on the frontier of experience, and in contrast, hard mountaineers require space to experience exposure to absolute risk to reach an uncontaminated sense of alterity. The new, unknown, least climbed, speediest, harshest conditions are the places hard mountaineers dwell.

Playing at the frontier of absolute alterity opens up a body to be inscribed with raw sensations that constitute sentient knowledge of a body in place. Such physical knowledge functions 'as a means of richly differentiating spaces into places, creating centres of special personal significance' (Relph 1976, p. 11). If such knowledge is shared with others through storytelling this has the affect of fixing a body 'in place' rendering raw sensation into a function for the consumption of others, transmuting sentient muscular stories into the social capital of epic heroic storytelling (Casey 2009, p. 9). I argue the choice to be a mountaineer originates at a point of absolute alterity, a dreaming of play that uncouples the body from being fixed in place, a nonverbal muscular 'enisled' place of significance (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 287). This is the ethical dilemma that a mountaineer faces to be in the moment and at play, disconnected from the 'affective cabling that connects self with world' (Rose 2006, p. 545) but always, in some way, not far from others and the common sensibilities of care, sensibilities which I posit generate autoimmunitary reactions within individuals and the mountaineering community itself. But without presence absence would be a body adrift

without anchor without purpose or meaning. Emotional responses are thus implicated with a sense of care that pull mountaineers back to conformity through the processes of emotional reflexivity, which I consider next.

4.4.1 Emotional reflexivity: Troubling notions of raw sensation

Emotional reflexivity is the movement from raw sensation to conscious reasoning. It is a social framework imbued with socio-normative expectations and is relational, bringing ethical concerns to the fore, such as doubt, guilt, shame, joy, wellbeing and excitement. Life without emotion would be a life without contrast, a flat line of nothingness, devoid of the richness of human experience (Baumeister et al. 2007). Baumeister et al. (2007) reject the idea that emotion is the direct causation of behaviour, proposing a theory that emotion is 'a feedback system whose influence on behaviour is typically indirect' (p. 167). It considers that:

> Full-blown, conscious emotional experiences operate to stimulate cognitive processing after some outcome or behaviour. They facilitate learning lessons and forge new associations between affect and various behavioural responses. Subsequently, these associated affective traces may shape behaviour without having to develop into full-fledged conscious emotion. The outcome of the cognitive processing can also serve as valuable input into further behaviour even in the same situation that gave rise to the original emotion, if time permits. Ultimately and crucially, people learn to anticipate emotional outcomes and behave so as to pursue the emotions they prefer (ibid. p.168).

Emotion is thus a retrospective model of feedback, stimulating reflexive appraisal of action, sensation and conscious emotional states, providing learning guides for future behaviour. The implication is that the masculinised mountaineering atmosphere can seemingly influence instantaneous sentient non-emotional actions, subconsciously guiding the very essence of mountaineering sensoria experienced. I suggest that the hypermasculine space of mountaineering triggers reflexive feedback affecting instantaneous physiological reactions, actions and movements, thus guiding physiological responses. An emotional reflexive feedback system has the potential to act as a guide for sentient action and reaction when a body is mobile; even during moments of being in 'flow' or the rapid instantaneous feeling of freedom in movement, where a body acts without conscious restraint when emotions are not present or active (Csikszentmihalyi 1998 [1988]). The intrinsic reward produced by the sensation of flow 'tends to reinforce the activities that elicit it' however unpredictable and chaotic it is to produce (Barrett and Martin 2016, p. 157). I suggest that the sensoria experienced whilst mountaineering are what Baumeister et al. (2007) refers to as:

> automatic affective reactions (such as liking and disliking something) that are simple and rapid and may well guide online behaviour and quick reactions, even when the full-blown, consciously experienced emotional reaction (complete with physiological arousal) may be too slow and complex to be useful in the same way (p. 168).

Following this model, the mountaineer, in an act of instantaneous movement, does not experience the emotions of fear, happiness or wellbeing in a conscious way, but is all the same guided by hypermasculinised socio-normative values associated with full-blown conscious emotional responses, thus illustrating the complexities and interrelationships between what is perceived to be raw sensation at one end of the scale and full-blown emotional reflexivity at the other. The implications of Baumeister et al.'s (2007) notion of emotional reflexivity is that subjects can never be free, even momentarily, from others. I, therefore, choose to synonymise emotional reflexivity with autoimmunity as space where politics imbues the interactions of bodies in space. I now turn to the material and practical concerns of the body to show how mountaineering is constructed as a sentient craft that is politicised at its very origin. In doing so I ask whether sensations of absolute alterity can ever be achieved?

4.4.2 Beyond the visual: Enskilment, mountaincraft and the freedom to feel

> Toil and pleasure, in their natures opposite are yet linked together in a kind of necessary connection (Livy 1823, p. 417).

Sight, sound, smell, taste and touch are the primary ways in which the body receives and processes information. Specialist sensory organs, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue and skin, receive raw stimuli and translate these into signals, actions, emotion and knowledge. The sensory organs provide the physiological capacity to perceive the world through sensory modalities such as movement or proprioception, pain, temperature, balance, chemicals, and through thirst and hunger. In addition, there are other sensory modalities of perception not based on sensory organs, such as a sense of a passage of time, agency in terms of taking particular decisions and actions, and times where a subject recalls or feels something familiar, a sense of déjà vu or perhaps a sixth sense. When describing how Alaskan fishermen decide where to fish, Pálsson (1994) refers to non-body organ-specific sensory modalities as the 'skipper's "nose"' (p. 908). Ingold and Lee (2006) considered how movement, such as walking, is practice, formed through the processes of enskilment (Ingold 2000, Pálsson 1994). Enskilment is a process of knowledge creation that works through spatial, intuitive practices, like walking over technical terrain where a body absorbs a myriad of information that enables

balance and safe efficient movement (Lorimer 2011). Ingold refers to enskilled practices as 'an education of attention' (Ingold 2000, p. 37), the temporal attunement to objects and subjects that creates places of significance (Edensor 2012; Stewart 2007). In mountaineering, this is referred to as 'mountaincraft'.

Mountaineers will describe their journeys in terms of feeling the right way both physically and perceptually when attempting to follow a mountaineering route. Whilst climbing the North face of the Cima Grande di Lavaredo Hargreaves (1995) expresses how the route she was on 'did not feel right. No. Where I was had to be the way'. Through assessing the quality of the rock Hargreaves sensed her way up the vast face without compass, map or GPS, relying on an acute sensory attunement to find the right way (Hargreaves 1995 p. 114). This suggests that mountaincraft is as much sensory attunement as it is the ability to use technical equipment and scientific methods to navigate a route. Unlike thrill-seekers such as those who perform one-off activities like bungee jumping, who divest the responsibility for risk to others, mountaineers work independently and tirelessly to manage the risks themselves (Monasterio and Brymer 2015; Robinson 2008; Kiewa 2001). This has led to a proliferation in scientific and technological advances in mountaineering equipment and its use; countless mountain training programmes for physical conditioning of the body, leadership, safety management, and rescue techniques; and many 'how to' manuals. This professionalisation of mountaineering, I suggest, is an attempt to make the sport more socially acceptable by managing perceptions of risk in a plethora of technological and scientific language. The aim is to rationalise a sport conducted in a chaotic and highly unpredictable environment and thus deflect autoimmunitary reactions from the wider western society of which mountaineering is a part. Set against this backdrop the sensory meaning of mountaincraft*,* or those mystical qualities associated with intuition, prescient knowledges and sensing, has, I argue, been to some degree lost. Langmuir's (2004) technical manual for mountaineers, *Mountaincraft and Leadership,* under a section on personal experience, hints at these sensing knowledges:

> Leaders need sufficient depth of experience to enable them to recognise those exceptional situations when the text book answer should be disregarded. … it becomes a question of using past experience to help judge what needs doing … Mountaineers have a rather vague term for this. They call it having 'mountain sense'. There are times when it is intuitive and almost subconscious in nature and other times when it is strongly conscious and insistent… (p. 319).

Even though Langmuir (2004) acknowledges there is no substitute for personal experience, the handbook does not provide a guide for how to gain the kinds of experience that will

develop 'mountain sense'. Instead, it predominantly focuses on the scientific and technical tools used in mountaineering (ibid.). Perhaps as Winthrop Young predicted mountaineering to some degree has evolved a set of

> traditional rules too ridged to admit of a wholesome influx of new and original conception, mountaineering will cease to deserve the name of an art or craft, and become at best an 'organized game' (Winthrop Young 1920, p. viii).

Although the inclusion of a log-book period within all the national mountaineering qualifications, whereby aspirants have to complete a certain number of mountain days in different areas and conditions, is acknowledgement that 'sensing knowledge' cannot be taught formally, it is experiential. Mountaincraft is then left hanging, an unwritten expression of bodily knowledge passed down through stories told verbally and physically, and is 'the interpretation of the Seen or the reconstruction of the Unseen… [it is] … the art of confirming conjecture as to what is beyond … sight from 'signs' within view' (Winthrop Young 1920, pp. 370, 371) These 'signs' are interpreted and reinterpreted in different ways before, during and after each event and assimilated in a non-linear temporal process of emotional reflexivity. The log-book is such that as Winthrop Young describes:

> We may write of a 'snow sky' and an 'ice sky,' and a mountaineer who had them pointed out to him would recognize the difference; but we cannot with truth say "a snow sky is whitish-blue, or shows as a white underside on a cloud," or "an ice sky is a greyish-blue, and reflects a shade of grey from a cloud," because a different climate or region might anywhere contradict our colour definitions. But the distinction between the two would remain as a constant difference of tone under all identical conditions, and it would be perceptible to a trained eye (Winthrop Young 1920, p. 371)

Mountain sensing is thus a state of alterity that cannot be shared or imparted to others it has to be lived. Undoubtedly technologies and scientific advances in mountaineering equipment, techniques and training have opened up greater possibilities to a larger number of people wishing to participate in extreme mountaineering, but not all desire the acquisition of mountaincraft. There are those who wish to participate under the guidance of others to reduce feelings of risk, in contrast to those who wish for independence to experience their own 'mountain sense', or the embodiment of feeling, sensing and knowing risk which in turn produces bodily strategies for survival (ibid.). If this is true, then perhaps mountaincraft has its origins in those ancient skills of the hunter-gatherer (Ingold 2000).

Researching the enskilled practices of Alaskan fishermen, Pálsson (1994) uses the analogy of 'getting one's sea legs' (p. 901), the process of being immersed in the practical world that moves a fisherman from novice to skilled practitioner. Equally, in mountaineering, developing a sense of mountaincraft is accompanied by an ambiguous language that alludes to particular skills mountaineers should possess to tackle physical problems. This includes phrases such as: 'the crux' for the hardest of moves; having 'an epic' which usually alludes to a traumatic experience; being 'gripped' denotes when a climber has experienced fear; 'flow'; or being in the 'white room' where sensory deprivation caused by whiteout conditions in a blizzard produces a loss of spatial awareness. What these phrases do is describe the possibility of something but they do not offer a code for unlocking their inner sentient secrets. Thus, mountaincraft hints at a richer intuitive language of the body that is deeply in tune with rock, air, snow and ice, which creates a mood or atmosphere of corporeal expression rather than words. Mountaincraft is the visceral knowledge deployed in a moment of alacrity when words are inadequate because it becomes all about the action (Lingis 1999). Therefore mountaincraft*,* or what both Ingold (2000) and Pálsson (1994) refer to as enskilment, which is an 'Understanding in practice … in which learning is inseparable from doing, and in which both are embedded in the context of a practical engagement in the world' (Ingold 2000, p. 416). In addition, enskilment is 'grounded in the context of practice … it is indeed a bodily exercise' (Pálsson 1994, p. 920). In this sense, for mountaineers, practical engagement in the world is embodied in mountaincraft*,* the crafting of knowledge that aids survival. For mountaineers, mountaincraft represents a world where they can dream of and live 'a life slightly less ordinary … and a freedom to feel 100% alive' (Peter 2018). Mountaincraft enables a mountaineer to sense*:*

> The exquisite feeling of linking moves high above gear on beautiful rock or simply moving high up on the mountainside above the valley floor focuses the mind and empties it of clutter, a much sought after seldom found sense of a perfect moment (Peter 2018).

Mountaincraft produces those moments of alterity of an uncluttered self, a physical muscular knowledge of self, seemingly unabridged by every day cares. Of course, as well as the sentient, mountaincraft attends to technical skills and navigating using compass, map and the various assemblages of equipment such as crampons, climbing protection, ropes etc. (Barratt 2010, for a more extensive explanation) but it also, in an unwritten sense, applies to the way a body perceives movement in situ*,* to which Peter (2018) alludes, or those haptic sensations of touch and proprioception. Mountaincraft is a sensory plethora of practices which I would

argue is dominated by touch and proprioception or how we feel and move our way through the world. We are continually moving, creating, acting and performing, 'To move is to do something' (Cresswell and Merriman 2011, p. 5), and movements are how a body learns to *be* wherever it is situated. Intuition, sensation, feeling and how subjects through embodied practice form knowledge are central to understanding how the world is experienced and a key concern for this study. Practices such as walking, running, and mountaineering creates 'spatial stories' (ibid.) upon which subjects build understandings of bodies in situ. Like learning to ride a bike, we build knowledge of the muscular mechanics of moving on two wheels, knowledge that stays with us over a life course (Lorimer 2011). This is the epistemology of touch or haptics, considered next.

4.4.3 Haptic storytelling: To-sense-is-to-touch-is-to-know

Haptic understandings of the body have received increasing attention in sociological research and more recently within scholarship concerning geographic and sporting embodiment (Spinney 2011; Humberstone 2011; Allen-Collinson and Hockey 2010; Evers 2009; Lewis 2000). Allen-Collinson and Hockey (2010) cast a wider perspective on the corporeal by attending to the 'sense/s of touch' as a counterpoint to the 'ocularcentrism … endemic in much Western writing on the corporeal' (p. 1). In terms of rock climbing Lewis (2000) attests to the centrality of the hand to 'sculpt thought, the hand is … the privileged discloser of our most intimate sensing of the world' (p. 70). The morphology of different bodies means that no one mountaineer will move in the same way as another and thus when faced with a sheer rock face they have to 'feel their way up a route via tactile navigation' (ibid., p. 71) a practice that cannot be mapped out in conventional cartographic terms. I argue that this is not a practice of just touch; it also deploys haptic, ocular, auditory and olfactory knowledge. Shapes and textures, assimilated visually, act as triggers for how a body must move and contort to make upward progress. In contrast to this visual cues are often deceptive and what looks like the way to go can often be misleading, therefore a mountaineer must feel a way upwards. Thus, developing a rounded appreciation of sentient knowledge is crucial, such as being able to detect and associate certain sounds with danger or a sense of security. For example, the noise made when climbing protection makes a positive chink can indicate a safe placement; or the whistle/rumble of stone fall followed by the taste/smell of freshly broken rock can indicate danger; or the disinfectant buzz in the nostrils of an electrical storm, all produce haptic knowledge and develop the sense of mountaincraft.

Cognitive assimilation of what a climbing route might be like is usurped by embodied experience (Lewis 2000). To touch is to feel, to feel is to know, and the body is inscribed by the reciprocity of the mountain. Touching and feeling things build a profound connection to mountain environments and is produced through how surfaces and types of ground feel under your weight and how they change your body position as you move with the contours, forming shapes and levers to make progress; how surfaces feel soft, gravelly or hard; how weather fluctuations produce different reactions when it is hot, cold, wet, windy; and how the temperature feels on your skin (Crouch 2015). Looking at a map or indeed the world in which a mountaineer is situated can only produce a partial and sometimes misleading understanding of what lies ahead (Allen-Collinson and Hockey 2011; Spinney 2011). Visually we observe the world from a distance, but to know a place we have to feel and touch it as well as see it; we read things visually before we touch the ground, but it is not until we feel and touch the ground that we know it materially, so that '…we know as we go…' (Ingold 2000, p. 229) through a process of visual haptics building kinaesthetic knowledge. The body is recast and remapped as it is with any physical endeavour by its relationships to the environment. Even Langmuir's (2004) core manual for the national mountain leadership qualifications only alludes to what developing a 'mountain sense' might mean and falls short of providing an explicit definition for what mountaincraft is (Langmuir 2004, p. 319). I would argue mountaincraft is the language of the body that combines all sentient stimuli that influence and inform spatial tactics applied to undertake a mountaineering route combined with the use of technical equipment and scientific analysis of weather, rock and ice that is communicated through a rich tradition of storytelling.

Storytelling after a climb is a ritual shared with peers or knowledgeable others. This is often an emotional release of knowledge that details how particular moves were made, where rock features created problems and how these were overcome. The vagueness of the guidebook is criticised, often in amusement, deviations or mistakes that were made are discussed and also how the weather affected the experience. These stories are ritualistic detailed epistemological analyses passed to other would-be ascensionists. They are told in animated and often lengthy performances involving whole body demonstrations that form the foundation of wisdom or common sense of mountaineering. 'Thanks to that knowledge, based upon the repetition of experience through generations and apprenticeship' (Arnaud 2014, p. 39), mountaineers are able to navigate without maps or technical instruments. They construct, in much the same way as the Micronesian mariners, a space or mental map of their journey. 'Time doesn't exist or space' (Moffat in Mort 2017), it becomes pitches or sections to

be climbed or time segments that are not determined by metrics or a 'common sense geography' forged from a 'complex set of memories, places, conditions and times' (Arnaud 2014). Expanding Berger's (2008 [1972]) notion of what is seen and known as never being settled, what a mountaineer senses/feels and knows is never resolved. For how can a chaotic mountain-world have ever been known; only the bodily experiences of chaos can be known, mapped and shared.

4.4.4 A rich tradition of haptic storytelling: Sociality of mountain climbing

During her extraordinary feat of climbing all the six major north faces in the Alps in one season, British mountaineer Alison Hargreaves suffered one of many mishaps on her ascent of the Cassin Route on the Piz Badile in Switzerland:

> Then a foothold collapsed and as I slid down onto the weight of my arms, outstretched from the ice axe, my chest slid down the spike on the axe's shaft. Desperately, I kicked into the snow again, saving myself from falling down into the void, a depth I was unsure of, and finally straddled across to the rock. Shaken and in pain, I dried my boots and wobbled over the rest of the ramp (Hargreaves 1995, p. 91)

Mountaincraft saved Hargreaves from disaster, instantaneous knowledge of how to move and to avert danger swamped any feelings of pain or fear. Hargreaves was in survival mode, and haptic knowledge is what saved her. This is an example of where visuality is equal to other senses and in particular to touch. Hargreaves retold her journey through a broad milieu of sentient expressions, a practice that has ancient origins, where over millennia people have recast their journeys through storytelling to others:

> An Inuit traveller, returning from a trip, could recount every detail of the environment encountered along the way, miming with his hands the forms of specific land and sea features. Such gestural performance, after a long journey, could last many hours … for the Inuit mappers it was the performance that mattered (Ingold 2000, p. 232).

This Inuit performance is a clear demonstration of enskilment translated into the practice of sentient storytelling mapping a journey and place. Similarly, Hargreaves story epitomises a prolific use of storying to relay details about a particular route in western mountaineering culture. This is because routes cannot be mapped in the traditional sense. Like the Inuit, mountaineers describe in detail the physical moves, acting them out in a process of rehearsal, a long reach, a finger pinch hold or crimp, a gap to be jumped, the textural quality of the rock, the lack of sunlight, the presence of water. All of these things build a kinaesthetic story of the

journey made or to be made. To know a mountain, a mountaineer has to know and interact with materials it is formed from and the materials they introduce to it, materials which Ingold (2011) argues 'are active', thus a mountaineer must become sensitive to the subtle changes of the material world developing a place-sensitivity and place-responsiveness, through haptic mapping processes (ibid. p. 29). Brown and Wattchow (2011) draw attention to the relational nature of our encounters in place referring to this as a place-responsiveness formed from an assemblage of things we are drawn to and affected by. Humberstone et al. (2016) considers the notion of place-responsiveness as having: 'significant implications for further development of transdisciplinary analyses' (p. 422). Exploring place-responsiveness of female mountaineers has the potential to shed light on how their sense of mountaincraft is developed and utilised through haptic understandings shaped by emotional reflexivity. Thus, mountaincraft is the epistemological basis of mountaineering.

Deleuze and Guattari's (2013 [1988]) analogy of the rhizome as a system of processes, signs and even nonsigns illustrates how intuition, lived experience and being attuned to subtle changes in situ build responsive knowledge foundational for surviving in harsh environments*:*

> unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature; it brings into play very different regimes of signs, and even nonsign states (p. 21-22).

Ingold (2000) argues that this intuitive knowledge, built through experiential attentive learning, is different to the use of artificial technologies of modern day navigation such as maps, compasses, GPS watches and so on. It makes the distinction that:

> places are constituted as nodes in the endless comings and goings of people, each characterised by its particular assemblage of relations, and connected to all the others both socially and physically. Important place names, trails and familiar campsites, like the roots of a rhizome, integrate diverse elements of the forest and serve as passageways for the ongoing experiences of people (p. 145).

Moreover, the rhizomatic practices of mapping are not the same as the skills required to navigate such a rhizomatic epistemology, which is relational and embodied (Ingold 2000). Gerlach, however, does not make the distinction between maps and mapping and considers that 'maps and mapping are emergent process and performances' (Gerlach 2014, p. 22). He goes onto to describe the use of maps and mapping as 'vernacular' mapping or individualised

social map-making as 'historico-geographical sedimentations of lived practices' retold to others through stories (ibid., p. 23).

When performing mountaineering, a mountaineer may ask about a particular route, or section of a route, 'will it go?' This phrase is loaded with questions about physical ability, the movement a body needs to make, the condition of the rock, snow and ice and if the weather is favourable. It is a phrase that probes the unknown. Mountaineers 'implicitly recognise the relationship between knowledge and practice, and the unity of emotion and cognition, body and mind' (Pálsson 1994, p. 901). Asking if it will go is the transition from a lack of bodily knowledge to wellbeing, from the unknown into the known (Pálsson 1994). It is a moment of self-doubt or adaptive dissonance where a transition occurs between not knowing if you can do something and then progressively moving toward achieving it (Walsh and Golins 1976). Therefore mountaineers learn their mountaincraft when immersed in the environment and wider community to which they belong, where the mastery of skills 'resides not in the master but in the organisation of the community of practice of which the master is a part' (Pálsson 1994, p. 901). This decentred view of skills and learning leads to an understanding that becoming enskilled is a practice that attends to the task at hand, by being actively engaged in the everyday flow of life (Pálsson 1994; Ingold 2000).

In this context, little is known about how people become mountaineers because, as Ingold (2000) asserts, 'there is no code of procedure specifying the exact movement to be executed under any given circumstances' and, secondly, 'it is not possible, in practice, to separate the sphere of the novice's involvement with other persons from that of his involvement with the non-human environment' (p. 37). Undoubtedly, mountaineers develop a sophisticated perceptual awareness of the properties of their surroundings, however, this is unique to and only known to them. This inner knowledge can be traced through the extensive logbook entries of routes completed that a mountaineer keeps demonstrating expertise and prove a 'name' as a hard mountaineer. To become enskilled a mountaineer actively observes the movements of others and imitates in line with their own orientation towards the environment that fits with their body geometry. This fine-tuning of perception and action is the embodied practice of enskilment or mountaincraft, where female mountaineers have to work out their own set of micro-movements to follow a particular route. As such, mountaineers must form an extensive knowledge about how their bodies move and apply their own muscular knowledge to rock and snow or to make upward progress. This

assemblage of knowledge is a mountaineer's on-going 'education of attention' or 'mountain-sense' (Ingold 2000, p. 37).

In contrast, the mountaincraft of Langmuir (2004) concentrates largely upon the scientific technologies of navigation and survival in mountainous environments and only alludes to those intrinsic unspoken skills acquired through the senses; illustrating 'the deep rooted ambivalence held by modernity towards the body and sensuous knowledges' (Lewis 2000, p. 59). Enskilled sentient non-scientific understandings of mountaineering, I suggest, foreground the very essence of mountaineering but have been side-lined in favour of mitigating autoimmunitary reactions towards perceptions of risk through developing scientific methods. If a mountaineer can use science to convince others that their endeavours are achievable or safer through the affordances of technological advancements, then this aids their argument for pursuing what some might consider unjustifiable levels of risk. In sum, the use of science and technology has helped to normalise the pursuit of mountaineering by giving the perception of it being safe or safer.

When mountaineers reflexively retell the story of finding their way on a route, describing how they have been gripped, sandbagged (taking on a route that is under-graded) (Harris 2016; UKC 2002), or having an epic, they implicitly understand the relationship between knowledge and practice, sensation and emotion, the corporeal and the imagined. The stories told on the return from expeditions are divested in physical terms, revealing the rigours of a world that is often obscured, radically changed, disfigured and masked by weather conditions such as snow, ice, fog, wind, and rain. These stories express how mountaineers overcame disorientating physical and perceptual conditions in an attempt to achieve the impossible, continuing storytelling traditions that can be traced back to the earliest antecedents of mountaineering. The tragic tale of Edward Whymper's successful first ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865 is one such story. Suffering great privations and the loss of lives in the process, Whymper asked one of his guides – Carrel – to grade the difficulty of the climb, to which Carrel replied 'Man cannot do anything much more difficult than that.' (Whymper 1872, p. 154). Such stories are the building blocks of mountaincraft mythology, where one man's experience can define the limits of human endurance and possibility and thus create a new boundary to be exceeded. Carrel's response was a means of building social capital between his companions and himself using his mountaincraft as currency for reaffirming reputation and social status. At particular times, the expedition participants may have experienced momentary sensations of absolute alterity in their race for the summit, but it

was not their primary motivation. In contrast to Reinhold Messner (1999 [1978]) who claims to climb to find an inner-self and alterity, he plays down the competitive drivers to be the first to climb in a new style. This I argue represents an evolved and thinly veiled attempt at modesty. The Victorians were more openly direct about their competitive motives for climbing mountains, even to the extent of showering their competitors with stones, as Whymper is said to have done. Mountain climbing has evolved, over the last hundred and seventy years, developing more socially acceptable language to describe its competitive undertones. Today the most common motive cited for mountaineering is to find a better or inner-self (Monesterio and Brymer 2015), yet the choice of activity is founded on extreme competition, evident through the prolific reporting of achievements. The public reporting of achievements is still dominated by men and represents a masculine 'monopolisation of key practices and bodies of knowledge' (Cousquer and Beames 2014). Finding an inner-self may be the outwardly shared motive, however, I argue, aggressive competition is still foundational to mountaineering, which is driven by the desire to generate power and status. Sensations of power are realised through risk-taking, which is counter-balanced by mountaincraft, or the art of staying alive. Moreover, risk is a space to experience feelings of power and generate feelings of wellbeing and is a chief motivating factor for mountaineers.

4.5 Motivations for participation in risk-taking

Achieving a sense of a life well-lived by realising one's unique potential was theorised through Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* or Eudaimonia; and was founded on the question of 'What is the highest of all goods achievable by human action?' Achieving an optimum state of eudaimonia requires an intermediate ground between excess and inactivity that provide not much and not little of the right kind of sensation (in Ryff and Singer 2008, p.15). Applying this to mountaineering provides a lens to understand why mountaineers pursue what laypeople might consider to be negative emotional states such as anger, fear, pain, or failure; for example, sensations of fear are not perceived in a negative way by mountaineers, on the contrary fear is considered healthy, acting as the 'single most important factor in survival' (Monasterio and Brymer 2015, p. 206). In fact, mountaineers are exceptionally good at suppressing unpleasant sensations and emotions such as fear. They are able to control it to access powerful sensations of achievement and wellbeing (Brymer and Schweitzer 2013; Manning 2011; Kiewa 2001). For example, mountaineers do not generally fear pain and often derive satisfaction from the act of pushing their bodies into a zone of pain (Manning 2011). Engaging in activities that produce pain allows the body to reappear and 'enables a

temporary erasure of the self … [and] the burdens of identity' (Scott, Cayla and Cova 2017). Pain is converted from a negative to a positive sensation through the process of emotional reflexivity that is 'dramatized' helping participants to 'craft the narrative of a fulfilled life through wounds and scars' (Scott, Cayla and Cova 2017), thus pain is essential for achieving a sense of wellbeing.

The sensation of wellbeing is not concerned with a subjective state of feeling happy but about individual self-realisation or the primary Greek imperative to 'know thyself' and 'become what you are' (in Ryff and Singer 2008, p. 18). Ryff and Singer's (2008) multi-dimensional model for achieving sensations of personal wellbeing operates through six attributes:

1. Self-acceptance and a positive self-regard that is richer than notions of self-esteem that includes self-awareness of one's strengths and weaknesses
2. Positive regard for others including strong interpersonal relationships
3. Personal growth and openness
4. Purpose in life that has direction and challenge
5. Environmental mastery where a sense of control in complex environments produces an extension of skills
6. Autonomy that creates a sense of independence and self-sufficiency.

As Ryff and Singer (2008) suggest, having 'high levels of purpose, growth, and quality ties to others etc. is part of what keeps people healthy, even in the face of challenge' (ibid., p. 31). As I go on to illustrate, challenge, for women mountaineers, is a highly crafted experience and a foundational force for achieving a sense of wellbeing that requires particular conditions and sensations to be effective.

4.5.1 Spatial practices and politics: Sentient technologies of mountaincraft

Feeling in control, whilst voluntarily taking risks, in what is a largely uncontrollable chaotic mountain environment is what Lyng (1990) calls 'edgework' (p. 851). Mountains are chaotic environments where one cannot mitigate for stone fall, the violence of a storm, or the unpredictable nature of avalanches, notwithstanding human factors. The use of non-human technologies extends the particular skills of a mountaineer and pushes their performance limits into new and unknown extremes. The use of oxygen at high altitude is one such technique that builds perceptions of control. Having an acute sense of mountaincraft is thus critical for a mountaineer to maintain control over a situation that most would think was

uncontrollable. The tools mountaineers refer to as protection (i.e. ropes, karabiners, nuts, cams and belays – see glossary) aid perceptions of control and safety, however, this is purely a method of controlling fear because when a mountaineer protects upward movement by placing a specially designed piece of metal into weaknesses in the rock face, such as cracks and attaches the rope they are tied onto via a karabiner, it is fraught with unknowns. Moving above this protection the mountaineer will seek the next placement without knowing if adequate placements exist. The theory is that if a climber falls they will be held by the temporary protection placed in the rock, however, they are never certain if the protection will hold them or be ripped out when shock loaded by a fall. Despite this, placing protection allows a mountaineer to maintain focus and control over the situation and not become paralysed by fear (Barratt 2011). The capacity to focus is referred to as 'mental toughness … [and a] "survival capacity"' that many believe is innate or 'instinct-like' and certainly a quality that combines both sentient and non-human technologies of mountaincraft (Lyng 1990, p. 859).

Mountaincraft*,* as I have argued, is the distinctive milieu of sentient experiences and technologies mountaineers use to map their way along a journey that could take anywhere between a day and several months. For de Certeau (1988) 'Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice … narrated adventures, simultaneously producing geographies of action' (ibid., p. 115- 116) that are imbued with tactics, choices and thus politics. Moreover, by applying de Certeau's (1988) approach to space, mountains and mountaineering become a space that is 'a practiced place' (ibid. p.117), constructed from categories of movements, time, histories and speeds that are situated, actualising and transformative. Histories bring with them the politics of the everyday constructed through the processes of emotional reflexivity that evolve into tactics. In this sense, temporal spaces are a co-mingling of sensorial practices with external forces arising from affective micro to macro flows of gender, race and class (Edensor 2012; Rickly-Boyd 2012). In this context, achieving absolute alterity becomes an ethical dilemma. Tactics are those individual decisions built upon emotional reflexivity that accumulate over time having the potential to imbue even the most automatic of sentient responses (Baumeister et al., 2007). Thus achieving absolute alterity is conflictual by nature because tactics are a process of decision-making foregrounded by everyday politics. For example, the choice of the route a mountaineer might climb is tactical because each time a route is chosen it becomes a statement of prowess, skill, enskilment or mountaincraft. Urry and Larson (2011) consider the senses and, in particular, vision, to be learned and thus open to socio-normative influences of power and politics. As such they

suggest a 'pure and innocent eye is a myth' (p. 1). In other words, seeing is determined through discursive socially constructed processes and is thus a 'scopic regime' (ibid., p. 2). This troubles the innocence of the senses implicating them in a 'sensorial regime' that raises questions about how the sensorial politics are manifest in bodies and in particular the practices of female mountaineering bodies. Viewed through this lens, the way someone walks, climbs or runs is tactical, codified and adheres to social norms.

McNee (2014) suggests that haptic understandings of mountaineering have a heritage born in a Victorian era producing a turn to the haptic sublime, or the idea that to know a mountain you must climb it (Stephen 1871). Despite the extensive codification of mountains, mountaineers may not have access to detailed maps or route descriptions in the same way that walkers do. Mountaineering guidebooks will often deliberately leave out crucial details of a route, so that the mountaineer can discover its secrets for themselves; for example, a route describing a multi-pitch rock climb of many hundreds of metres may only amount to a few lines and be accompanied by a vague line on a photograph denoting the possible direction to be followed. The vagueness by which a route is often described in *official* guidebooks is indicative of the regulatory autoimmunitary characteristics of mountaineering, keeping the novice in their place. Guidebooks represent the competitive pecking order of mountaincraft and are in large written by men. Routes and route finding are foundational to mountaincraft, steeped in a mystical set of skills designed to preserve a sense of exclusivity and possessing elite knowledge or qualities.

4.5.2 Codifying and classifying: The processes of spatial tactics

The temporal and spatial qualities of mountaineering routes change along a continuum from pioneering new routes to finding new ways to climb the same route through speed records or finding new ways to approach the face by climbing and then skiing or base jumping from the summit. These spatial practices are subject to 'spatial syntaxes. By means of a whole panoply of codes' (de Certeau 1988, p. 115) that are applied to climbing routes, the purest form is to be the first to climb them. Every other ascent, however fantastic, is secondary. Codes also encompass 'modalities' that determine how a route taken by a mountaineer may be climbed, from the style of movement and type of clothing and equipment to the season it is attempted and so forth (ibid.). Class, gender and race all fix the sense of how the Western sport of mountaineering is conducted through the masculinised body politics of how something should be climbed. Lewis (2000) notes that traditional styles of rock-climbing in the UK have been dominated by the notion of climbing something cleanly or without changing the nature

of the rock/mountain by attaching permanent fixtures or manmade bolts to protect a climbing route. To fix bolts to a route in the UK has been the subject of intense controversy with the majority of climbers resisting the fixing of permanent bolts into the rock face as reducing the level of challenge of the trad. ethic (Rawlinson (no date); Robinson 2008; Donnelly 2003). Climbing 'a route cleanly transforms not only the character of the climb but also the climber's body movement during the climb' (Lewis 2000, p. 61), where a climber strives for a sense of bodily perfection with minimal interference from artificial tools or aids. Use of the right kind of equipment, clothing and bodily movements are all part of these rules, such as; using the right climbing calls to let a climbing partner know what is required; keeping equipment tidy and untangled; only moving up the rock under muscle power and not being hauled up by a pulley system or some other artificial means. Transgressing the rules of climbing 'cleanly' is socially contentious and a matter that produces extreme autoimmunitary reactions (ibid.), producing a hierarchy of climbing styles that affects the social acceptability and perceptions of success. Rutkiewicz is an example of this where to claim a legitimate first ascent of Gasherbrum III required Rutkiewicz and Chadwick to climb without any perceived male assistance. Climbing has like, any other sport, a hierarchy of rules and associated snobbery, in the UK for example it is frown upon to aid climb a route through fixing protection to the rock or using artificial means to ascend (see glossary).

These are the traditional rules of mountaineering passed down from and remaining relatively unchanged from the early Victorian pioneers (Beedie 2015). The early Victorian mountaineers were masters at categorising, codifying and classifying the space of mountaineering, which I argue continues to be foundational to what, why, and how mountains should be climbed. This is epitomised in what is still considered to be a mountaineering classic, Stephen's 1894 book *The Playground of Europe*. Stephen's visceral account of his mountaineering exploits in the Alps established extreme sporting or touristic adventures as a form of play, terminology that is widely used today to describe extreme forms of tourism/sport. Tolsdorff (2013) expresses that once the north face of the Eiger had been a 'graveyard of the ambitious' but now it has been transformed 'into a playground for professionals' (ibid.). Alpine tourism boomed as a result and has continued to grow ever since. In this sense, codification produces a panoply of modalities that defines how different levels of the sport are conducted. Codification of mountaineering through literary, scientific and printed/digital media has created a vehicle for the pursuit of adventure as a touristic activity, opening the door for others to follow in their millions. To achieve social distinction, the professional hard mountaineer defines them through their approach to risk. Risk is the arena for achieving

legitimacy and a place that produces extreme forms of autoimmunitary behaviours and reactions from within and without the community. Thus, entering a space to experience illegitimate emotions requires female mountaineers to suppress the social rules of normative society and adopt another set of 'feeling rules' (Wearing 1998, p.121) that govern how mountaineers should or should not feel. Conceptualised by Hochschild as 'deep acting' (in Wearing 1998, p. 121), I go on to show how this is manifest in outward as well as inward female modes of behaviour to achieve a sense of legitimacy in mountaineering.

4.6 Risk, control, hardiness, stress

In August 1802, the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, during a walking tour of the English Lake District, was attributed with the first recreational rock climb on England's second highest mountain, Scafell (964m). By descending a climbing route named Broad Stand, Coleridge reflected:

> the sight of the Crags above me on each side, & the impetuous Clouds just over them, posting so luridly & so rapidly to northward, overawed me / I lay in a state of almost prophetic Trance and Delight (in Jasper 1986, p. 42).

Coleridge's experience produced the feelings of the haptic sublime, sensations that a century of mountaineers has pursued ever since, and in fact, the popularity of rock-climbing and mountaineering has increased significantly (Llewellyn and Sanchez 2008). Like Coleridge, those existential feelings of 'trance' or 'flow' drive mountaineers to actively seek out risk and potential danger to feel sensations of exposure, producing a stress response that is not always negative. Barrett and Martin (2016) suggest that sensations of exposure or 'stress occurs when the demands exceed the individual's actual or perceived capacity to cope' (p. 13) and is not always a bad thing, producing both psychological and physiological benefits. Such benefits include the sense of mastery, achievement and wellbeing, producing bodies that are more resilient, confident and content. For mountaineers these benefits far outweigh the potential costs.

A growing body of research has also shown that stressful and even traumatic events 'are not uniformly damaging and often have long-term positive effects – a phenomenon known as post-traumatic growth', that produces a greater sense of hardiness (Barrett and Martin 2016, p. 211). According to Barrett and Martin (2016), hardiness or resilience, has three key characteristics: viewing life as meaningful; being in control of self and situations; and using all learning opportunities, good or bad, as opportunities. These sensations of control over

oneself produced through the acquisition of skills or mountaincraft are purely perceptual according to Lyng (1990) but ultimately a sense of control over oneself is the most crucial sensation for survival. Lyng (1990) defined risk-takers as 'edgeworkers' who pursue experiences where failure to meet a goal will lead to severe if not fatal consequences (p. 851). In defining the sensations associated with life-and-death situations Lyng (2004, p.362) explored how these act to disrupt the social self. Describing instinctive reactions to life threatening moments:

> under completely novel conditions of true edgework, imaginative rehearsal ceases, the 'voice of society' is silenced and the 'me' is annihilated. What is left in place of these elements is a residual 'acting' self that responds without reflective consciousness.

Lyng (2004) concludes that risk-takers describe their experiences as self-actualising or self-determining, authentically real and creatively satisfying. In this context a mountaineer's perception of risk is founded on a profound sense of self-efficacy that leads to achieving sensations of confidence, mastery and wellbeing. Confidence in ability means that mountaineers are less likely to fear failure, and more likely to take calculated risks by setting difficult goals. To do so they need to be able to control the risks through managing their emotional states. Therefore risk-taking for mountaineers is highly controlled, making it distinct from sensation seeking or an impulsive desire to experience thrilling moments (Llewellyn and Sanchez; 2008; Kiewa 2001). Mountaineers play at the boundary between order and disorder, control and chaos, in a process of 'surviving and thriving in extreme environments … [that] – is largely a mind game' founded on discipline and control (Barrett and Martin 2016, p. 13). However, edgework has been critiqued by scholars for its focus on the experiences of white middle-class males and does not account for women's differential perception and negotiation of edgework. Further, it does not allow for how women manage the social *norms* associated with how women experience edgework, where they are not expected to seek out opportunities to take risks (Olstead 2011, p. 86). Self-determination and freedom are lost in the all-pervading passivity of modern life as it *should* be lived, and possibility and choice are thus reduced (Kiewa 2001; Lewis 2000).

A small number of scholars have explored the meanings that people attach to voluntary risk-taking (Olstead 2011; Dilley and Scraton 2010). For example, the seductive character of climbing, Robinson (2008) suggests, is driven by a desire to escape a variety of everyday routines, favouring instead sensations of challenge, danger, goal completion, mastery and deep involvement which are sought by those defined by Pomfret (2006) as 'hard'

mountaineers (p. 117). Moreover, pursuing risk affords the status of exclusivity, bound in a culture of pursuing uncertainty and the seemingly impossible that could be said to be driven by a covert 'desire to impress' where modesty about one's achievements is used to disguise the more 'ego-oriented reasons' for participation (ibid.). This code of modesty produces a hypersensitivity, where climbers are careful not to overstate their achievements because transgressing this rule is considered crass and is frowned upon in contemporary mountaineering culture (Douglas 2015; Roche 2015). Modesty can, I argue, also be linked to perceptions of competence and excellence that produces an aura of innate mountaincraft-ability. Moreover, overstating one's prowess is considered, in some way, to diminish the achievement and is an affective code that I contend silences women in particular ways.

However, there are positive modes of silence when assuming the mental state of silent confidence opens bodies to sensations of risk, characterised by the ability to instil a sense of control over self and thus others. To survive and thrive in hard places a mountaineer must have

> the ability to control … and attend wholly to a task or feeling. The ability to focus underpins the development of expertise, helps in tolerating pain and hardship, and has long-term psychological and physical benefits (Barrett and Martin 2016, p. 212).

In addition, authentic experiences of risk shift within the context of climbing cleanly. Risk brings 'death back to life' by 'its propensity to confer a marginal situation, to open up new possibilities for existence' (Lewis 2000, p. 60). Lewis (2000) goes on to suggest that facing death reveals new possibilities to both critique everyday life and a potential new way to live life that '…confers the possibility of other existences […] satiated through pain and pleasure…' (p. 61). In this way, facing death brings the mountaineering body into existence and life. Llewellyn and Sanchez (2008) caution that experiences of risk cannot however be viewed in a homogenised manner and that individuals experience risk in different ways, finding that rock climbers and mountaineers alike view sensation seeking and impulsiveness negatively. Rock climbers are supremely conscientiousness when pursuing their goals, employing a high degree of self-efficacy to manage risk (Llewellyn and Sanchez 2008; Robinson 2008). Creating a space where the perception of risk is controlled opens a route for play and sentient expression where flow can be experienced, raising the question of what constitutes such experiences for women? However, Llewellyn and Sanchez (2008) found that men had a much higher propensity to take risks than women when rock climbing and suggest this is due to men having 'stronger beliefs in their capability to manage risk' and not their superior

performance or experience in comparison to women, a topic they argue is worthy of further investigation (p. 422). Dilley and Scraton (2010) attribute the risk-averse tendencies of women who climb to women being more compliant to the social norms associated with familial responsibilities. I would ask what then is a woman's experience of risk and how does she craft it? In this sense, the contemplation of death in relation to others, as Robinson (2008) suggests, is a key factor in determining the level of risk a woman will take over a life course; acutely illustrated by the autoimmunitary reaction generated by Alison Hargreaves' death on K2.

Participation in mountaineering is, arguably, a radical form of escape from the routines of everyday life where a body plays with risk to experience the unknown and a place where mountaineers face their fears. To play with risk is to play with what is socially unacceptable, it is an act of resistance to socio-cultural norms. Although Olstead (2011) considers women's negotiation of social norms associated with taking risks to be only partially successful, she does assert that women who actively seek out risk or edgework do so as a political act that challenges gender as being part of a culture that plays with risk. Thus, for Olstead (2011), women's participation in extreme mountaineering is an act of resistance that can lead to women achieving a sense of fulfilment. As Baumeister et al. (2007) point out, our sentient or automatic affective reactions are guided by emotional traces that operate through socio-culturally mediated feedback systems or in the case of mountaineering what I call mountaincraft. Socially, women mountaineers are already wrong for pursuing a hard mountaineering lifestyle, risking alienation from family and friends, a burden that is exhausting; driven by a community that questions why women put their family and friends through emotional turmoil and act so selfishly. In addition, it is a community that questions the emotional and physical strength of women and ultimately asks what is the point? The efforts women go through to justify their choice is an endless round of countering the perception of being wilful, of being without regard for others or a sense of responsibility to others. Women seek refuge from the everyday within a mountaineering community, a perceived place of acceptance where positionality creates a sense of exclusivity, a point I explore later. However, the masculinised environment of mountaineering creates an intensification of a normative masculine ideal, in that a female mountaineering body is different and not of 'man' but a sexed body; where a woman 'must approach every climbing situation against a background of masculine domination where the feminine is thrown into (often hostile) relief' (Chisholm 2008, p.18). This hostility has such a profound impact that it even shapes the personal spaces women create to be mountaineers.

The choice to actively pursue risk is thus governed by the social and political forces of an increasingly risk-averse society (Robinson 2008; McClintock 1996). And yet, even more so, the transgression of such boundaries combined with the need for authentic experience is still an integral part of mountaineering with which to achieve an absolute sense of alterity and thus wellbeing (Lewis 2004). This leads Robinson (2008) to raise the question: 'how much of this transgressing of boundaries […] is specifically masculine?' Given the dearth of scholarship and literature that has until now only documented isolated experiences of women mountaineers, this thesis aims to contribute to knowledge in this field (Loomis 2005). Robinson (2008) goes onto ask 'What are the gendered differences between women and men climbers in taking calculated risks […] in the sporting practices' and I would ask, can women truly find an indeterminate space to experience sensations of absolute alterity (Robinson 2008, p. 159)? As I have stated earlier the purpose of this study is not to conduct a comparison between male and female mountaineers but to consider the gendered environment in which women practice mountaineering. Thus, it is my intention to explore how risk shapes and develops a woman's mountaineering practice.

4.7 Conclusion

In a phenomenological sense, Heidegger's *Dasein* provides a useful and widely applied starting point for considering the body and how bodies construct identities. In this context, bodies are relational, situated and embody those places and spaces in which they dwell. However Derrida questions the very nature of relationality or those connections between subjects and objects, establishing a premise that the inner lives of others cannot be known and that each subject is 'wholly other' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 25). Derrida's theory produces a space to consider if a relational body, or in the case of this thesis, how a female mountaineering body can indeed achieve a sensation of absolute alterity or know and experience a conscious sense of being 'enisled' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 248). Derrida's theory, which points to the ethical dilemma of seeking to escape the everyday to connect in play at the frontier of self, contrasts sharply with meeting the social obligations of care and responsibility felt towards communities. A booming extreme adventure tourism industry is perhaps indicative of this tension to escape quotidian life by connecting with dreams and unknowns that enables people to feel a sense of fulfilment and well-being. I then ask if women can ever truly extricate themselves from the forces of responsibility and care that flow through communities by engaging in practices such as solo mountain climbing to achieve a sensation of 'flow' (Cskiszentmihalyi 1998 [1988], p. 3). In doing so, I argue that even our

most automatic of physiological responses triggered by raw stimuli on the senses are implicated with a politics of emotional reflexivity. I then go on to explore the tactics women use to negotiate between communities and self by utilising specific practices crafted through sentient and emotional experiences and how this develops a personal sense of mountaincraft. I do this through examining the different ways in which women touch, feel and map their way within the mountains and the particular practices they use to navigate the gendered arena of taking risks.

Such theories have the potential to give insight into why women mountaineers remain a minority, by considering the possibility that they are perceived as aliens who challenge the sanctity of the community of mountaineers. I posit that women are the pathogens that invade a male space, from which they can never be immune. Thus, women's place in mountaineering is still very much at stake in their struggle to build immunity or legitimacy. The failure of national sport campaigns such as *This Girl Can* (Sport England 2017) (a topic I go onto to analyse later) adopted by MT to encourage more women to undertake professional mountaineering qualifications are illustrative of such an autoimmunitary reaction. This blanket approach is failing to engage women in tackling the inequalities that exist and is a classic example of a community 'shooting itself in the foot' (Hillis Miller 2007a, p. 270). This research goes on to reveal how women, like antigens, are learning beings who clone and mirror masculine traits to camouflage their difference and resist attack from being perceived to be alien and to show the impact this has (Mitchell 2007). I then go on to suggest that their very presence alters the dynamic, expanding the boundaries of mountaineering in both subtle as well as innovating ways so as to experience flow and a sense of absolute alterity.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCHING THE SOCIAL LIFE OF WOMEN MOUNTAINEERS

5.1 Introduction: Scope and limitations

I begin this chapter by outlining the methods used to collect empirical data to explore the lives of female mountaineers. I then conclude with how this addressed an affective methodology through reflexive practice. The research participants were all from white Western middle-class backgrounds, working professionally as independent mountaineers and leaders, based in the UK. My interest in these women was formed through my own personal mountaineering and therefore, to a lesser degree, I class myself as having a similar background and approach to mountaineering. However, I recognise that white Western middle class women are not the only women who participate in the sport, demonstrating one key limitation of this research. In this sense I also follow Caretta and Riaño (2016), who critiqued the disproportionate focus of feminist geographical research that concentrates upon vulnerable and uneducated populations, 'leaving the potential of co-producing knowledge with less disadvantaged groups insufficiently explored'. They argued for a much wider approach to the study of gender (p. 263). In this context, white Western female mountaineers, although from a less disadvantaged grouping than women from developing world countries, suffer marginalisation and discrimination (Caretta and Riaño 2016). I recruited eight female mountaineers from this demographic. To identify women with an appropriate level of skill and experience, I used the national mountaineering qualification system to locate individuals who were all based in the UK. I collected empirical data using a mobile video-ethnographic go-along method (described later in this chapter), by co-producing a day out mountaineering with each individual, conducted in mountains in Wales and Scotland. This was supported by one-to-one follow-up interviews, field notes, photographs and GPS tracking data that produced qualitative data. Analysis of the data was conducted through NVivo using transcription and coding techniques enabling interrogation of the data through the affective methodological framework outlined in chapters three and four. What follows next is a detailed description of how I conducted the research.

5.2 Profiling and recruiting female mountaineers

The national mountaineering qualification system offers a means of identifying an individual's mountaineering credentials. All national mountaineering qualifications require aspirants to have undertaken a rigorous assessment process founded on substantial experience. I used

the Mountain Leader Winter (MLW) award as a benchmark for identifying mountaineers who had made the transition into professional mountaineering. MLW is a walking award that signifies a high level of experience that demonstrates leaders are competent to guide groups safely in potentially lethal winter weather conditions. Part of the qualification process requires candidates to be able to negotiate what is classed as grade I ground in winter, that is 'uncomplicated average angled snow climbs normally having no pitches but [which] may present cornice difficulties or have significant or potentially hazardous run-outs' (MTS 2017, p. 9). In general grade I ground, in a typical hillwalking setting, is taken to mean 'snow-covered ground, often with easy angled steps of ice, neve or rock on which a fall or slip could have potentially serious consequences' (MTS 2017, p. 9). Grade I ground requires particular mountaineering skills like cutting steps in the snow, use of ice axe and crampons, plus the use of a rope and belay (safety) systems in the event of an emergency. It also requires the leader to be able to accurately assess weather, snow and avalanche conditions prior to and during the journey so as to pick the safest route. The MLW award is a qualification for those who wish to guide walking groups in winter and is also a stepping stone to MIC, for those who want to guide others commercially on winter mountaineering and climbing routes that are technically more demanding than grade I terrain. In addition, the majority of instructors holding MLW combine mountaineering with other mountain based activities like climbing, mountain biking, and wild swimming in both summer and winter conditions. As a result, they have significant knowledge of the winter mountain environment, thus fitting the category of hard mountaineers. It was these women that I targeted.

MT supports a nationwide registration system for outdoor instructors, requiring aspirants to register their experience within an online system called DLOG. This database, established in 2012, provides a publicly available tool for clients to locate suitably qualified leaders. It also provides a publicly available register of those holding particular national qualifications including MLW and MIC, and in fact, to undertake a mountain qualification you have to register your experience on the DLOG system. DLOG is a relatively recent system and by no means a full record of all those who have this kind of experience, or indeed hold the qualification. It was, however, the only publicly available register of women mountaineers where I could access potential participants without working through gatekeepers such as the National Mountaineering Centres, where anonymity would have been compromised. I also discounted women's climbing clubs and online social media sites such as Facebook, as a means of recruiting women, including the Facebook group *Women in Mountain Training,* because I felt that this would have been too public and difficult for women who had agreed

to participate to maintain their anonymity. Further, I did not want any of the participants to feel any kind of peer pressure to either participate or not, because the female mountaineering community is very small and highly interconnected, so the potential for being identified as a participant was significant. Thus, DLOG provided the only publicly available register of currently practising mountaineers, where I could anonymously identify the particular kinds of hard experienced mountaineers I was looking to work with.

Geographically the participants were located in either in the Scottish Highlands or Snowdonia in Wales, two of the main locations where mountaineering can be performed in the UK. They are also where the two National Mountaineering Centres are located, at Glenmore Lodge in the Cairngorms and Plas y Brenin in North Wales (Glenmore Lodge no date). The Scottish Highlands and North Wales are also two central points where the majority of the mountaineering community live and work throughout the year because they are endowed with the most challenging and classic mountaineering routes in the United Kingdom. These locations are also where mountaineers can both earn a living leading clients, as well as develop their skills for personal high altitude mountaineering projects in Europe and the Greater Ranges. As a result both these geographical locations are where informal mountaineering communities exist, forming networks and infrastructure that provide crucial access to: daily knowledge about rock, snow, ice and weather conditions; specialist equipment and resources; professional mountaineering courses; film festivals and networking events; a market where clients travel to undertake classic routes; places that offer the potential for establishing new routes at the highest grades and locations where winter snow and ice are most likely to be encountered.

From DLOG, I identified a total (nationally) of 41 women who met my criteria, being current holders of MLW or above, and so started by contacting 20 of these directly through email. The initial 20 were selected based on their geographic location, in Scotland and North Wales, because I wanted to ensure that they had the minimum of disruption in terms of travelling and expense in meeting me to spend a day in the mountains. I had a high response rate with ten agreeing to participate, but over the course of establishing dates to conduct research two dropped out, one because of injury and one because of life pressures. My original aim had been to secure between 6 – 10 participants, of which eight did participate.

Table 5.2 summarises the level of engagement of each research participant in the study. In total, I conducted seven joint mountaineering days out with the participants and eight one-

hour interviews (one participant did not feel hill fit enough to spend a day mountaineering). In addition, two women conducted a solo day out mountaineering and recorded their experiences using film and audio equipment. The women were aged between 25 and 75 years which meant I gained a range of experiences, from one who was just starting out in her career to one who was nearing the end of her career. This provided a breadth of experience and attitudes that, for such a small sample, provided a greater range of experience than if I had just concentrated on one age group. I now briefly consider my own positionality and then discuss how I conducted the research.

Table 3. Summary of Research Participants' Engagement in the Research

Participant	MLW	MIA	MIC	Age	Mountain Day	Interview	Solo Day
Selkie	Y	Y	Y	45 - 55	Y	Y	N
Freddie	Y	N	N	45 - 55	Y	Y	N
Annie	Y	Y	Y	45 - 55	Y	Y	N
Lorrie	Y	Y	Y	25 - 35	Y	Y	N
Caitlin	Y	N	N	25 - 35	Y	Y	Y
Julia	Y	N	N	45 - 55	Y	Y	N
Jo	Y	Y	N	25 - 35	Y	Y	Y
Maddie	Y	N	N	65 - 75	N	Y	N

5.2.1 Researcher's positionality

My prior personal knowledge of mountaineering means that I am subject to the cultural conditioning and identity of the mountaineering community. Although the research takes a reflexive approach, I, as a female mountaineer, cannot extract myself from prior knowledge and experience (Oakley 2005). At the time of starting the research project, I was 45 years old, with eight years of experience as an amateur mountaineer. I had gained my MLS qualification initially as a means to develop my own sense of self-sufficiency within the mountains and as a personal challenge to prove I was up to the mark when it came to leading friends and family in mountainous places. Subsequently, this enabled me to work at a

professional level leading a small number of expeditions in the UK and overseas, plus undertaking UK based safety cover for Duke of Edinburgh Gold Award expeditions. I am also a member of my local Mountain Rescue team. I have, therefore, experienced those emotions associated with feeling the full weight of responsibility for a commercially contracted group of individuals, having no prior knowledge of them until meeting them in the mountains. I have also, during the research project, undertaken MLW training myself through the national mountaineering awards programme and also continued with my own mountaineering projects, so that my knowledge about mountaineering remained current. On a personal level, I have substantive experience of winter mountaineering in Scotland and climbing mountaineering routes in both an alpine and a trad. climbing style, as well as overseas, and my leisure time centres on mountaineering, trad. climbing as well as running mountain ultra-marathons. It is from this position that I conducted my research. The specificity of harder forms of mountaineering is not easily accessible to those without the skills or knowledge of mountaineering, thus my experience as an amateur mountaineer and woman enabled access to this particular social and working environment as an insider because I understood the technical language, use of equipment and the gendered culture of mountaineering.

5.3 Fieldwork: Practical application of methodology and methods

Methodologically, I required an in-depth qualitative interdisciplinary approach to access the often taken-for-granted sentient and emotional biographies of the research participants (Crang and Cook 2007). As Crang and Cook (2007) point out 'a great deal of what researchers might like to know about other people's lives is unlikely to be noticed by [the research participants] … or easily put into words' (ibid., p. 77). Therefore, one interview or even a series of interviews dislocated from the environment in which mountaineering is performed could not unearth the feelings and emotions experienced during the activity of mountaineering. Further, a single one-hour interview could not reveal the way movement is negotiated across varied and often challenging ground surfaces and the sensations and emotions this produces. An ethnographic qualitative approach was therefore developed to understand the processes that Ingold (2000) refers to as 'knowing as you go', where the individual elicits memory, physical experience and live in situ data to form decision making about how to negotiate a route, path or ground surface, which ultimately creates a sense of place (p. 228). Thus, I required an in-depth approach to capture the daily experiences of the women I was researching and opted for an ethnographic model that would recreate the natural workings of a mountaineer's everyday experience. To do so, I used the go-along

method (explored in more depth later) to enable a prolonged opportunity to observe both verbal and non-verbal, taken-for-granted, daily activities in mountaineering (Crang and Cook 2007). The inter-subjectivity of the research data would not have been accessible using more structured quantitative methods, nor would it have supported the theoretical approach that was applied.

I particularly wanted to explore female perspectives of mountaineering, however, unlike Oakley (2005), who states 'there are only feminisms and different social groups of women, with distinct, though sometimes overlapping interest' (p. 9), I situated the study in the broader context of gender so as to allow 'issues about the social construction of geographical variations in masculinity as well as femininity to be raised' (McDowell 1992, p. 400). Due to my background in mountaineering, I shared many commonalities with the research participants, which aided the building of a strong and open rapport between us. By recognising my own positionality I tried to choose methods that provided space for the multiple layering of contradictory power relations between researcher and research participants by actively seeking to spend a day in the mountains together (ibid., p. 405). As the researcher, I was co-creator of the journey we chose to take, but then, by the nature of the female leaders I worked with, I felt in their *care*. This positioning allowed for a mutual exchange of views particularly during the activity of mountaineering, where the women felt most comfortable as leaders within their own territory of the mountains (McDowell 1992).

To produce embodied data I conducted in-depth case studies to generate first-hand emic data, produced by the body itself. I have not set out to exclude etic data, in fact I recognise that outside influences merge with experiences felt from within, or in flow, comingling to form a person's 'whole-world view' (Crang and Cook 2007, p. 140); this was crucial for establishing a model to detect the processes of affective forces exerted by the hypermasculinised environment of mountaineering. As researcher, I performed an active role in developing the day, and as such, the joint days were co-produced experiences (Oakley 2005). In some instances, both participant and researcher experiences were film recorded in tandem and then immediately recorded in reflexive field notes. Producing a visual and auditory field diary in the same way Eileen Healey had recorded on Cho Oyu. On the same day, following a day of mountaineering, I conducted a semi-structured interview, once we had returned to our starting point (Campbell and Lassiter 2015). The interviews picked up on key events and topics of conversation during the day and were held in a location selected by the participant. I had chosen to do this originally to mitigate weather conditions where

conversation outdoors would have been very difficult or even impossible. I did, for example, have one day like this where we experienced exceptionally high winds and I was only able to transcribe a limited amount of audio gathered through the film recordings. The days I spent out with the participants in the mountains varied to accommodate the dynamic nature of weather and ranged from full days out climbing mountaineering routes in winter conditions to walking over mountains in 70mph winds. The use of MVE enabled collaborative participation where each step and movement was a process of negotiation, consideration and interaction, and our thought processes were conjoined in active collaborative decision-making (Brown and Banks 2015; Spinney 2011). As Crang and Cook (2007) point out, ethnographic data is constructed inter-subjectively where meanings and significance are invested in the objects, surfaces, technologies and social aspects of negotiating a mountaineering route producing ever-changing outcomes as these components come together in different ways.

The chronology of data collection remained consistent throughout. I invited the mountaineers to conduct a solo day out prior to our meeting, then undertake a joint day out, immediately followed by a semi-structured interview and, as soon as possible after, I would write up my field notes. To check the consistency of findings I adopted a triangulation of methods which meant that I could cross-reference between the physical sensations participants experienced in situ and the potential for an overlay of emotional interpretation participants may have applied post experience. In addition, I could also cross-reference my experiences with that of the participants', particularly in instances where I captured film footage of both the participant and my experiences in tandem, creating two comparable experiences of the same moment. The tools used to conduct the mobile video ethnography to record the mountaineering days included: using Go Pro Hero 3 cameras to collect film footage; Viewranger GPS mapping software that logged our route; photographs; mobile phone Mp3 audio recordings of interviews; and field notes. I invited all the participants to conduct a journey into the mountains alone, as well as a joint day with myself. For the solo journeys, I provided a list of possible key points in a day such as planning a route, choosing and packing equipment, setting off, changing clothing, stopping to eat or drink, reaching the destination and arriving back, leaving it to them to choose when they provided insights into their experiences. This was to encourage the participants to talk about 'non-moments' as they occurred or mundane activities that are generally taken for granted. In doing so I attempted to mitigate participants using deceptive behaviours either intentionally or

subconsciously that led to omitting key aspects of their experience as mountaineers (Oakley 2005).

In essence, to achieve deep insight into the participants' embodied experiences an ethnographic method proved to be the most effective and a practical way to discern the fleeting, relational and felt aspects of living affect, which resists representation (Spinney 2015). This methodology enabled me to explore the particular way in which social life in mountaineering is transmitted, translated between and interpreted by bodies both subconsciously and consciously. Therefore, MVE represented a qualitative method that is recognised as an appropriate framework for exploring affect (Knudsen and Stage 2015; Coleman and Ringrose 2013). In sum, as I discuss next, the go-along using MVE provided a practical approach for detecting the forces exerted through the masculinised environment of mountaineering on women mountaineers.

5.3.1 Ethnomountaineering: Going-along in the mountains

Ethnography according to Campbell and Lassiter is 'traditionally described as both a fieldwork method and an approach to writing' (Campbell and Lassiter 2015). I knew I required a method that would allow me to not only observe but also be a collaborator in the mountaineers' lives, so that I could make unobserved detailed observations through doing what the research participants normally do – take clients out in the mountains. This enabled me to gather in situ field notes and recordings. In addition, the method had to be flexible enough to allow the unfolding of co-experience to occur within the 'natural' environment (Kusenbach 2003) of the participants, in this case, the Scottish and Welsh mountains. This was important because I needed to apply reflexivity to my own assumptions and ethnocentrism as I learnt about my collaborators through experiencing what they experienced and learning about myself too (Campbell and Lassiter 2015). If I was to really get beneath the surface to explore the affective forces that shape daily mountaineering practices I needed a methodology that would enable me to reveal a web of parochial social realms and informal networks, to emphasise the context and symbolic qualities of practices and to make visible some of the perceptual filters or affects that shape individual environmental perceptions. Therefore, a method was required that would provide unique and detailed access to the participants' biographies that took a spatial rather than a chronological approach to reveal how routine practices shape place (Kusenbach 2003).

Ethnographic methods can be crudely divided into participant observation of subjects in their natural environments and interviewing. Kusenbach (2003) argues that 'people do not normally comment on "… what is going on" while acting in 'natural' environments' (p. 459). As such people do not really talk about the more mundane, taken-for-granted actions, experiences and interpretations in the usual processes of their daily activities. This makes a purely observational approach very limited and open to the researcher's own imagination or perceived interpretations, potentially missing crucial aspects of lived experience (Kusenbach 2003). In an effort to collect empirically sound data I chose to triangulate data collection through using the ethnographic model of the go-along/walk-along, or in my case mountaineer-along. The appropriateness of such a method applies when a situation is mobile and does not require replacement for observational methods, such as in static or dangerous situations, for example. Kusenbach (2003) identifies five key ways in which the go-along provides invaluable data that is hard to extract in other ways. It provides:

1) practical knowledge about why a mountaineer may move in a particular way and how this is socially positional
2) insight into spatial practices and how throughout a day mountaineering, the intensity of experience changes
3) exclusive access to biographies in terms of memory, anticipation and where places have personal value through past experience
4) insight into the social architecture of functional relationships that shape place, for example how routes in particular conditions create expectation and pressure to perform and conform
5) an understanding of the personal social realms that are localised, such as an act of greeting other mountaineers out in the mountains, reaffirming a sense of position and place.

As Spinney (2015) asserts: 'The go-along method attempts to (re)place the researcher alongside the participant in the context of the "doing of mobility"' (p.232). In summary, the go-along provided unique access to informants' biographies, future plans, subjective interpretations and social interaction. It completed the circle in terms of mitigating the limits of narrative and situation afforded by the interview, where the interview enables a deeper interrogation of strong social ties. In addition, the go-along provided a counterbalance to some of the narrated and non-'natural' situational dynamics that restrict exploration of the weaker, more mundane social interconnections. Go-alongs were a means to reveal the

experiences hidden to myself as observer, as well as participants (Kusenbach 2003), and as a hybrid form of the interview and field observation, lent themselves to the in-depth study I wanted to conduct with a small number of participants. As such, go-alongs were a tool to access a greater depth of in situ experience enabling observation of the participants' spatial practices and for tracking their connectedness and interconnections in a natural setting (Evans and Jones 2011). As Spinney describes, 'Go-alongs allow reflection on practices to elicit richer more detailed accounts of the varied socialities and materialities that constitute movement as a dynamic process of subjectification' (Spinney 2015, p. 233).

5.3.2 Ethnomountaineering: Practical application

My particular approach to the go-along was intentionally intersubjective. My observations were richly imbued by listening, asking questions and reflecting as we moved across snow, ice and rock. I was participating in the same activity following the movements and actions that created a mutual environment of support and trust. I let the research participants take the lead in the conversation, which tended to focus on mountaineering and relationships with family/friends. I allowed it to flow from topic to topic, restricting my responses to asking for clarification and deeper explanation.

Non-verbal decision making flowed collaboratively through mimicking actions or leading actions. We were in a constant state of decision-making, silently asking questions such as: should I trust that foot-placement; do I need help to make a climbing move; do I break trail through the snow or should I make way so she takes over breaking trail; do I need to verbalise an instruction to point out a danger, *mind that hole* or *that rock moves* for example. All our senses were connected in active verbal and non-verbal negotiation and decision-making, and there was, as there is on any day out in the mountains with companions, a continual dynamic, and the often unspoken assessment of each other's physical ability, competence and fitness to determine if the chosen objective is realistic. We were in a constant mutual state of checking each other out to see if, as partners, we were capable, safe and trustworthy. There is also a desire to generate social capital, to feel like a trusted team member when tackling a challenge. Living the experience of mountaineering in collaboration with my participants I became an ethno-mountaineer, making the go-along particularly advantageous when exploring the everyday experiences of mountaineering because it closed the gap between speech, touch and movement (Evans and Jones 2011). This made it possible to engage with the participants' understanding of place through experiencing what Brown (2017) refers to as 'whole body tactility' (p. 308). Thus, the locations were crucial, playing an

important role in knowledge production that reaffirmed sensations of a body in place (Casey 2009; Relph 1976; Tuan 1974).

However, as Kusenbach (2003) cautions and in line with Oakley (2005), the go-along itself is not a naturally occurring occasion, I was still a researcher on a day out with a mountaineer. This inevitably coloured our journey together, altering the delicate, private dimensions of living experience and did not mitigate for researcher reactivity (Kusenbach 2003); for example, the majority of the participants asked what I expected of them, producing an atmosphere of expectancy and trying to second guess what I was 'looking for'. I diffused this by re-stating my overall research question, which was to understand their experience of mountaineering in situ, which generally satisfied the desire to meet what they thought was my expectation. Despite this, I was able to meet the overall aim to capture the in situ spatial non-verbal experiences along with the stream of perceptions, emotions and interpretations that are usually kept hidden (Evans and Jones 2011). The success of this spatial experiment was highlighted when conducting the post-mountaineering-day interviews where there was a noticeable difference in mood and openness when interviewing in a more formal context. The discussion was not as fluent because I had taken the lead as a researcher and interviewer and the balance of power had changed from informal to formal. In addition, the transition from natural to an artificial environment resulted in a loss of mediation that had been created when spatially engaged in a mobile activity. This combination changed the dynamic even though I had tried to establish an informal interview environment by asking the participants to choose the place of the interview and by revisiting topics of conversation we had covered out in the mountains. The post-day-out interviews, however, did provide that triangulation along with field notes of an in-depth detailed narrative. So, where the post mountaineering interview and field notes provided a depth of narrative and reflexive experience, the go-along and film revealed the tactile spatial depth of experience, providing a balance between sentient and emotional responses (Kusenbach 2003).

The mountaineering go-along interviews were successful because they put the women at ease, largely because they were used to guiding complete strangers on a daily basis. In addition, my positionality as a mountaineer quickly resolved any questioning the women may have pursued if I had not been so experienced, where a quick assessment of mountaineering routes I had done put their minds at rest in terms of my competence and ability. For both the go-along and the following interview, I drew upon key themes from my literature review to ask open questions when conversation flowed to topics such as embodiment –

emotion/sensation; mountaincraft – technologies/professionalism/skills; space/place-making; and masculinities and femininities – politics/responsibilities/escape. I did not prevent 'off topic' subjects from being discussed and found they often led to very interesting and insightful conversations that revealed new perspectives on their everyday experiences of mountaineering. On reflection, this semi structured approach to discussion proved very fruitful.

5.3.3 Mobile Video Ethnography (MVE): Detecting affect

There is a long and diverse history of using film and video for research in the social and behavioural sciences; A. C. Hadden, although not the first 'is most frequently credited with first using film in fieldwork as part of the Torres Straight expedition in 1898' (Heath et al. 2010, p. 3). Heath et al. (2010) express how film can provide distinctive ways of presenting culture, practice and social organisation, however, suggests that despite this, film has been neglected in the social sciences. MVE offered a potential solution for gathering the affective material I required for the research. Spinney (2015) considers MVE a method that describes how to 'follow people/objects/ideas in order to support analysis of the experience/content/doing of and interconnections between, immobility, mobility/flows/networks' (p. 232). Mobile methods like MVE are concerned with the embodied experiences of movement and as a method, it seeks to answer the question expressed in cultural geographic enquiry of 'how do we research and represent the fleeting, unconscious and mobile' experiences of subjects (Spinney 2015, p. 232). Scholars in this field of research, or mobilities turn, have critiqued existing methods for dealing poorly with the sensory, emotional and kinaesthetic aspects of experience (Spinney 2015; Humberstone 2011) and suggest that researching sense perception should be a situated holistic and embodied experience. In addition, rather than separating out the senses for individual analysis, sentient experience should be considered as a whole interconnected web that functions in tandem with emotion and feeling (Pink 2010; Ingold 2010; Stewart 2007) or as a poly-sensual approach (Sather-Wagstaff 2017). This is the approach that I chose to pursue.

Mountaineering allows the subject be differently mobile and to travel for its own sake; thus, central to my research, is the question of what happens on the move, because 'Moving involves making a choice within, or despite, the constraints of society and geography' (Cresswell and Merriman 2011, p. 5). Mobile bodies create spatial stories associated with different ways of being and thinking, and as such MVE enables the recording of these stories in situ. I wanted to record how female mountaineers were defined by their mobility in

tandem with the representational schemes that lie beyond the scale of the individual, affective forces constructed and represented through literature, media, film and fashion. I also wanted to understand how normative practices in mobility were resisted and manipulated through feminine approaches to mountaineering (ibid., p. 9). As Shouse (2005) points out, 'affect plays an important role in determining the relationship between our bodies, our environment, and others, and the subjective experience that we feel/think as affect dissolves into experience'. Theoretically applying affective concepts to the research data allowed the exploration of specific masculinities and femininities, by revealing how sociocultural atmospheres percolate through bodies and become experience. As Shouse (2005) describes 'We broadcast emotion to the world; sometimes that broadcast is an expression of our internal state and other times it is contrived in order to fulfil social expectations.' I chose to use film to capture the essence of the movement that neither the participant nor I was aware of at the time and this proved to be an important method for detecting affect by recording the grammar of our bodies that could not be fully captured through the spoken word.

Triangulating this with field notes and then a follow-up interview strengthened the analysis by exploring what had occurred during a particular moment through the emotions expressed, or the moment when 'sensation is checked against previous experiences and then labelled' (Shouse 2005). Further, it opened a way to detect ontologically what Spinney (2015) refers to as those natural things we can physically interact with that are imbued with affective flows that change behaviours and action, and provided a means of understanding when and why this occurs. As a geographer, therefore, I was interested in unearthing why, when encountering mountaineering, certain stimuli have different affects at different times and in different places (Spinney 2015). The aim was to understand the impact that the affective culture of mountaineering has and why it is such a powerful social force (Shouse 2005). Following Spinney's (2015) post-phenomenological approach to MVE, I conducted the research using the ethnographic go-along method. The go-along method proved a productive tool for studying the lived experiences that may escape conscious thought and language and that may be considered to be beyond experience (ibid.).

5.3.4 Transcription and coding

NVivo was used to directly transcribe both audio and film material and is a sophisticated data analysis programme specifically designed to aid the management of qualitative data. Both participant and researcher responses were recorded from the audio interviews and where

possible from the film clips. Interference from weather conditions and also bodily movements did obscure some audio extracted from the films, making it difficult and sometimes impossible to transcribe. However, I had not expected to gain as much audio material as I did from the films and this provided additional and highly valuable material. It was also particularly useful to be able to contrast film data with the immediate field notes and the post mountaineering day interviews, to triangulate data.

Coding the transcribed materials began with a re-evaluation of the original research question. This aimed to explore: How women experience mountaineering and what motivates them to take such risks in extreme vertical worlds of rock, snow and ice in the twenty first century? By analysing: their sensory and emotional experiences to understand if/how these were impacted upon by political, economic and social influences? To do this I established a rationale for coding, which rested entirely with me, and I started by drafting a framework of the key codes (or nodes as they are referred to in NVivo) as expressed in Figure 1 below:

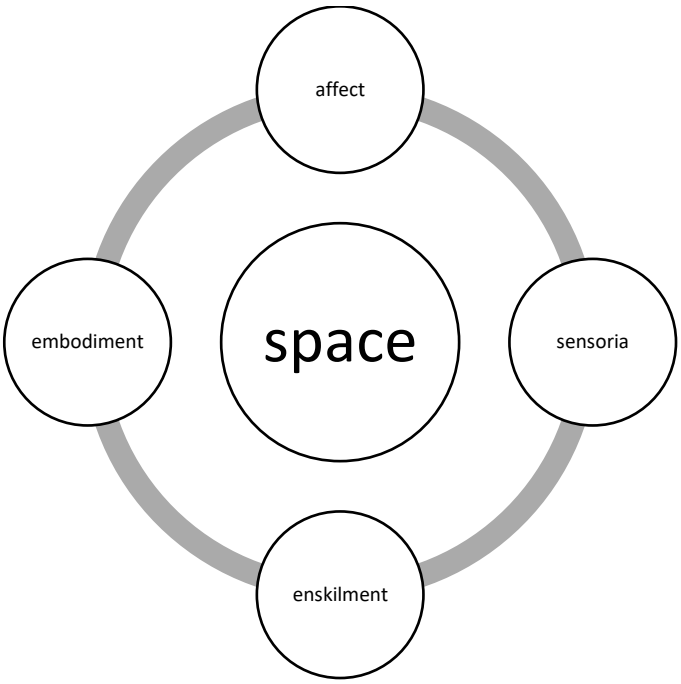

Figure 1 Key Codes for Analysis

Under each of these nodes I listed the most commonly occurring words following a common word search performed in NVivo and a full read-through of all of the transcripts allowing the data to speak for itself. I also added codes that reflected the theoretical approach I was to take in analysing the data. A total of 25 codes and sub-nodes were created, with sub-nodes being organised under each of the parent nodes listed in Figure 1. The sub-nodes

encompassed themes like: professionalisation; the five senses; emotional responses like pain, fear, enjoyment, responsibility; feminine and masculine politics, influences; and interpretations such as expectation, absence, and flow experiences, for example. These were adapted and revised as I conducted further key word searches and analyses; a final list is in Appendix 1. The model provided a means to explore the interrelationships between these parent nodes, which was crucial for developing a sense of how the research participants experienced mountaineering. Subsequently through the processes of analysis codes have been merged and adapted to reflect themes emerging from the data.

5.3.5 Ethics

The research was approved by the York St John University Ethics Committee (see Appendix 3). I asked each participant to complete a consent form (see Appendix 2) and discussed with them the use of direct quotations within the research, in particular quotations that might identify them. The consent forms consisted of making them aware that they would be giving their informed consent; that they had the right to withdraw at any time; that I would endeavour to ensure their anonymity and give an explanation of how the data would be used. I allocated pseudonyms to each of the research participants to protect their identity, and these names were selected at random from a book of female names and I was careful to select names that could not be attributed to the individuals concerned. All the participants requested I anonymised their contributions when using direct quotes. However, I did explain that I could not absolutely guarantee that their quotes would be protected from identification (Lassiter 2005). I tried to provide the research participants with the same degree of 'courtesy, empathy, and friendship in writing that [I] … extended to them in the field' where they were not my subjects but my collaborators (ibid., p. 90). I therefore, acknowledge the issues of representation and have endeavoured to ensure their voices are heard.

I also offered each participant expenses to compensate for the loss of a day's work. This did not comprise their normal professional day rate but was intended to cover basic costs. A risk assessment was produced in-line with university guidance to cover risks to both me and the participants and as mountain leaders, we risk assessed our choice of a route immediately before engaging in the activity and also dynamically throughout the day. These procedures are very much ingrained in the training and professionalism of the mountaineering community.

5.4 Reflexive methodology

> We live in a world of multiple constructed and constantly shifting meanings. Nothing is certain, and nothing can be known for sure. (Oakley 2005, p.9).

I designed a reflexive research methodology to reveal 'different ways of knowing' what mountaineering women do (Oakley 2005, p. 3). Following Oakley (2005) I sought a methodological approach that would provide the most reliable and democratic way of bridging the gap between researcher and participant, do as little harm and provide as much benefit to the participants as I could; but most importantly enable the experiences of the participants to be expressed in this co-produced context. Further I endeavoured 'not to continue to silence other voices, but to refuse to welcome, abuse, defend, include, analyse, or measure others and thereby construct them as passive objects' (Evers 2009, p. 895). Although sympathetic to the political aspirations of the women I worked with to change their mountaineering environment(s), I was wary of encouraging activism during the research, being careful to leave any political tasks to the participants. I did so by using semi-structured interviewing techniques that facilitated discussion on topics of mountaineering but refrained from giving opinions on political topics. Instead I asked the participants to illustrate their views more deeply. However, I am open to working with them collaboratively in the future with regard to outcomes from the research (McDowell 1992). Like Oakley (2005), I fully acknowledge that the research I conducted was an intervention which most likely changed what was being studied; by its very nature, it was a collaborative in-depth experiment requiring prolonged contact between participant and researcher. Research is fraught with complexities associated with the positionality of the researcher and subject and highly sensitive to the structures of power constructed from multiple positions, and I was committed to 'making visible the claims of the less powerful' (McDowell, 1992, p. 413). I did this by using a reflexive approach to question my own assumptions.

I acknowledge that it is very difficult to create a more democratic space for knowledge production and I was aware that inequalities did exist between myself as researcher and my research participants (Caretta and Riaño 2016), not least post field work where I have been solely involved in the data analysis, representation of data and development of subsequent conclusions. I am also wary of the claim of creating a voice when such inequalities are clearly evident. However, I did proceed with these inequalities at the fore and, following Coddington (2017), I endeavoured to be mindful of making assumptions about individual empowerment

in an effort not to obscure 'the larger context of power relations in which the voices are shared, recorded and analysed' (Coddington 2017, p.315) and I was cautious about using experience as an unquestioned basis for analysis. Like Coddington (2017) I aimed to present the experiences of the female mountaineers I encountered critically so as not to 'lose the capacity to contextualise that experience within relations of power and explore the production of experience and how it in turn constitutes subjects' (p.315). I, therefore, positioned this research in line with feminist scholars, being acutely aware of the intersection of power with academic knowledge and being, as a researcher, in a privileged position of power to construct and ask questions, interpret data and represent the findings through writing and publishing (Caretta and Riaño 2016).

Feminist participatory methods have aimed to democratise research methods in terms of revealing silenced voices and expanding geographical thinking. However, this has been critiqued in terms of the power play associated with how voice is represented and participation takes place, leading to the assumption that voice translates into empowerment. To speak and write on behalf of another is to be dominant and by exposing these difficulties and complexities I took a reflexive approach to answer the research question. I also considered how I would make the voices of women mountaineers available through making judgements and reflexively asking questions about what the research would do, its source and its limits (Coddington 2017). Therefore, a reflexive approach meant I considered at each point my original aim, the modifications that arose through mutual interaction with participants and how this affected the outcome. For example, I originally set out to use body-mounted film recorders (e.g. GoPro Hero 3s) to record film footage at key points throughout the day, switching the devices on and off to preserve the battery and record only important moments. On the first day, I modified this, allowing the film recording to just run on through non-moment points in the day without any stop/start. I realised that switching the device on and off was both impractical and invasive making my role as researcher more prominent. I also questioned my original assumption of what constituted *important* moments realising that any point on the day could be important, and the very act of being in the mountains was value laden. Reducing the prominence of being a researcher meant I could more readily perform my role of being the less experienced mountaineer and facilitate the normal processes of being led by the women mountaineers who were far more experienced than me. Caretta and Riaño (2016) argue that an important aim for feminist geography projects seeking authenticity and appropriateness is 'to subvert power-loaded research processes of knowledge production between researcher and participant'. They call for scholars to

decolonise the research processes that cast 'others' or subalterns, such as women, as unable to articulate their own voices and requiring interpretation by 'first world intellectuals' (p. 259). Considering practical ways to achieve this, Carretta and Riaño (2016) offers an approach to research *with* and not *on* research participants and this is how I approached my research.

5.5 Conclusion

To establish an affective ethnographic methodology to gather empirical evidence, one of the biggest challenges for researching the affectivity of social life is how to identify 'phenomena that suggest the presence of affectivity in the material' (Knudsen and Stage 2015, p. 4). To make this question more answerable I studied female mountaineers in situ whilst using methods-in-motion (Brown and Banks 2015; Spinney 2015; Watson and Waterton 2015) to identify the 'invisible grammars of signification of human behaviour' (Knudsen and Stage, 2015, p. 11). In doing so, I co-produced data through embodied mobile fieldwork, via mobile video ethnography from both the participants and my own perspective. The research methodology that I developed was qualitative and ethnographic in its practical application, where the links between theory and method were crucial; particularly when I began to analyse the intersubjective connections between mountaineer, ethnomountaineer, environment, human and non-human. Following feminist methodological scholarship, I attempted to undertake a reflexive participatory go-along method using MVE, enabling data to be collected unobserved *with* the participants that endeavoured to capture daily taken-for-granted-moments or non-moments. The results were triangulated enabling a cross-referencing of data sources to mitigate my experiences and assumptions with the actualities experienced and this was particularly true of the film footage I collected. The data and then subsequent transcription and coding has produced what I consider to be empirically robust data that has provided the foundation for analyses.

CHAPTER SIX: MOUNTAINCRAFT: FEMALE PRACTICES IN MOUNTAINEERING

> Planning the moves first in my mind
>
> then placing foot and hand with precision
>
> Layback; bridge; jam;
>
> pull up to the next ledge
>
> and rest
>
> aware of my breath
>
> Of the response of my heart (in Tullis, Kemp 1987, p. 60)

In this chapter, I draw upon empirical research to consider the emotional and sentient experiences of female mountaineers through exploring particular motivations, practices and how these are shaped by external forces. I also draw upon my own personal experience of mountaineering. The desire to achieve a sense of wellbeing was cited by the research participants over two hundred and sixty times as the chief motivational factor for engaging in extreme forms of risk. This was a major finding of the empirical research. I found the research participants achieved a sense of wellbeing predominantly through goal-oriented challenges such as ascending unclimbed peaks/routes or completing a previously climbed but particularly hard route. For them, happiness was not an end goal but a by-product derived in the course of undertaking personal challenges, encompassing what Ryff and Singer (2008) refer to as Eudaimonic wellbeing achieved through developing a strong sense of purpose. The Eudaimonic model of wellbeing typifies the complexity and conflictual nature of a hard mountaineer's life that combines 'living a life rich in purpose and meaning, continued growth with the very necessary quality ties to others', which can have both positive and negative autoimmunitary affects (Ryff and Singer 2008, p. 13). I go on to show how a sense of wellbeing is derived from flow experiences produced predominantly in spaces of freedom or alterity. I then contrast this with how fragile sensations of wellbeing are and so easily ruptured by connections to others and communities. To consider these positive and negative impacts I explore the practices the research participants use to build an armoury of outward behaviours, or wearing an emotional 'skin' to maintain social legitimacy; but in doing so conceal an inner array of feelings perceived to be taboo or too feminine in such a masculine space (Wearing 1998, p. 121).

In sum I consider how women achieve a sense of wellbeing by creating particular subjectivities through five themes:

1) I begin by analysing how female mountaineers practice mountaineering through sentient and haptic expressions; paying particular attention to the practice of silence as a key method for managing risk through control of fear.
2) I consider how female mountaineers find their own sense of space through modes of control, exposure and self-sufficiency through mountaincraft and the practice of soloing, to access spaces of alterity and experience illegitimate emotions, producing different feminised ways to mountaineer.
3) I explore how being part of a mountaineering community shapes these experiences and the autoimmunitary impact.
4) I consider how interconnections to others such as family, peers; and virtual worlds impact on female mountaineers' private spaces to mountaineer.
5) Finally, throughout the chapter, I trace a line to show that sentient expression is gendered and not innocent from the pressures to conform to social norms.

6.1 Place: Ontic practice of puzzling

> [Mountains] are more part of me than anything … I know where I am in the mountains (Moffat in Mort 2017).

Being able to 'read' the mountains creates a deep connection to place. Like Moffat the research participants all found 'place' in the mountains by climbing routes, but this is not a process of navigation where a route is mapped out in absolute detail, a mountaineer has to feel their way. Part of the appeal of climbing a mountaineering route is that fact that it holds mystery and is a problem to be solved haptically. As a child, Lorrie had experienced a great sense of frustration at not being able to assimilate the moves needed to learn to ski:

> I was really struggling to keep up and I was not getting things …. I went to bed and I remember visualising … how it would look and feel to turn and the next day it just happened …. I remember this was an important moment in sport for me and it was definitely that visualisation … because I had imagined what it would feel like and it was funny how pretty much the next day it happened ... [I thought] wow what did I do, what did I tell my body to do?

Lorrie visualised haptically the sensations required to realise her ambition physically, it was a dreaming of presence and of a body in play. She had accessed an acute sense of bodily

attunement, enisled and in alterity. Similarly, poet and climber Helen Mort shares her inner haptic voice using a language of movement where: 'I feel technical; cracks, slabs, where is the way' she expresses the embodied puzzling of movement with rock and the processes of navigational problem-solving (Mort 2017). In some instances, on popular routes the direction to be followed is apparent due to the wear on the rock or the features described in a guidebook, however, often there is significant room for interpretation that produces a haptic sensory self-talk illustrated by Mort and Lorrie. Depending on how acute a mountaineer's sense of direction is, deviation of varying degrees to achieve an ascent is inevitable, sometimes deliberate and other times unintentional. Map and compass are useless in vertical worlds of rock, snow, ice and technical apparel does not help to solve the mystery of where a route goes. Thus, mountaineers must read how the surface of the rock or snow has been changed by human activity or naturally through weathering, along with being able to identify the natural features described in the guidebook, if used. This is a space of attuned alterity.

On routes less travelled, a climber may follow the line of least resistance constantly assessing *if it will go*. Detecting the direction of a route is a process of wayfinding, where intuition, experience and feeling the way is used (Ingold 2000); haptic movements are tested against rock features to see if upward progress can be made. By puzzling out the move through testing hand placements and foot placements, going up to put protection in, coming down to rest, going up to try a hand in a clenched position or torqueing a foot in the crack, making shapes, coming down to rest; working a route until *it will go,* a mountaineer is wayfinding. Uncertainty is a necessary part of the challenge, and puzzling is the epistemological process of producing muscular knowledge that overcomes the unknown. Mountaineers inhabit a vertical world and have, through their enskilled action, become familiar with how to move *with* the mountains by drawing upon a personal narrative of experiences that enables them to '*feel their way'* (ibid., p. 155). This bodily knowledge becomes instinctive, where mountaineers like Destivelle (no date) express that: 'I always follow my instincts and they rarely let me down', because her body is in deep conversation with the mountain becoming profoundly place-responsive (Brown and Wattchow 2016). The language is that of a technician: 'the environment in which we operate', and you rely on 'your technique, your brain, your reason, like an engineer' (Moffat 2017). It is a language that controls fear in a place of chaos, a bodily attunement to sensations of risk that produce tactics for survival.

Negotiating a difficult and exposed move often means that the climber cannot see if or how a move will work, or, importantly, if there is a hold that will create a feeling of safety. To push

into the unknown requires a sense of absolute self-belief that the move *will go* and is a condition crucial for controlling fear. Research participant Julia had climbed many routes with her companion and had learned that in order for her to access the right psychological state, she preferred to go first on a move. Julia attributed this to her climbing partner having a very different body type and way of moving: 'because she is so small … [on particular moves she will] end up doing a dyno, and I would think I cannot do that'. Julia understood how her body worked and needed a clear uncontaminated space to work out a move. If her companion went first, it would disrupt her ability to *read* the rock in terms of her own body shape and mobility and undermine her confidence. Politics between bodies required tactics to preserve a space of alterity so fear could be managed, which recognises that bodies have unique patterns of movement in spaces of risk.

Julia expressed how solo climbing for her was:

> puzzling …. You will get to a point … where you are in an exposed situation and you have to be prepared to move. You cannot necessarily see [where you are going] … it is nice problem solving, it is a puzzle.

Solo-climbing routes gave Julia a sense of joy because it was a challenging form of immersive problem solving that required translating a guidebook description into movements on the rock. Often a guidebook will deliberately leave out details or provide tantalising clues that symbolise a particular kind of physical problem. Such problems require total concentration and commitment to make an exposed move that may not be reversible, thus puzzling a route out is a risky and seductive form of play that can lead to sensations of flow. The playful act of making shapes to puzzle a way through rock and gravity is the ontological essence of mountaineering and requires a space of alterity, as Annie expressed:

> body positions, for every move you are working out the pattern and flow…there is a joy in that flow when everything seems to fit into place whether you are moving up rock or ice or just on a lovely path, there is something that happens to you.

In addition, the temporal nature of puzzling out mountaineering problems creates a suspension of external influences, locking a mountaineer's attention within the present moment; past and future concerns are annihilated, 'space and time does not exist' and a sense of bodily enislement is experienced (in Mort 2017). Thoughts clash together, 'can you do it, [and] how should you do it … feeling the rock and knowing it again' (Mort 2017). The agentic sensations of decision-making through puzzling requires a haptic logic where the

senses embody a present moment of play that is common to mountaineers. I posit that the temporal nature of flow experienced through playful puzzling is an ontological element of mountaineering.

However, feelings of flow did not always occur during a climb, particularly when Annie moved into an uncomfortable zone that pushed her too close to the brink of death. In these instances, she found that sensations of flow were only felt when she reached the top, where relief at still being alive was associated with post-event sensations of flow. The flow was not in this case bound by a chronological sense of time of 'being-in-the-moment', raising a question of ethics that implicates sensations of flow with emotional reflexivity and autoimmunitary affects. Annie had mastered the risk transcending sensations of guilt, shame and fear associated with failing, producing a different sensation of flow that adapted to the expectations of 'others'.

6.2 The practices of play: Immersive haptics, tactics and politics

For Derrida (2006 [1978]) play is indeterminate, formed in situ leaving a residue of action engrained in the very fibres of a 'body' created by the connections a body makes with earth, air and water. A body at play requires connection and immersion in mountains, people and ideas. To be at play is the embodied expression of movement, experienced both perceptually and physically reflected in the research participants' experiences, as Lorrie expresses:

> everything seems to work and it all seems to be working as you move up and with the rock, making shapes and enjoying [the] … movement, connecting with the different expressions of the rock as you move.

Mountaineers engage in different forms of play, from the serious play of rock puzzling and working up a hard route to more joyous child-like activities such as playing in the wind. Freddie considered her climbing to be play, describing it as a process of 'thinking with her feet' an expression both Moffat (in Mort 2017) and Shepherd (2011 [1977]) also used. Freddie used her physical knowledge of dancing to understand how to make moves and read the rock and control fears by breaking a route down into sequences of small moves. She would also switch music on in her head, as a way of remaining calm when the weather was raging around her in winter climbs. By incorporating different creative practices like dancing and music Freddie described a haptic sensorium that incorporated a much wider array of stimuli, triggered through her previous experiences of music and dance. Sather-Wagstaff (2017) refers to this as a polysensual experience that blends biological sensations of a body in

space with the culture-specific biography of previous experiences and interpretation. Freddie had utilised a feminine coping strategy to remain calm whilst under duress produced by wild weather conditions on a winter climb. She did not engage more commonly associated masculine emotional responses such as aggression or strength, in contrast she used a more creative and meditative approach for controlling fear. To do this she focused on recalling experiences of music to access a space of alterity that produced sensations of psychological freedom.

Play was also an alteric space to experience illegitimate emotions. During the solo research day out, Jo experienced 50mph winds, in which she 'relished that challenge of fighting with the wind'. She did not feel vulnerable and felt well within her capabilities because she knew the location well. Jo enjoyed expressing an aggressive form of puzzling and self-mastery requiring her to make shapes to resist being blown over. Adopting a masculinised approach, using aggression and strength to tackle the conditions, Jo was able to access sensations of wellbeing, demonstrating how women transition and utilise both masculine and feminine strategies in mountaineering. Next I consider how silence produces space to become attuned to risk and how this is ontological to mountaincraft.

6.3 Silence as practice: Balancing a sense of alterity with autoimmunitary affects

Implicit to developing haptic awareness and thus building the muscular knowledge associated with mountaincraft, is a silencing of voice. In Western society, finding space to be free of the spoken word and be silent is challenging but crucial for a mountaineer to develop knowledge of risk. As I have already shown, accessing a sense of freedom or alterity through the practice of soloing required a silencing of the everyday for the research participants to access sensations of flow. I now show how silence is an ontology of everyday life in mountaineering.

In the West, silence and being silent has many negative associations linked to educative disciplinary practices that enforce silence, as well as the kinds of silencing that marginalises others. The West is a culture fearful of silence where normative practices associate silence as disagreeable, as MacKendrick (2001) asserts 'Any discussion about the value of silence in the Western world seems odd or archaic to us because silence has no place in a fully confessional culture' (p. 4). Zembylas and Michaelides (2004) describe how silence in Eastern traditions is 'more expressive of a way of being; it is an ontological silence – the silence of being or life itself' (p. 199). For example, in the East, silence is considered as important as speech, allowing reflection on what has been communicated. Silence for mountaineers is, I argue, an

ontological state of being that is critical to survival, producing knowledge of oneself, the terrain, weather and companions in order that physical danger can be detected and avoided. Silence takes many forms affecting the behaviours of mountaineers.

When conducting the empirical fieldwork, I encountered several ways in which silence was manifested during a mountaineering experience. Next I consider five significant ways that mountaineers utilise silence and its affective qualities by exploring silence as:

1. A pedagogy of the senses that forms knowledge and practices of survival
2. A tool for silencing others creating space for reflexive learning that attunes companions to risk
3. A space for reflection that leads to a sense of wellbeing
4. A means of achieving a sense of flow through the rituals of self-talk
5. A reflexive tool for managing extreme risk produced in spaces of alterity

I also observed other forms of silence and silencing that had darker implications that disrupted the research participants' sense of wellbeing through autoimmunitary affects, considered in the next chapter. By both observing and participating in silence and silencing I was able to record how silence was foundational to the enskilled actions and knowledge production of the research participants. I contend that silence is a detectable ontological aspect of mountaineering and climbing and aim to explore how this is manifest in female mountaincraft.

6.3.1 Silence as mountaincraft*:* A pedagogy of the senses

> I will climb quietly today (in Tullis, Kemp 1987, p. 60)

Research participant Caitlin explained when she was mountaineering:

> you do not feel you want to talk all the time and there are spaces where you do not want to, or you just cannot because you want to concentrate on breathing and getting over the next difficult bit … it creates pauses …. If we sat in silence for twenty minutes in this room that would be really awkward … but on the hill you can be silent for much longer periods … you have the noise of your feet plodding … you are in your own little bubble and it is fine.

Caitlin expressed how important it was to create those spaces to think through movement and to be able to concentrate on the difficulties a body faced during a mountain journey.

Pauses were essential for reflecting on how the body connected to the terrain in order that the forces being exerted on the body could be successfully negotiated. Caitlin fully understood the complexities of silence, noting how important pauses were to mountaincraft. Being able to hear the noises a body makes when connecting with surfaces such as snow allows the senses to pick up subtle changes in conditions. To illustrate, wet snow creates slushing sounds, and can indicate a slower pace of movement or may indicate water beneath; a depression in the snow is often avoided because it means water may be present; hard snow squeaks and crumps allowing faster progress; soft dry snow cracks and swishes as you sink through the thin upper crust, signifying slow progress and hard work; spindrift whips across the surface creating snow waves providing a history of snow movement and wind direction. Silence allows the body to feel and listen for dangers and refine movement to save energy. Often when weather conditions are severe, verbal communication becomes very difficult or impossible. This is a form of environmental silencing that forces a deeper connection with the conditions being experienced. In such instances, mountaineers resort to other forms of communication, such as hand signals, slowing of pace and using head torches to indicate the way. One such moment was captured in my field notes during the research day with Caitlin:

> Your eyes are wide open but you cannot see what is coming next, you feel and hear the pressure building and your being reverberates with the immense noise, it hits you and you lean to take the force standing your ground and pressing hard against an invisible wall, one false step and it will take you over, spindrift lashes at exposed flesh and rucksack straps whip into your face. Snow is moving, picked up and deposited in wave-like formations, sastrugi sculptures, the visible carvings of the wind. Face burning and pinching with cold, eyes watering, your breath is sucked away making speaking impossible against the noise and lack of oxygen (Field notes, 17 November 2016).

Environmental silencing attunes a body into a state of alterity where strategies for managing risk are formed. Managing such weather conditions was a core part of the research participants' lives. I discussed with Annie how she managed such challenging weather conditions, particularly when contending with snow and ice. She expressed how she enjoyed the challenge of winter conditions due to the ever changing nature of snow, and described how within a few hundred metres you could have everything from hard compacted neve to soft thigh-deep snow that required different techniques. Annie described how she would be in a continual process of silently making judgements and decisions on a micro level, whether the snow was soft or hard, where to place the next foot, reading the snow and historical patterns of the snow and getting it right, or being surprised by seeing what she had not

expected to see. This was a practice of making a dynamic continual risk assessment throughout the day, where:

> You are keeping an eye on the weather, temperature and wind, you know the snow will move in an 8km wind, therefore, what was safe first thing in the morning will change and you may have to make a judgement on that change. … you are using all your senses like listening for different noises, watching and feeling what is going on underneath your feet and body, sensing if there is a massive rise in temperature, using all your senses to pick up any changes that are happening.

Annie explained how an absence of words allowed her to assess a client's abilities by listening to their movements and breathing patterns. This provided knowledge about how a companion was performing. In particular, she would pay attention to foot sounds and placements for example, if they dragged their feet or the foot slid back due to poor placement. The sounds of how someone was moving were crucial to assessing the competence of a companion or client. Annie had paid attention to my movements and breathing in order to determine the pace required, listening for a confident, rhythmic plod or foot placements that were quiet and careful. We discussed how the act of walking on technical ground was a muscular skill requiring an intelligence and continual process of internal silent decision-making, building 'its substance out of layers of sensory impact' (Stewart 2007, p. 113); agreeing that it seemed, for many people, to be a hidden skill and one underestimated by those who did not have hill or climbing experience. This highlights how muscular consciousness is taken for granted and not understood or valued in the way it should be, perhaps because in contemporary society access to the silent spaces to connect with such sentient expressions are so infrequent. Mountaineers value their sensory capacities, knowing that in order to assimilate the events of a journey they must periodically be silent. Silence enables engagement of all the senses to make a physical reading of the connections made with air, ground and water to craft ways to move (Ingold 2000). A body 'loves and dreads the encounters that make it.' Borrowing the intimacy, a mountain-place affords, it makes a plan through silent micro-movements (Stewart 2007, p. 114). Silence is relational, agentic and ontological for understanding risk in mountaineering.

6.3.2 Silencing others: The skill of silent transmission

The research revealed how mountaineers intrinsically understood the value of silence and are sensitive to the absence of words. Absence from language can momentarily free a mountaineer from social norms and it is not, therefore, mere absence of speech. It is not

perceived as a lack of communication but rather a quietening of everyday noise so that other forms of sensorial communication can be experienced. Understanding this, Caitlin had started a successful mountain-based coaching business for management executives. She described how important it was to take people out of their comfort zones through mountaineering, giving them permission to not talk. Being silent provided space to 'work stuff out' (Caitlin) and usually by the end of the day her clients had made significant progress, bringing perspective to their professional lives through physical problem-solving in the mountains. The practice of silence enables the transfer of skills to others and is an important factor in guiding the less experienced. Caitlin's approach had been to co-create a silent space with her clients, which was, importantly, one her clients chose to occupy. She had developed a subtle way for her clients to quieten the noise of the everyday through the physical exertion of climbing mountains that stalled the spoken word. As a leader, this provided space to listen and respond to her clients' movements and questions. Caitlin had observed how initial discussion with her clients would focus on life issues, a topic that would gradually melt away and shift towards questions about how to move, what to expect, and navigation. Caitlin's clients transitioned into a silent concentration of movement and connectedness with the ground and elements, creating a silent reflective space, thus experiencing the agency of their own bodies as a 'literal, immanent and experimental' space (Stewart 2007, p. 113). Caitlin had silenced her clients in a positive and collaborative way where they co-produced a space for problem-solving. Silence was a medium that allowed a transition from every day cares, by experiencing their bodies in the physical states of 'vitality, immersion, isolation, exhaustion and renewal' (Stewart 2007, p. 113). Caitlin opened a space for her clients to experience a sense of flow, alterity and wellbeing in a space of risk.

In contrast, during an assessment programme for MIA, Lorrie described how one of the leaders had asked each participant, whilst walking into a mountain location, to talk for ten minutes on a particular mountain related topic. On completion of all the talks there was a long silence as they continued to walk. Uncomfortable with this silence, the group asked the leader what he wanted them to do next. In response, the leader expressed how he thought a period of silence would be good for a bit and that sometimes it was wise to give people a bit of quiet time, so as to not overburden them. The leader had shifted attention from the spoken word to a contemplative space to reflect on the next phase of the assessment, emphasising the necessity for silence when working with less experienced others, signifying how silence acts as an affective medium for the transference of knowledge, and also asserting power. It was an 'affective charge' that pulled the trainees into place, through

'identity practices' asserting what it was to be a good mountaineer and breaking down mountaineering into mountaineering-culture norms (Stewart 2007, p.120). However, the choice to be silent jarred with the group, making them feel uncomfortable since it had not been a co-produced or collaborative moment of learning. The trainees had been silenced in a way that asserted the master and apprentice relationship, their place in rank being asserted by the sign of a 'good mountaineer'. The leader asserted an affective charge of superior ability (Stewart 2007). As a result, Lorrie was compelled to assimilate this autocratic use of silencing as a learning point into her own practice as a model of good mountaineering. However, she subtly adapted it by allowing her clients to talk out their initial excitement by only responding to their questions and not offering any elaboration that would prolong discussion; she would then be silent for long periods in the first hour or so of walking into a mountaineering route. She created a more caring feminine form of silencing clients through listening but moderating her responses and thus, creating silent spaces to help them connect with the physicality of their surroundings and for her to assess their ability. It was a way of tuning them to the sensory intensity of being in the mountains to develop a sensitivity that could be lifesaving.

A more overt form of silencing others was utilised by Annie when guiding clients or taking out less experienced companions. Annie used a traffic light system to signal potential danger to engender a code of behaviour expected when operating in green, amber or red states. These states required clients to practice self-silencing, so they could focus on survival. Annie would expect to experience phases of green, amber and red during a day, where green represented relative safety, amber might represent the potential for a trip, slip or slide due to a change in the snow conditions (such as meeting a section of wind slab for example), and red, extreme danger (see glossary). For Annie, achieving just enough exposure without being on amber all day was the chief objective, because being in states of amber all day was too stressful and a sign she was in the wrong place. This technique was a means of sensitising her clients to danger, providing cues to trigger hyper-responsiveness to the volatile nature of the mountains (Stewart 2007). Annie was careful to choose a 'good moment' to run through her safety briefing with her clients (ibid.). She would wait to talk through the hazards until they were just short of a technical section where difficulties would be present because she did not want to frighten her companions and make them more nervous than necessary. She also needed them to be in a good mind set so that they became co-collaborators, able to assist if something did go wrong. Thus, Annie would break up the day for both herself and her clients and would:

> Tell people not to look at the bigger picture but to focus on the section in front of them, be it on a path to a col or climbing up one pitch of ice. I emphasise the importance of not thinking about the rest of the mountain and to focus on where they are and enjoying the moment, instead of worrying about the fact that we have another 3000m to climb to get to the top. A lot of people get caught up in looking up and becoming overawed by the enormity of the climb and situation, which makes them nervous for the whole day.

Annie would tell her clients that banter is fine in green places, but to be silent to enable full concentration when moving into an amber zone. Silencing the chat between clients was a way of heightening her clients' awareness of risk and enabling them to demonstrate competency. It was also a way for Annie to be able to assess the hazards and quickly give instructions without interruption or having to repeat crucial, often lifesaving, directions. Annie would also use self-silencing as a sign of danger, warning clients that if 'I go quiet it might mean I am having a hard time'. She also would change the power dynamic even further if serious problems occurred, becoming far more assertive and instructing clients to take on more responsibility. Communication became about surviving, with other forms of discussion being silenced and was a tactic for keeping people safe. Silence was also a pedagogical tool for sharing knowledge and experience about how to manage high-risk situations and a methodology for survival. Annie had refined and defined a sensory practice of attunement by using silence to manage perceptions of risk and life-threatening situations.

6.3.3 Self-Silencing: Methods and rituals of self-control in flow

I argue next that flow is experienced in a silent space through considering how the research participants focused when negotiating very hard sections of a climb, where the absence of language allows a movement into spaces of the unknown to achieve sensations of flow (Csíkszentmihályi 1998 [1988]). Silence allowed Annie to concentrate absolutely on reading the rock and her own body's perceptual and corporeal awareness to make decisions about:

> how long could I hold on here, or could I hold on [over] there, I feel good, I could hold on here all day, or I go through moments of being very scared and knowing that I am going to have to make a move because if I don't I am going to fall off, I know I need to take that chance and I know I could make that move and generally I make that move and its fine. It is a process of analysis.

Mountaineers' thought processes oscillate between sensations of flow and fear connected by a stream of internal dialogue. The temporal nature of this process means that such dialogue could happen in a split second or take many hours; often Annie would not know how long

this decision-making process had taken. Annie was clear how self-silencing fear was an important psychological state where she could experience that 'wow' or 'flow' produced through the joy of movement. Self-silencing was a practice that created alteric space to engage with sensations of extreme exposure enabling her to push boundaries into the unknown, to feel challenged and self-sufficient.

Mountaineers have different kinds of rituals that enable them to silence fear. The crux move on a route will often be at the limit of a mountaineer's abilities, representing the anticipation of risk, which can produce physical reactions to fear, manifest through cold sweats, nervous shaking and dry mouth, where you

> might go through a ritual of chalking up and the ritual of saying it is just one move at a time, it is just one move at a time and there will be gear, there will be gear. You have these little mantras that you say to yourself, but when you come to the move all you are just doing is the moves …. With climbing it takes me a while to settle down after a hard move because I am quite shaky getting the gear in and when I get the gear in I can then pause, breathe and relax.

Rituals or mantras were common techniques to quell emotional noise, they enabled absolute focus on the immediate needs and staying safe (Barratt 2011). Common to all of the research participants was the use of breathing techniques to enable a difficult move to be made that helped to get oxygen around the body whilst preventing them from hyperventilating. Overcoming other kinds of emotional and physical demands, Caitlin had a particular method for motivating herself when the going got tough:

> I have just caught myself doing a ritual. I spend a lot of the day doing fractions in my head and trying to work out what height have we climbed and how much have got to go. We are at 750m and we have 100m to drop and then 300m to climb, in total we have 950m of climbing, so we have ascended just over 2/3rds of the height gain.

Self-silencing rituals were a form of adaptive dissonance by occupying the mind with a mental form of play that focused concentration on the task to be completed, blocking potentially dangerous thoughts that could erode confidence and competence. This is another example of how a route would be broken up into manageable segments, one of those practical tools for keeping going and completing the challenge. To overcome a personal trauma, research participant Julia began a yearlong solo mountain-lake swimming project, where she swam without a wetsuit exposing herself to intense sensations of being cold. She swam solo in remote mountain lakes so as to access a space to achieve a sense of restorative inner peace

that could only be accessed through exposure to extreme cold and silence. Swimming during winter in an exceptionally cold year enabled Julia to expose herself to an intense form of cold that she described as sublime because:

> I think you become a very primitive animal, and all your useless thoughts about politics disappear when you are intensely cold, you cannot think in detail. I am talking about real cold … people start screaming when they first get in [the water] but that is not real cold, when it is intensely cold you have a limited capacity for thought, your instincts are awakened and that is where the fears come in. I think you are finding a more primitive version of yourself.

In this silent space, Julia was capable of controlling fear, the intensity of feeling cold allowed her to achieve a sense of alterity and connect to a part of herself that was not accessible in other parts of her life. Solo swimming also gave her space to push the boundaries of what she knew to be possible. To overcome bodily pain and the fear of drowning she visualised being warm, constituting a warm space where she tried to conjure up imagery appropriate to the setting that would be:

> magnificent for this magnificent setting …. [However] the image that came into my head was hot sausage rolls …. I was working the image of the hot steam coming out. At the same time I was arguing with myself for not being able to visualise a magnificent volcano, I could not bring it into my head because I was so cold …. I had to stop doing that because it was disturbing my image of the warmth of the hot sausage rolls. I was … really annoyed, well at least it was only for half of the lake.

Julia's ability to visualise warmth enabled her to push through the corporeal and perceptual boundaries of what her body could do. However, the intensity of the cold meant she was incapable of bringing what she considered to be more socially appropriate imagery to mind. Even when experiencing extreme cold and being close to potential disaster, social norms invaded Julia's hard-won space telling her to visualise *warm* imagery that fitted notions of traditional sublimity. Julia could not silence her inner normative voice that guided how a 'good' mountaineer should to be and think and is an example of how the affective forces of the culture of mountaineering impact in even the most private of spaces.

6.3.4 Silencing fear and society: The practice of visualisation through self-talk

Buddhists recognise the limits of cognition and speech by refusing to make a distinction between speech and silence, considering them in relational terms. In this context when silence is related to experience it becomes a site of possibility and empowerment. Silencing

opens receptivity and openness that leads to a deeper respect for the other or otherness (Zembylas and Michaelides 2004). For mountaineers, the silent practices of self-criticality built through performing a climb require a verbal connection or grounding that helps to solidify the decision-making practices. The path or route taken is a cumulative trace that is not engineered in advance but generated in the movement itself (Ingold 2010). Unlike walkers who follow a well-trodden path, mountaineers require an acute sense of route finding. The traces of movement can be located on well-travelled routes where rocks show the signs of polish from many hands and feet passing over them. The polished rocks, ice axe marks, crampon scratches or compacted snow steps on a route can also be misleading indicating the struggles of those who saw an easy option that led to a dead-end where footholds and handholds ran out. These situations require a wide range of specialist skills, such as strength, creating unusual body positions, using tiny in-cuts as footholds or crimps for one or two fingers, torqueing ice axes in small crevices to make small advances upwards, but most of all belief that the route will yield and progress can be made. Self-talk is used to work out these problems. Verbalising these struggles is a private talk that is sometimes audible, consisting of screams, grunts, swearing, and aggression to raise adrenaline levels enough so a move can be made 'there will be gear, there will be that bomber hold, it will go' (Jo). Customarily self-talk helped the research participants to overcome that moment of self-doubt, or adaptive dissonance, where, as with Jo, self-talk was used as a coping mechanism to perform the move.

I asked Annie how she managed extreme situations when climbing peaks in the Greater Ranges, in terms of how she calmed herself down when faced with the life or death situations she had experienced on numerous occasions when leading expeditions. Using self-talk to make decisions was a process she conducted alone. Annie explained how she would talk (out-loud) to 'Harry' acting out a decision-making flowchart that served to calm her emotional turmoil. On an expedition in the Himalaya she described how:

> when you are on [a dangerous pitch] amber is flashing for eight or nine hours that takes a lot out of people and I do not think many people can do that day after day. You do need some safety zones to go and get a rest.

I asked how she managed this on big trips where an expedition could be on amber for many days. She explained how she would self-talk to justify the risks when:

> spending a night in a tent thinking you are going to be avalanched … you just have to mentally switch off and … say oh well, if it is going to take me

> away it is going to take me away. [is a way of] … rationalising that you could die, … [by telling yourself] … you will not because you do need to get sleep and rest.

Annie used this system as a silent process to manage the extreme conditions experienced when either solo climbing or when in sole charge of a group where self-reliance is absolute. This tactic produced space for the senses to function in a heightened capacity and enabled a rational means of arriving at survival strategy when experiencing extreme conditions and danger. I asked Annie:

> How do you fix yourself, do you talk to others? (Jenny)
>
> I have [Harry] he is sat up there (Annie)
>
> Hello [Harry] (Jenny)
>
> I self-talk, I do a lot of self-talk, but rather than talking to myself I talk to [Harry]. I go through the scenarios with [Harry] to work through a crisis. It is like having a conversation with someone else but you are actually talking to an object and he play-acts the answers, so in a situation, the conversation might go:
>
> What do you think [Harry] (Annie)
>
> I think it is very dangerous here (Harry)
>
> Are you scared [Harry] (Annie)
>
> Yes I am very scared (Harry)
>
> What should we do? (Annie)
>
> Fuck knows (Harry laughs)
>
> Ok not a good answer (Annie laughs)
>
> It sounds funny but you actually go through this self-talk, and you come out with what settles your stomach …, this is our plan and is the best plan if we want to get out of this situation. Obviously, you do talk to other leaders to gain a consensus, but if you are the leader of the trip then sometimes you are coming up with those decisions on your own because clients might not have a clue and they are relying on you. So I self-talk, I go through all the possible choices and I write things down in diaries.
>
> Choice one – stay here and die
>
> Choice two – go through the icefall and die

> Choice three – climb up higher and in two days we will be over a ridge and in a different area which means changing the plan … is it possible? Yes.
>
> You are creating yourself a flow chart, number one and two are not an option, number three is your only option in a catastrophic event, and you have to choose the option that is the least catastrophic. So you are just analysing things all the time, it is about not rushing into a decision. [Harry] and I reflect together and build a picture going through all the options rationally. I could do that by writing it down but [Harry] helps, as he comforts me.

Annie controlled emotionally charged situations by combining silent analysis with verbalising decision-making, using [Harry] as a sounding board to rationalise and reassure herself that the sensible decisions were made. The silent intensity of the situation required speech to ground the analysis and risks. Mountaineers work hard to control the risks they face (Kiewa 2001), which breaks with the notion of edgework because the feeling of control is what leads to sensations of fulfilment following the event. Annie utilised self-talk to silence the fear she was feeling enabling her to exert control over her emotions and was able to visualise a logical survival strategy. Subsequently, this enabled her to present the most feasible solution to her peers, clients and most importantly herself. Annie engaged in a deep conversation with risk, building a reciprocity with the mountain that shaped practice through self-talk (Brown and Wattchow 2016).

6.3.5 Understanding the value of silence

In sum, in the mountains' silence becomes acceptable, freeing a mountaineer from Western normative practices to constantly fill the empty spaces. In the context of mountaineering, I consider silence to represent the space that allows immersion in a personal world of expressive movement and tactility that constitutes the enskilled practice of survival. Silence is the embodied cabling that connects self to the mountain that is totalising and experiential. For mountaineers, silence is empowering and is where receptivity and openness create a sense of alterity. Silence is a site of possibility rather than a problem, where meaningful space is created, and sensations and emotions can be reinterpreted producing new muscular knowledges. Mountaineers reclaim silence to make sense of their mountainous worlds creating depth to hear oneself, the environment and others. Thus, silence allows a mountaineer to surrender 'the position on the safe side of knowledge and engage in the inexpressible and unknowable' (Zembylas and Michaelides 2004, p. 193).

There are a broad variety of silences in the context of mountaineering, and understanding the value of each instance would represent a mammoth task. As Zembylas and Michaelides (2004) point out the focus should be on 'how silence works' (p. 203) as a cabling that connects self and the world, built upon the self-criticality a mountaineer deploys when solving problems. I have aimed to open a window on the ontological expressions of silence that a mountaineer utilises and on how silence works as a tool for mountaineering for managing risk and thus fear. This, however, merely touches the surface of understanding the value of those silent practices that keep mountaineers and others safe, by opening the senses to construct crucial knowledge about how a body connects and negotiates a mountainous world, to achieve a sense of wellbeing. I next consider how silence is utilised to control fear so that exposure to extremes of weather and terrain can be endured whilst undertaking challenging mountaineering routes and how self-sufficiency, control and mastery are performed through practices such as soloing. I then consider how silence is used to exert power to reveal deeper ontological understandings of how silence is crucial to a mountaineer's life-world.

6.4 Going solo: Silent space to feel self-sufficient

> Leading and soloing, I felt as though I could access parts of my unconscious mind and find new forms of creativity (Ives 2016b).

In chapter two I traced historically how women create space for their mountaineering by soloing or climbing alone. Through empirical research I now explore why and how solo climbing is significant in the contemporary practices of female mountaineers in the United Kingdom. When I asked the research participants, 'Why do you go solo mountaineering?' they explained it was so that they could feel sensations of flow and thus, a sense of wellbeing. For example, Lorrie described a day where she went out to climb solo, noting how sensations of movement across rock transcended any sense of fear (Hall 2018; Rickly 2016), expressing:

> I have had some incredible experiences where it is just you and the activity and I feel a sense of flow, a sense of being at one, you do not worry … fear does not come into it, as long as I am in the mood the movement just flows … it is that thing of being totally in the now … it feels like the right thing, where your mind and body are all in the same place wanting the same thing for you.

Lorrie described how 'in the now' moments were founded on achieving a heightened sensation of confidence, where mind and body were at one or 'wanting the same thing for

you'. These particular conditions, to access sensations of being in the now, were common to all the research participants, with soloing being a prevalent technique for quietening and escaping inner socio-normative voices (Lyng 2004), conditions that also required the feeling of self-sufficiency and freedom from sensations of competition:

> I suppose because it is rich, you can go out for a solo day out in the hills and it is that sense of self-sufficiency and full belief in yourself. There is no ego involved because it involves no one else and you are not doing it for any other reason than for yourself (Lorrie).

The practice of soloing involved Lorrie adopting a secretive approach, where she would often go off without letting people know what she intended to do. She might for safety's sake tell a friend or family member where she intended to go but would not let colleagues know. Lorrie had constructed a highly controlled space that appeared to free her from a biography of previous experiences and interpretations associated with competition, being judged, guilt, failure and responsibility; where she could engage in sensations of unadulterated proprioception (Sather-Wagstaff 2017, p. 17). Soloing was a place to experience a sense of absolute alterity producing feelings of confidence enabling her to dream of undertaking big multi-day routes in the Alps, equipping her to be 'happy to deal with whatever the mountain throws at me' and feel like 'no one was judging you' (Lorrie). Without such a sensation she could rapidly lose the momentum to pursue a project because it had to feel like it was the 'right thing to be doing … and feel like … you are all at one with it' to be able to undertake the extraordinarily challenging goals she set herself (Lorrie). Wegner et al.'s (2015) research into female marathon runners revealed the high levels of negotiation-efficacy, which is the 'confidence or belief in one's ability to successfully negotiate through constraints' (p.157), a trait common to the research participants in this study. For Lorrie, solo mountaineering required negotiation-efficacy to clear space so that she could be the mountaineer she wanted to be and climb how she wanted to climb. When all the right sensations came together Lorrie would be 'able to suffer out more difficulties' (Lorrie) and take more pain, discomfort and manage the associated emotional responses to fear, describing how amazing it was even to her 'what you could pull out in terms of dealing with difficult situations, lack of sleep, being cold and not enough food'. In those moments Lorrie knew herself and was able to transcend any self-doubt caused by the negative hypermasculinised competitive forces of feeling judged and the masculine norms inherent in her own judgement. Creating such space was imperative for Lorrie to realise her goals. Soloing was space where Lorrie could call on 'the natural intelligence of the body' not only to climb but to also trouble the 'atmosphere of

hypermasculinity' (Chisholm 2008, p. 18), creating a feminised space free from social norms to practice her own form of risk-taking. Thus, 're-vision[ing]' her body by resisting the conventional notions of femininity, where Lorrie had rewritten the definition of her femininity as 'strong, capable, active, enduring and sexually powerful' (Wearing 1998, p. 107, 109). Moreover, Lorrie had through her mountaineering activities re-inscribed and redefined her body by taking risks and resisting the socio-cultural norm, creating her own approach to mountaineering, as a mode of masculine risk-taking (Dilley and Scraton 2010; Raisborough 2006; Olstead 2011). Thus, the rewards of overcoming the challenges the participants had set for themselves produced a sense of purpose, mastery, control, personal growth and self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency was a core value expressed by the research participants and a vital tool in ensuring a sense of wellbeing.

6.4.1 Soloing: Competitive drive to achieve legitimacy

The sensation of self-sufficiency was important in a number of ways, signified by the ability to control emotions in difficult situations, a sense of independence and the ability to manage life or death decision-making (Kiewa 2001). Lorrie's ability to engage in a significant level of calculated risk-taking and achieve sensations of flow seemed be when she was not constrained by others or where her own sense of competition or ego was silenced (Lyng 2004). She described how on a particular occasion over the course of a two-day period she went out soloing to build her skills and confidence on winter rock, snow and ice routes on Ben Nevis. On the first day she enjoyed success and then failed to repeat these sensations on the following day:

> It is a very good feeling … on a particular day a few winters ago, where I … soloed a number of ice routes and I … slowly climb[ed] harder and harder routes. … [it felt] amazing. I then went back [the next] day … to do the same and then [thought I] do not think I should do this. I did one route and then walked back out. I felt like it had gone past the point of being about me and was becoming an addictive kind of thing that felt [like]… I might be pushing my limits.

Lorrie attributed the reasons for abandoning her second climbing day to sharing her experiences with her peers after the first day. Sharing her success had the effect of rupturing her ability to disengage from social norms because of: '… trying to recreate that the second day and it just felt like there was something wrong …. It is quite a sharp realisation that it is not the right thing …' (Lorrie). I asked her why it felt wrong and what had changed?

> when it did not feel right on the second day, I felt like I was doing it for some other reasons …. I had mentioned it to a couple of people when I got back. [I think] because it was something that was known, it felt like I was doing it to prove something, even though I did not think I was. Perhaps, [sharing my experience of the first day], was starting to have an influence, and [that is] dangerous. So I questioned should I do it, as it did not feel right.

Recounting the story of her first day with her peer group (male and female mountaineers) inhibited Lorrie's ability to achieve sensations of being in the now, allowing full-blown reflexive emotions such as fear, competition and guilt to change her perceptions of what was safe and not safe. The act of sharing her story Lorrie said that: 'I was not fully able … to get into the moment … if it is not going well you are dead, it is a bit on the line'. That 'something', or her peers' opinions inhibited her sense of confidence to replicate the climbing experience of the first day. Invariably comments from peers would focus on a hypermasculinised drive to 'push harder' and try more ambitious routes, which had the effect of reducing Lorrie's space to do so. Storytelling in this way represents a tool for securing social capital (a topic I expand upon in the next chapter), which is indicative of a drive to prove legitimacy. Lorrie had lost control of the silent space to self-determine how she should mountaineer. She needed a space free of emotion to allow her body's 'natural attitude' or instincts to assume control and achieve the crucial sensations of self-sufficiency and confidence (Chisholm 2008, p. 16); demonstrating how fragile being in the now is and how spaces of absolute alterity and indeterminacy are so easily ruptured.

Achieving a sense of self-sufficiency through soloing for the female research participants was symbolic of the different and the diverse ways in which women assert power, achieve their potential and find a space of legitimacy and wellbeing. This represents a distinctive feminine way of resisting the hegemonic constraints associated with taking up less space and being diminutive and submissive (Dilley and Scraton 2010). Moreover, as I show next, the intensity of being in the now, although easily broken, could be experienced when in the company of others.

6.4.2 Solo experiences: A feminine space

When I asked Lorrie if she experienced moments of *in the now* when taking out clients or with other climbing partners she said that it happened only rarely, however she described one particular instance where:

> I had this amazing day at the end of March on Ben Nevis, blue skies, the sunshine, the sounds of the clinking of gear and of the ice axes going in [to the ice]. I can remember it really clearly, and I was just in love with it all. I could hear the birds singing at the top, and the belayer [male climbing partner] was in the sun and I was in the sun as I topped out. I climbed really well that day, and I was so into it.

Lorrie's emotional retelling of a memorable day created place, her storying of the event cemented her embodied knowledge of what an ideal winter mountaineering day should be like (Brown and Wattchow 2016), producing sensations that enabled her to realise valued goals of being in nature (Carpenter and Harper 2016). As a result Lorrie grew as a person through the deep connection, she felt towards her climbing partner and the mountain that typified a moment of absolute wellbeing. Although Lorrie would have felt fleeting sensations of fear, happiness, pain, exhilaration, boredom and tiredness on her climb, these were inevitable means to an end. Such negative sensations were superseded in favour of the overriding sensations of achievement and pleasure. In the course of a climb, Lorrie explained how a controlled use of aggression, even anger would help her overcome problems, illegitimate responses for women to express in everyday worlds (Olstead 2011; Wearing 1998). Mountaineering created a silent, unseen space to outwardly embody hidden masculine emotions of aggression and anger, in a controlled bodily way, that freed her from autoimmunitary impacts of 'feeling rules' and 'deep acting' that serve to inhibit a woman's potential (Hochschild 1979, p. 558). Lorrie had flipped the power dynamic, assuming the role of leader and creating an 'exciting awareness of bodily power' (Wearing 1998, p. 110) that acted as a catalyst for a process of empowerment (Olstead 2011; Kiewa 2001). Lorrie did not just 'step into the shoes' of a masculine way of 'doing' mountaineering, she used mountaineering as an outlet for emotional expression, including embodied sensations of 'love' produced by a deep connection 'with' the mountain. She had combined both masculine and feminine subjectivities of confidence with carefulness and aggression with love, developing her own subjective place to feel alterity and wellness in a masculinised space (Wearing 1998).

Similarly, Shepherd's (2011 [1977]) prose expresses the sentient nature of total immersion 'with' the mountains, which she refers to as the 'totalising' affect of the mountain:

> under me the central core of fire from which was thrust this grumbling grinding mass of plutonic rock, over me blue air, and between the fire of the rock and the fire of the sun, scree, soil, water, moss, flower and tree, insect, bird and beast, wind, rain and snow – the total mountain. Slowly I have found my way in (Shepherd 2011 [1977], p. XXV).

Shepherd describes an instinctive silent connection with a specific mountainous area of the Scottish Highlands, where her embodied experience is indeterminate and shaped by chance. In pursuing absence from the everyday, she describes a memory, a 'dreaming of full presence' (Derrida 2006 [1978], p. 370), where she feels part of a place and 'becomes' a part of the assemblage of a total mountain. Humberstone (2013) refers to this as a 'mindfulness of the body when practising adventurous activity' (p. 566). Shepherd (2011 [1977]) resists the urge to conquer summits, believing this misses the point of mountaineering. She expresses a necessity to feel immersion, co-joined and an integral part of a mountain through wandering and encountering the detail of rock, flower, insect and weather.

In a similar vein, I asked Jo why she chose mountains, why not the sea or the desert? For her mountainous terrain constituted a place where she had accumulated embodied knowledge of how to access sensations of exposure, which in turn had engendered a sense of belonging and deep feeling of appreciation. Mountains represented a place where wellbeing could be found, albeit through extreme means. For her venturing

> into the wilderness and doing something like going for a walk or a climb or bike ride gives you that richness and a of sense of pride through knowing you are not just doing something good for you, but you are taking in and appreciating where you are, and what you have got rather than ignoring it in favour of material things.

For Jo, an important aspect included feeling connected to something much bigger than she was, a more-than-human experience of wellness that transcended what she perceived to be the materialistic aspects of her non-mountaineering social life:

> I could get the same kind of experiences and feelings from going to the pub with my friends or buying myself a new ski jacket or something similar but it would not feel quite as a rich as coming out into the wilderness. … It feels like the right, healthy, and a rich way to be … [giving me] a sense of happiness … [to] appreciate … that I have the ability and means to come and do these things in my life. I think a lot of my work has been motivated by that.

Jo's emotional connection to nature also addressed other needs, including an intellectual space to reason and analyse her life; feeling in control of emotions; experiencing a bodily aesthetic; being able to design exciting projects; building a sense of exclusivity and life history different to 'others'; and giving her purpose and an antidote to the normative practices of everyday life. Jo connected to remote mountain locations to *know herself* and 'be understood through the uniqueness of the experience' and as a result, she had developed an acute

sensitivity to place (Carpenter and Harper 2016, p. 64). Mountaineering gave Jo a sense of rootedness and rich feelings of it being 'right … and a good appreciation for my place in the environment', where she experienced an unconscious spiritual connection that improved her 'holistic health and wellbeing' (Carpenter and Harper 2016, p. 64).

Resisting a more masculine approach to mountaineering, I argue, is an example of how Lorrie, Jo and Shepherd diversify what mountaineering *is.* They do this by representing a different way to experience the mountains (Dilley and Scraton 2010; Raisborough 2006; Wearing 1998). Lorrie and Shepherd embraced a sense of fragility, exposing feelings of being insignificant and vulnerable, a small cog in the vast wheel of the mountains. By seeking silent spaces, they both controlled their fears to achieve a profoundly sentient experience of being part of the totalising mountain. Lorrie and Shepherd's vulnerability is a space of play and wellbeing, which I suggest, reveals a potentially different kind of feminine mountaineering practice. Of course, this is not an exclusively female phenomenon, but part of a deeply ingrained cultural history producing the desire to experience the haptic sublime and represents a more feminised space of alterity (McNee 2014). I next consider the particular masculinised sensation of exposure and how the research participants created their own subjectivities in relation to feeling extreme forms of risk through exposure.

6.5 Exposure: Achieving wellbeing

Standing on a cliff edge, many hundreds of metres up produces the sensation of exposure. This is a common feeling that may produce a range of emotional responses from the disappointment that the challenge is not fulfilling enough, in contrast to feelings of abject terror. In the last example, Lorrie had found that elusive intermediate state where the right amount of exposure produced feelings of exhilaration, achievement, and wellbeing. Thus, for mountaineers, sensations of wellbeing are inextricably linked to sensations of exposure. Exponentially as levels of confidence and skill increased over the years, so did the nature of the challenges the research participants undertook to attain the right level of exposure. During her mountain lake swimming project, Julia talked about how being in a silent space allowed her to connect to a deeper sense of herself:

> I set off on my first lake, which was glorious, but the water was so completely chilled … you cannot think there is nothing but you and that intense cold - that excitement. Those things bearing down on you, for that period, disappear and when you have been in the water for a while, it breaks that obsessive thinking mode. It just breaks the cycle, so when you are down there is that little bit of precious relief.

Julia found that the things that troubled her would disappear by the silent exposure to intense sensations of cold that enabled her to switch into a survival mode, a practice that served to secure her psychological health. Thus, sensations of intense bodily pain produced by being almost hypothermic had a therapeutic affect producing a sense of wellbeing and relief.

Jo found extreme weather conditions in the mountains, a place where she could feel a sense of accomplishment, mastery and achievement:

> you put your goggles on, and you are in a different world and it feels great, all seems calm and peaceful. Yet it is all kicking off and I relish the fact that you are just surviving and choosing to carry on. It just feels like you are accomplishing something, in that you refuse to be blown back [by the wind] and [not] to give up and managing to do it …. It is a sense of achievement that you have done what you set out to do. That is what keeps you coming back, that need to feel a sense of achievement and feel happy. If I did not mountaineer I would have to find something that challenged me and gave that sense of achievement … everybody in the outdoors is like that; it is in our nature.

Jo placed herself in severe weather conditions and treacherous terrain to access the sensation of exposure. By struggling in brutalising elemental forces, she was able to test her skills to the limit, making her feel accomplished through the ability to master her emotional responses. I found that as the research participants progressed through their careers they needed to increase the intensity and frequency of their exposure to extremes. This was generally achieved through undertaking particularly hard routes, dealing with challenging weather and ground conditions and dealing with solitary high-pressure decision-making when looking after less experienced others. Accessing extreme feelings of exposure was an ontological expression of being a mountaineer, where the research participants were often in a mode of 'just surviving and choosing to carry on', bringing them to the frontier of survival (Jo). Being exposed to sensations of exhaustion, toil, silence and high levels of risk are everyday experiences for women like Jo who reflexively associate such feelings with a sense of achievement and wellbeing. Like the other female mountaineers, Jo had carved the space to feel strong, powerful and act accordingly, sensations necessary for survival both physically, psychologically and socially in mountaineering. In doing so she had overcome socio-cultural constraints to not get hurt or dirty and stay safe, creating a controlled space to experience emotions considered to be illegitimate in everyday life, a space common to female mountaineers (Wearing 1998).

Regardless of the equipment or clothing, what connects these two seemingly different experiences of climbing a mountaineering route or a wild mountain lake swim, is the need to feel intense sensations of exposure requiring particular conditions of silence. In fact, the use of technical equipment and clothing in mountaineering is a means to provide access to sensations of exposure. Sensations of exposure in vertical worlds and extreme elemental forces produces an intensity of sensation and emotion that is crucial for experiencing risk, producing space where mountaineers can feel challenged by being solely responsible for making decisions by attuning to risk. Thus, exposure leads to sensations of self-sufficiency that proved critical for the research participants to break free of social constraints and achieve a sense of wellbeing. Julia and Jo had constructed a powerful silent space to refute *who they should be* and became *who they wanted to be* and in doing so, were able to realise their maximum potential and transcend dominant notions of femininity (Wearing 1998).

6.5.1 Exposure to extreme environments: A place to grow

Freddie recalled an experience she had in the Cairngorms with two former mountain trainees, to help them gain experience of snow-holing. The weather conditions had been appalling with high winds on the Cairngorm plateau. The plateau is the largest and highest land mass in the UK and is subject to rapidly changing arctic-like conditions. During the night a ferocious wind had changed direction creating a cornice above the snow hole, which subsequently collapsed, trapping the three of them in their icy bunker. They had to dig the snow inwards filling the snow hole to create an exit, a terrifying choice that meant filling in their safe haven, creating the feeling of being entombed. Once they broke through Freddie realised that the cornice above them was so huge, it posed a considerable risk of engulfing them for the second time. Their experience was a lengthy and tiring adventure where on their retreat from the plateau they had to crawl along the ground, making a journey of an hour take several. In conditions like this, it is very difficult to manage yourself let alone anyone else. Freddie noted that there had been another party in a snow hole further down but no trace of them could be seen, expressing that it was up to them and not her concern to try and dig them out. To non-mountaineers this may seem harsh, if not inhumane, however, the human capacity to survive in conditions Freddie experienced is so extreme that every ounce of energy has to be preserved for personal survival (Field Notes, 7 December 2016).

Freddie had experienced such ferocious conditions many times before and utilised her mountaincraft to choose a mountain expedition where her companions could feel exposure and yet feel in control of risks. Her enskilled knowledge produced the confidence to push

extreme boundaries and access extreme forms of risk. However, Freddie's knowledge was not finite, it was open-ended and exploratory, and she was thinking and knowing in a kinetic process that was innately social (Ingold 2010). She co-produced a route with her companions immersing them in a weather-world that expanded their imaginative capacities as well as further sensitising her own (ibid.). What distinguished her from her companions was her acute sensitivity to the cues of the storm, changes in the snow and her knowledge of how to move in such high winds. These attributes produced a greater capacity to make judgements on how to cope and look after others in such conditions (ibid.). The variability of the ground conditions and the weather was the medium to explore the kind of exposure hard mountaineers would feel justified to venture out into. It is not so much what is perceived but what mountaineers perceive *in* (the atmosphere) that matters to satisfy the hypermasculinised rules of hard mountaineering (ibid.), as Ingold (2010) asserts: 'if the weather conditions our interactions with people and things, then by the same token, it also conditions how we know them' (p. 133). But we only *know* something when we have a purpose, and actively seeking out and engaging in weather and ground conditions that most people would find terrifying is innately exciting, as well as necessary for mountaineers to retain a name. When silence is broken sentient mountain weather-worlds serve a political purpose for mountaineers, providing a heroic medium for sharing death-cheating experiences that create social capital (discussed in the next chapter). Achieving the right amount of exposure was, however, a different kind of challenge the research participants faced.

6.5.2 Repeating exposure to extremes: Desensitising the body

Mountaineering enabled Annie to control feelings of low self-esteem and confidence and to access a vital sense of wellbeing to maintain her psychological health, which in turn drove a need to repeat extreme challenges. This was in contrast to softer mountaineers like her clients, where a day out mountaineering climbing the UK's highest mountain – Ben Nevis – was often challenging enough to create a life-affirming memory. For Annie continual exposure to extreme mountaineering routes was about maintaining health because: 'I just know that my mental and physical wellbeing are much improved after I have had a really good day mountaineering'. However, the frequency with which she experienced mountaineering meant that her sense of wellbeing faded quickly, resulting in the need to repeat because each new experience over-layered the last. This meant that sensations were replaced before reflexive processes could fix a significant memory, thus she had become desensitised. As such, professional guiding clients did not generate sensations or memories

that were unusual or unique enough, meaning that she had to continually set new boundaries, by climbing challenging peaks in the Greater Ranges. Exposure to dangerous situations had become commonplace to Annie, driving the need to push her limits into new unknowns. Goal-setting enables mountaineers such as Annie to counter the sensations of being without purpose: 'you feel lost when you are not doing it therefore, you want another goal to achieve' (Annie). Similarly, one of Britain's most accomplished female high altitude mountaineers and film-maker, Julie Tullis, felt the need to repeat experiences because:

> Mountaineering provides that challenge for me, but the challenge is to myself, not the mountain.... And it is what draws me back to the mountains time after time. Even though I know that the odds of injury and survival must be shortening, I have to go back (Tullis 1987, p. 222).

Like Tullis, the research participants could not access those sensations of wellbeing without repeatedly exposing themselves to extreme challenges, because their mental health depended on it. This repetition is what Frisby (1989) referred to as 'Neurasthenia' (p. 80), a personality type drawn from Simmel's (2002 [1903]) essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life.* Simmel's (2002 [1903]) portrait of urban living illustrated a neurasthenic condition where repeated exposure to intense situations transforms into its opposite, producing a peculiar adaptive phenomenon 'the blasé attitude' (in Frisby 1989, p. 80). Annie and Tullis' engagement in extreme mountaineering, as an antidote to metropolitan life, had become commonplace exacerbated by their working lives in the mountains. To gain the benefits of wellbeing, Annie and Tullis required an ever increasing sense of uniqueness and exposure, driving the need to find new and ever more extreme challenges. As Simmel notes: 'The mere possibility of happiness, even if its realisation is sparse and fragmentary in actual life, englobes our existence in light' (in Frisby 1989 p. 75). However fleeting, difficult and dangerous the activity, the research participants knew that climbing mountains represented the 'light' of their existence and were prepared to face death to reach it. The practices the research participants utilised to reach the light of their existence involved the processes of control that produced sensations of mastery encompassed within the art of mountaincraft or an acute attunement to risk.

6.6 Control: Mastering physical and psychological strength

Jo's sense of self-esteem was intrinsically linked to maintaining and controlling physical fitness, strength and confidence, which enabled her to engage in activities that produced the exact level of exposure. Kiewa (2001) identified three aspects of control essential for

successful participation in rock climbing: having control over the choice of activity, the environment, and responses to danger. Fundamental for producing these sensations of control is the ability to self-determine the outcome. Like climbers, mountaineers are not hedonistic sensations seekers:

> They may actively seek out risky situations, but this is not because they enjoy the resultant feelings of fear. Rather they work very hard to control fear. What they do enjoy is the personal exhilaration that follows the application of personal control within-an-out-of-control situation. Retaining personal control means that climbers can use their skills to good effect, so the climb is completed successfully. The notion of sensation seeking implies the passive acceptance of sensations … Climbers actively work to bring the chaotic situation back under control (Kiewa 2001, p. 373).

For Jo to fail at a challenge, she felt was within her capabilities represented a deterioration of physical prowess, leading to a reduction of self-confidence. Controlling physical fitness was critical for feeling confident and was a major concern for all of the participants; it was a key measure of the mastery an individual could attain over their social and physical environment and push boundaries. Jo set herself regular challenges to ensure that she maintained her sense of feeling fit and strong, she would push herself to undertake a personal challenge, even if she did not feel up to it. The driver was to combat a sensation that her skill level was decreasing and making sure she was happy with how she physically felt, believing that: 'If I shy away from those challenges I am going to get weaker and I don't want to get weaker.'

I found that every aspect of Jo's life was dominated by achieving extreme sensations of exposure, even when socialising on a trip mountain biking with friends she had found that it had been impossible to resist the opportunity to challenge herself. These were challenges that she knew would push her to her limit, generating that crucial sense of exposure, but tempered by the muscular knowledge that 'it would go' (Jo). Challenges such as these were an important way of proving self-worth, self-sufficiency and feeling strong, as well as being perceived to be strong by others, producing sensations of legitimacy. If feelings of weakness crept in, then a project would invariably be abandoned, and this was often connected with more negative aspects of the competitive environment to comply to social norms that percolated through the mountaineering community that she actively resisted:

> [my husband] always gets at me, saying you cannot just be satisfied with that. You are looking for the next thing to push yourself and the next challenge. [You cannot] just stand still. I think that goes with everybody in

> the outdoor industry … we all like challenges and that is why we are into the outdoors. We cannot just sit still, we have to go and challenge ourselves whether that be assessment [National Qualifications] or personal.

Jo strongly defended her space to feel physically powerful (Wearing 1998), therefore creating a subversive femininity or resistance that preserved this precious space even within non-mountaineering/social aspects of her life (Dilley and Scraton 2010). Personal control over this space was imperative that appeared to supersede ethical feelings of care towards family. Mountaineering was a space to demonstrate strength and bravery to herself and others and to forego social norms concerning femininity, it is as I go on to illustrate inherent to building social capital within the realm of being a good mountaineer or a name.

6.6.1 Control in places of chaos: The illusory practice of mastery

The research participants most valued challenges that were the result of the chaotic nature of mountains and mountain weather. According to Lyng (2004), control over risk in these situations is impossible, reducing control to a subject's bodily actions and to some degree, the actions of others. Customarily the research participants preferred the chaotic environment of winter mountaineering, with snow and ice presenting a challenge, giving 'a medium to work with that is not constant' (Annie). Drawing on muscular knowledge accumulated over many years the participants perceived they could make judgements that could predict the unpredictable, giving them a sense of control. On a daily basis, the research participants would spend many hours researching conditions and peers' online blog posts to glean vital clues before venturing out onto a route. Annie had learned to read the conditions through monitoring the history of the snowpack, understanding the scientific aspects of snow crystals and what they do in certain circumstances, building an extensive knowledge of routes and what they are like in diverse conditions. She knew where the danger zones were and could, to a certain degree, predict if an area was safe or potentially hazardous:

> you read the conditions and take the history, and you consider things like if there is a westerly wind, it is going blow everything onto an easterly slope. You are reading what is underneath your feet; you can see the different snow textures and you are constantly thinking would I stand on that piece of snow.

Being alert and possessing a knowledge of the snow and weather conditions gave Annie and the other participants a sense of satisfaction in their own mastery and feeling of control. All

the research participants accepted the fact that mountain conditions changed hour by hour and they could never know if something was absolutely safe. This is something they mitigated through a process of managing personal responses. Mountaineers, like climbers, are good at suppressing negative emotions and remembering successes, not failures (Kiewa 2001). Common post-mountaineering expressions used by the research participants include phrases like: 'we made it'; 'we got out alive'; 'we had an epic', representing a reflexive process demonstrative of autoimmunitary codes of behaviour that play down near death experiences and promote mastery and hardiness. As shown, mountaineers convert abominable and terrifying experiences into feelings of achievement and wellbeing by controlling internal and external discourse; success is predicated on 'getting back to the car safely' (Andy Kirkpatrick 2014), however, this occurs. Lyng (1990) argues the sensation of control is purely perceptual and in reality, is a matter of chance, rendering the sensation of control as illusory. However, this illusory state creates powerful sensations of control and self-belief that enables mountaineers to play at the brink of death and limits of physical endurance, to produce very real outcomes and sensations of wellbeing. Thus, sensations of bodily control require extreme chaotic mountainous places to access the right level of exposure and risk.

Controlling fear was a means of remaining safe because

> when it is all kicking off you have to maintain control, you cannot blubber, you have either to keep going or find somewhere safe, even though you know it is not, you have to make things as safe as you can (Annie).

Finding a safe place was often an illusion created to enable the research participants to control their emotions so that logical decisions could be made. Mountaineers often talk about a belay being marginal or a gear placement being for psychological purposes, or in other words, if they were to fall it is unlikely to save them (Barratt 2010). I asked Annie how she repaired herself and how she overcame sensations of failure if a project had not gone so well or if a project had produced those feelings of absolute terror. Annie's response was 'you have to mask the feelings and the emotions and just get on [with it] …. I do not think about it too much.' It was a matter of suppression not repair. Maintaining control at high altitude exacted a significant toll on the research participants. The reality was that once committed on a big route could mean that Annie was under immense stress for up to eight or nine hours a day, with very limited options to find safety zones. For her it was not about conquering the mountain, it was about: 'overcoming fear by being in control; without being able to manage the situation, you have to be able to control your emotions otherwise you would be a

gibbering wreck'. Suppressing emotions was exhausting and Annie recognised it exacted a significant toll on her mental and physical state. For her 'the aftermath of expeditions is when you let go and you become a gibbering wreck, you have survived the reality of what you have been through and it hits you'. Annie justified the impact of taking such risks as a reward and a means of earning a sense of happiness and self-esteem. However, emotional reflexivity was a private affair, conducted alone or with trusted peers. In addition, to reflect too deeply upon the consequences had the potential to open up a Pandora's Box that could threaten Annie's method for achieving a sense of wellbeing, by not being able to switch off sensations of fear.

As well as experiencing negative impacts the research participants used emotional reflexivity as a positive tool for controlling fear and a tool for opening spaces of risk. For example, when Annie was leading a mountaineering route she would self-talk through a series of questions:

> wherever I am, my escape routes are the most important to me, can I get back down if I climb up this, it is one of my golden rules or is there stuff to ab[seil] off. I am always looking out for my escape because you just do not know what is going to happen.

Annie was acutely attuned to a sense of self-preservation and an awareness of her limitations in certain conditions that required a continual process of dynamic risk assessment. Her tacit and situated sense of risk enabled her to control fear by working through strategies of escape. Emotional reflexivity of this nature represents an on-going tool for silently assessing danger and decision-making that opened up spaces of risk, which is foundational to mountaincraft. Moffat illustrates this:

> in that exquisite moment before the hard move, when one looks and understands, there may lie an answer to the question why one climbs. You are doing something hard, so hard that failure could mean death, but because of knowledge and experience, you are doing it safely. What you accomplish is by your own efforts, and the measure of success is the width of the margin of your safety (in Mort 2017).

The margin of safety rests within that common sense a mountaineer implicitly accumulates through repeated exposure to mountain weather-worlds (Ingold 2010). Harsh environments provide the training ground for building mountain-sense, for experiencing severe weather and terrain is a mountaineer's epistemological frontier. It is only through experiencing extreme sensations of exposure that even greater challenges can be pursued. Annie considered the Scottish winter as:

> a very good training ground for the Greater Ranges, the Greater Ranges are on a bigger scale and you have less margin, although I am saying you have less margin for error, you probably do not in the case of a big storm brewing in Scotland. It is a very good training ground for wilder mountaineering.

Mountaineers become masters of survival. They possess an acute sensitivity to the cues that signal danger and are constantly looking for escape routes. It is an ongoing apprenticeship and process of mastery and of control. I now turn to consider the impact communities have on female mountaineers and the ways in which this shapes practices, producing distinctly feminine approaches to masculinity in mountaineering.

6.7 Uncommon communities and their impacts

For mountaineers, mountains have become their commonplace or everyday space of shared experience. However, this is not considered a sensible choice in everyday society and mountaineering is frequently viewed in nonsensical terms, prompting normative society to question why mountaineers would risk their lives and why they would expose themselves to such suffering? Media coverage will often be incredulous at the unacceptable level of risk they deem mountaineers to take, particularly when tragedy strikes. Famous examples include the closing of the North Face of the Eiger after the deaths of several prominent mountaineers, Hinterstoisser and Kurtz in the 1930s (Harrer 2005), and the call to stop less experienced mountaineers ascending peaks like Mont Blanc after a series of fatal accidents, in 2017 (Willsher 2017). To be contrary to common sense is to be at odds with what is commonly understood by the majority in society. Mountaineering is not normal practice and is the converse of what is reasonably expected of a regular citizen. Thus, mountaineers are uncommon and to be a female mountaineer is rarer still. Common sense is difficult to define in exact terms. This is because it is related to intuition, belief and axioms. Following the definition that common sense is bound within human experience, it must also be compatible with a human scale and observable within ordinary human faculties (Boulter 2007). This is an epistemological question concerning how we know what we know, even if we are not necessarily aware of how we know something. For Husserl (2012), this would be the lifeworld, in which subjects become place-sensitive through embodied experience (Brown and Wattchow 2016). Habermas' (1984) hermeneutic approach considered the lifeworld to be in part about the background environment of competencies, practices and attitudes and how these are perceived, epitomised by Moffat:

> You only have your body … your technique, your brain, your reason, like an engineer … [you ask] can you do it, how should you do it, how do you get back? It is all technical, no love, no love of the rock, no fear of falling, can you do it? If there is fear of falling then, you do not do it (in Mort 2017).

Moffat's experience was built on a common understanding of how to 'do' mountaineering - how to survive: 'it's about staying within your limits' (in Mort 2017). Competency allows for the practice of being able to rationalise the irrational as Moffat illustrates 'well what's the worst that could happen, you could die, you have to die sometime' a common belief held by mountaineers (ibid.). For mountaineers, normative society represents a dystopic world and a 'dull life … climbing is a dangerous sport; you get used to taking risks, that is what your life is about' (ibid.). The research participants did not lack common sense, in fact, they demonstrated a highly developed sentient knowledge built on extensive experience, representing a different kind of commonness. In normative society, this is an uncommon-sense-world forged of risk, where risk is a mountaineer's companion, educator and space to break free from the commonness of the oppressive rule of normative society. Hard mountaineering represents an alternative place to revel in illegitimate feelings and a place for female mountaineers to transcend if fleetingly, the power differentials experienced in other parts of their lives, as discussed in the next chapter. When experienced, however, these sensations lead to feelings of exclusivity and commonality in being uncommon. The extreme level of exposure female mountaineers pursues signals an ongoing imperative to expand and develop these uncommon leisure places and spaces for women to experience masculine sensations and emotions that produce the light of their lives through that elusive sense of flow, of alterity (Olstead 2011; Hochschild 1979). I now go on to consider how connectedness to others produces particular practices and impacts on female mountaineering spaces.

6.7.1 Controlling voice: How community impacts on space

The empirical research demonstrates how the research participants had different ways of combating fear and maintaining a sense of control. For example, Julia expressed how during a moment of flow she had felt the need to curtail the sensation of feeling invincible because a sense of risk-aversion contaminated her experience:

> I found myself scrambling once and I was feeling like I could fly, I just felt everything was so fluid and I thought Wow. I was flying up the rock and thought I could just carry on. However, I felt I needed to stop, and I said to myself 'just stop it.' (Julia)

> What made you stop? (Jenny)
>
> Telling myself to be responsible, to be careful, I did not really think I could fly but I was so utterly at ease and calm I forgot what I was doing (Julia)
>
> Those are beautiful moments when you feel that fluidity of movement and you are ascending effortlessly. (Jenny)
>
> You can feel that without feeling like Superwoman and I was feeling like superwoman and it was not particularly clever. I had to check myself. (Julia)

Julia's experience allowed her to attain a sense of total sentient absorption and thus, a moment of absolute alterity. This, however, was checked by a reflexive emotional response to fear, or socially what she considered to be safe, stopping her from pushing her physical boundaries. Her reference to feeling like 'Superwoman' signalled a point where she had transgressed social norms, by assuming the role of the heroic rock climber; a role she did not see herself in or want to be seen in (Warren 2016). Julia's autoimmunitary reaction curtailed the space she occupied as a climber and was an example of the self-silencing affective forces of hypermasculinity.

In some instances, a sense of fear could produce a disabling halt in progress, where the research participants could experience an inability to make clear decisions along with experiencing bodily reactions such as sweating, shaking and the freezing of any kind of movement. To combat this loss of control, Jo would self-talk to silence fear and regain her focus by telling herself 'you can do this, you can climb at this grade.' She would use physiological techniques by focussing on 'breathing [making] one move at a time, and [use a silent voice or] mantra that there will be gear [and] all those little things that you want'. However, despite this, Jo experienced a self-destructive inner voice:

> You have still got the little voice going what if … you have got to really believe that you can [do it] ... there is always going to be that little voice asking is that right? … How do you shut down that little voice?

Throughout a day a mountaineer switches between states of instantaneous sentient reaction and reflexive emotional reasoning that opens and contracts space by questioning the validity of an action. Inner socio-normative voices compete, asking: 'Should I be doing this?' 'Why am I doing this?' 'Am I good enough?' 'I am not good enough?' 'Will I live?' 'What about my family?' The affect of a feminised risk-aversion controls a woman's emotional mountaineering guidebook contaminating sentient experiences and is marginalising. It is only

through practised concentration, control and mastery, and exposure through performances like soloing, that the research participants could access a sense of wellbeing. Thus, Jo's space to mountaineer was limited in subtle and hidden ways by silent self-doubts produced by the responsibility felt towards others (Ahmed 2017). This was a moment of turning in on oneself, of compliance to social norms and reductive of space to experience alterity.

When the research participants talked about harrowing ordeals or disasters that had occurred in their mountaineering careers, they would predominantly focus on the technical aspects such as equipment failure, technical errors in navigation or reading weather patterns. It was never in terms of losing control of emotions, which were only discussed when I asked them to describe their feelings in these situations. Moreover, the technical analysis provided a useful diversion from the human and personal costs experienced, which were a hidden aspect of the research participants' mountaineering activities. However, two research participants expressed how fear had impacted on their professional ability to undertake particular kinds of guiding and personal mountaineering that had led them to reduce the risks they were prepared to take. Selkie attributed this to the knowledge acquired through teaching others of the risks in mountaineering. However, this remains a taboo subject with Selkie, relating how in the twenty years she had been mountaineering only twice had highly experienced, trusted male colleagues spoken about their emotional responses to fear. [Frank] had told her during the winter months that most days he 'gets scared, and I remember [Teddy] telling me he gets sick in his stomach most days through the winter'. This break in the silence had been revelatory for Selkie.

Openly discussing negative experiences of fear is suppressed and silenced within the mountaineering community, and the reason for this is because to engage in such discourse is associated with a lack of confidence and competence, which can be highly damaging to future work prospects. For Selkie it was a huge relief that her male colleagues felt the same way she did, enabling her to momentarily shed the emotional armoury that had prevented an outlet for sharing, rationalising and learning from negative sensations of fear (Wearing 1998). By revealing these more feminine aspects of their emotional inner lives, Selkie's male colleagues were, if not recognising the need, opening up different spaces within mountaineering. The research shows the silent inner voices of fear are driven by social conditioning that requires silence on such matters, a topic I expand upon later in the chapter. Selkie and Jo's experiences hint at how the mountaineering community as a whole suffers under the silent regime of hypermasculinity and the destructive autoimmunitary impact of stress produced by

hiding fear. Opening a space to share these experiences is currently a missed opportunity for learning, adaptation and creating a safer and healthier space to mountaineer. Next I consider how mountaineers build different kinds of relationships and interconnections with each other that produce different kinds of autoimmunitary affects.

6.7.2 Climbing with family and clients: The social dynamics of being responsible

Forming and maintaining quality ties with others is important for mountaineers to build legitimacy. The different kinds of people the research participants mountaineered with produced different sensations. In the main, mountaineering *with* others produced a sense of ethical responsibility *for* others that compromised the research participant's personal mountaineering spaces. Annie distinguished how she would place different values on a day when sharing it with a partner or friends in contrast to clients:

> I think going out with your partner [places] … a different value on the day because you are sharing something with somebody you love and therefore it is much more than a day out on the hill you are sharing, it is the same with really good friends as well. I find it a very emotional experience ... mountaineering, particularly when feeling like somebody else is experiencing that inner feeling and emotion, it is really nice. What is not so nice is when you go out with somebody and realise they are not having an enjoyable day that takes some of the pleasure away.

Annie would occasionally cry when reaching a key point on a mountaineering journey, sharing an outward expression of absolute pleasure. In contrast, when a companion was not having a good day, Annie would sacrifice her own needs and concentrate her energies towards, 'thinking what is best for them, very rarely do I get so selfish that my own desires exceed other peoples.' Looking after less experienced others required the research participants to assume the 'emotional work' on behalf of the climbing party (Wearing 1998, p. 125).

When Annie was with clients this dynamic shifted, becoming more about sharing knowledge to facilitate a good experience. The challenge for the research participants, when leading clients, was distinctly different because they needed to match the skills of the clients to the technical conditions of a route so the client would feel sufficiently challenged but not frightened. This required assessing and delivering the right level of exposure for the client's ability; a puzzle that would regularly have the research participants in silent turmoil in the days and hours leading up to taking clients out. This conundrum impacted significantly on the research participants and yet was crucial for maintaining an acute level of alertness required to make safe decisions:

> You should have a knot in your stomach and those physical reactions … it is not unusual on a big gnarly winter's day when you are feeling under pressure to go out and deliver that you feel physically sick in a morning … that low-level anxiety is there all the time; you never get rid of it even on your days off (Selkie).

Annie was very sensitive to working with people she did not know, appreciating that she would have to climb something she was comfortable to solo and be self-sufficient because she could not rely on their competency if a problem arose. However, it was necessary for her to find ways to ensure that a client could help if something went wrong:

> I have known a number of guides where something has happened to them on the lead, and you do not want to have people on a belay who are not able [to get] … themselves out of a situation.

Having seen many guides get injured because they had not introduced clients to important self-rescue techniques, Annie was conscious of how important this was to both her own and the client's wellbeing. Finding the right moment to deliver this important safety briefing was problematic and could be potentially damaging to a client's experience in terms of increasing their worries and feeling nervous, an emotional state which could be equally dangerous. Annie was clear that she needed to dispel the myth that as a mountain guide her clients were somehow shielded from the potential dangers. In this situation, Annie's mountaineering had become about caring for others, with the challenge shifting to being about their needs and enjoyment. The focus had changed to it being about a professional delivering a service. In these situations, Annie's enjoyment was derived from facilitating and teaching others to achieve their goals and dreams. The loss of personal space brought a different kind of benefit, in that the Annie could share her passion for the mountains and it could be a very emotional experience:

> I think when you know you have chosen the right day, destination and you are not having an epic and you have made good decisions, that is when you see the smiles on people's faces and their eyes go wow. It is the 'wow' factor … I get very excited about taking people into places where I have had a 'wow' factor, and seeing them develop their own 'wow' factor by being in a particular place seeing particular views, or a particular climb, and letting them discover what it is all about.

This love of sharing and living through the dreams of others produced a different kind of wellbeing for the research participants. Caitlin also found pleasure and wellbeing even if 'I have done a route thirty times' because she was able to meet one of her core values to help other people enjoy the mountains as she did.

6.7.3 Impact of professional mountain leading

However, the conflictual nature of building a lifestyle out of mountaineering meant that Lorrie found when she was leading clients she would 'get frustrated when I do it for a living, it takes me away from what I initially loved about it.' The shift from a goal orientated mountaineer to a leader was a balancing act that required extreme measures to ensure that she found space to perform her own mountaineering. For Lorrie, 'solo days take you back to why you started doing it'. I asked if she ever felt a sense of flow when with clients: 'yes sometimes I do feel like I am at one with things … having a client with you focuses what you are doing, and you can feel quite in the moment when it is all connecting all together.' Lorrie also noted how a sense of wellbeing could be appreciated in 'those quiet moments with clients when you have been together for a bit and there is a comfortable silence between the two of you and you walk silently in your own space'. Although a different and perhaps less intense experience of wellbeing, some of the research participants could experience flow feelings even when climbing easy routes because the challenge had shifted to caring for others in extreme places, which increased the stakes if something went wrong. Managing the often less than realistic expectations of over-ambitious clients also added to this sense of challenge:

> I was working up in the North West for three days with a private client, and she wanted to do the An Teallach traverse. We had completed the Cullin Ridge Traverse a year before, but on this occasion, she was not … as fit as she had been. It is a huge day and there had been a storm and a lot of fresh snow. We had a long day and I had to keep her going because she cried a few times, it was tough, but she was really driven. I asked her, do you want to turn around, and she would say no, it is o.k. I was concerned because I have to keep a line between pushing on and having an achievement, and [deciding] if it is safe to do so. We did it and it was good (Lorrie).

Lorrie, as well as providing leadership and technical resources, also had to draw significantly on her emotional resources to keep her client buoyant enough to stay safe. The experience, although very different from her personal mountaineering, provided the crucial ingredients of a challenge through exposure and control, and producing a sense of wellbeing. However, Lorrie expressed how she thought it was 'a battle that instructors face, having to find a balance between working [and personal projects]' and she noted how:

> there are quite a lot of instructors who do not climb anymore, and I wonder if partly they go off it slightly and focus their energy into work and

> enjoy this more, but it is a shame that they lose touch with what got them into it in the first place, so you have to try and save a bit of space for that.

For Lorrie and Selkie, leading and teaching others through work cost them significantly emotionally because when they were 'instructing you spend a lot of time trying to keep people safe, you become very aware of the dangers which then invades your personal climbing' (Lorrie).

Lorrie felt it was 'really negative because you are spending time being cautious for other people.' This heightened sense of knowledge, accumulated over time, had a significant impact on how the research participants engaged in mountaineering. Lorrie would create space by soloing routes, but for Selkie, the cost emotionally on her was so significant she rarely carved space for her personal mountaineering. Both thought ignorance had been bliss:

> That is the other thing with instructing, you spent far too much time trying to keep people safe and you become very aware of the dangers and that comes into your personal climbing and you start thinking: that is really dangerous; and this is really dangerous; and before you know where you are you thinking it is all really dangerous and it is really negative and does not need to be like that …. [In the past] I definitely did not … get that as much, I think it [happens over] … time … [and] it costs me a lot each day emotionally …, because I tend to throw everything I have got at it that day …. I certainly do not protect myself enough (Selkie).

The embodied experience of working for others in mountaineering exposed the research participants to a fearful inner voice that they could not silence, unravelling their ability to suppress negative sensations of fear, producing a debilitating sense of risk aversion. For Selkie, this seemingly negative change was, however, perceived by her to be a positive and part of growing older. She had adapted to the physical needs of her body, feeling that she was 'honest with myself that I am [older] with various aches and pains now …. I am happier where I am now than where I was 20 years ago, as far as being a professional goes.' Selkie scaled back on the difficulty of routes she chose to do, both personally and with clients, reflecting the stage she was at in her mountaineering life course. However, Lorrie, who was much younger, had found one way to preserve space to experience a sense alterity through soloing.

6.7.4 Climbing partnerships: A delicate balance of control

The relationship between a mountaineer and a trusted climbing partner produces radically different experiences. Mountaineers implicitly understand that absolute concentration when

performing hard routes is crucial for safety. For instance, during a climb, breaking a leader's concentration with questions that could form doubt in their minds, such as asking if they are on the right route or if they were finding it difficult, can be highly dangerous. The rules of being second are to be silent and to only offer encouraging words. In one scenario, Julia had to intervene when a lead climber had been performing an extremely risky series of moves, where any loss of concentration would have resulted in serious injury or death for all of them. When the second voiced their concerns, Julia silenced the second by saying 'that is the most dangerous thing you can do if you get in his head and put doubts there that is more dangerous than the climb itself'. The psychological space to be in the now is very fragile and easily disrupted by normative perceptions of risk and fear, as Chisholm (2008) notes: a 'flow situation occurs when everyone climbs in accord with the collective ethos' (p. 27). If the research participants had absolute trust in their companion(s) and knew they were 'up for it', they would have a supreme ability to control fear and undertake more extreme challenges. This is illustrated by the outstanding mountaineering achievements of the partnership forged between Tullis and Diemberger that enabled Tullis to become the first woman to ascend K2. Selkie described one such experience that stood out:

> The thing that made the day really stand out was that I had never seen [Claire] climb that well, she was on fire that day … she suffers with her confidence. She just strapped it straight on an E1. We were in one of the most intimidating places to climb [Claire] had never been there before let alone climbed there, I had never seen her do that before and I was just really excited for her, that she felt that positive sense to jump straight on it. Everything just clicked for her, and it was brilliant. There was another route to the side that I had waited for donkey's years to do, and I fed off [Claire's] success. You know you watch someone else climb really well and have a good time and [that makes you think] bloody hell I want that, and her go for it attitude, I thought right, O.K. I will give this one a go, whereas normally I would probably have pulled away from it. It was just that vibe that day.

Selkie had found the route much easier that she had anticipated, reflecting that:

> my problem is stepping onto the route, when I am on a route I am usually quite happy, it is that commitment thing. I find it very hard to turn [off] the 'what if' of being an instructor …. It is the 'what if' that impedes my personal climbing massively and it gets worse, it does not get better, but for that day It was not there, it was great.

Strong mountaineering partnerships were crucial for achieving the goals the research participants set themselves, requiring the right social conditions of compatibility, mutuality of

feeling and an emotional connection. For Selkie, a partnership needed to transcend any feelings of fear and silence the 'what if' factor that so debilitated her climbing. Finding a compatible climbing partner is fraught with complex interpersonal dynamics where the fragile state of achieving sensations of flow can so easily be disrupted by a mismatch of skills, personality and experience. Lorrie had often found the competitive forces between herself and her male climbing partners destructive, particularly when her companions made assumptions about her physical and psychological capabilities. This had led to unsatisfactory and frightening experiences in the past where she had been pushed beyond her limit. This was a chief reason why Lorrie sought opportunities to go and solo routes. For her, these solo experiences were*:* 'very real … you are unjudged by them; it is a very raw experience, especially if the weather is wild. Those experiences on your own are unique.'

Lorrie had expressed how the autoimmunitary forces of peer competition impacted on her space to feel alterity and also on her sense of identity as a name in the mountaineering world. Experience had helped many of the research participants to overcome being pushed beyond their limits. Freddie had such a strong relationship with her climbing partners and sense of her own capabilities that, even under intense pressure, she could say:

> I am not doing this and put my foot down because I was not prepared to get half way up and not be able to get off. I think that comes with getting older and learning from other experiences of being totally committed, where you are right at the limit, and you have no choice but to keep going. So I do think, do I want to push myself to that limit again or beyond, the last thing you want to be doing is phoning for help for a helicopter because you have allowed that psyche or adrenalin to control your decision. I am not willing to be talked into something that I am not happy about.

The atmosphere between climbing partners was an important factor in the success of a mountaineering project where a sense of feminine capability was a highly fragile space that could so easily be derailed. It was a daily challenge fending off gendered prejudices, requiring the research participants to be in a constant process of silent resistance physically, perceptually and virtually.

6.7.5 Social media: Projecting a heroic connectedness

Not surprisingly, connecting to others through social media was governed by the masculinised social rules of mountaineering. Using social media was an essential part of maintaining a name for mountaineers, a platform Freddie found was fraught with politics.

Freddie had described one experience honestly on Facebook, detailing how she had turned back with clients soon after setting off in terrible weather, effectively achieving nothing. Her male partner had chided her for not presenting a more positive picture that reinforced her status as a hard mountaineer, telling her that:

> you have to put in a way that says you went in to do a climb today, you cannot just say you went for a walk with all your climbing gear and did nothing … climbers, clients anybody can be looking at it … you might give the wrong impression (Freddie).

Controlling how Freddie was represented constituted an important aspect of maintaining a name. She had to learn how to control and master the maintenance of social connections in order that she could represent her companions, clients and importantly herself appropriately. An unsatisfactory expedition needed to be retold to present a positive picture; the team had braved the elements and made a solid attempt, but had been beaten by weather; it had been heroic and worthwhile, not a waste of time producing a lot of wet equipment and clothing and expense. Virtual connectedness to others particularly in the context of clients and peers required careful management to maintain self-esteem and thus wellbeing. Social media was another layer of sociality where stories of achievement were manufactured and shared cementing a sense of self, and the wrong impression could result in a silent loss of work. In this instance, social media was a visual representation of the autoimmunitary reactions that reinforces how mountaineering should be done, masking difference.

6.8 Conclusion

In sum, I have attempted to show how silence and silencing is an ontological foundation of mountaineering; by exploring how the research participants mountaineering required an indeterminate or unknown space to play that silenced the emotions of fear and responsibility felt towards others. The practice of soloing was one mode of mountaineering the research participants used to disconnect from the 'voice of society' and experience a sense of flow or absolute alterity (Lyng 2004, p. 362). Having said this, a silent space of play is fragile and easily broken by everyday inner voices and it required particular tactics for silencing fear so the research participants could achieve their extreme goals. These challenges required the specific conditions of exposure conducted in places of chaos, which produce unique spaces of risk to experience and demonstrate self-sufficiency, control and mastery or the epistemological tools of mountaincraft. However, when immersed in the mountaineering community through lead climbing and guiding others, the women had signed up to the

hypermasculinised rules of hard mountaineering that could affect their ability to achieve sensations of flow. Therefore, hard mountaineering required the female research participants to adopt the emotional armoury and the tools of silence to both conduct their mountaineering and be accepted as legitimate. To conclude, a woman's space to be a mountaineer is finely tuned, very vulnerable, restricted, hard to replicate, easily disrupted and accessed by very few and ultimately its existence is at stake. In the next chapter, I consider in more detail the gendered experiences of female mountaineers.

CHAPTER SEVEN: GENDER MATTERS: AUTOIMMUNITARY AFFECTS IN THE MOUNTAINEERING COMMUNITY

In this chapter, through empirical field research, I explore new evidence with the aim of showing how women experience the hypermasculinised space of mountaineering. In doing so I set out how women create space to be mountaineers and what this costs them personally. I analyse, using a Derridean lens, the strategies the research participants utilise to manage position, competition and discrimination, exploring the unique ways in which they negotiate these challenges; in tandem with contradictory behaviours, precipitated by the need to acquire and maintain positionality that reinforces the masculine mountaineering ideal. I pay particular attention to the way:

- Discrimination and inequalities are the result of structural and subjective behaviours.
- The construction of social capital drives competition and the impact this has, particularly in terms of the autoimmunitary affects of competition.
- Employers, institutional bodies and clients exert a hidden standard for taking qualifications and leading clients that perpetuates prejudice and sexism and reduces the capacity for individual and collective female space.
- Familial prejudice and dominant notions of femininity generate profound barriers to succeeding and pushing through to the highest level in mountaineering.
- Softer skills are integral to the everyday mountaineering women perform, but are undervalued and lack recognition in the mountaineering community.
- Taboos and particular female behaviours act as barriers, requiring space for public fora before solutions, adaptation and learning can occur.

Through these themes I aim to show how gender matters by considering how structural and subjective socio-cultural forces are negotiated and the impact they have on the research participants (Ahmed 2017; Warren 2016; McNeil, Harris, Fondren 2012). I then go on to explore how affective forces exerted through the social networks a female mountaineer is connected to lead to particular ways women construct social capital (Ahmed 2017; Puwar 2004). This leads to consideration of the mechanisms of power and control that produce a duality of conflictual behaviours that both resist and comply with social norms. I then turn to consider how barriers are subjectivised in particular feminine ways and conclude by offering possible solutions that could open voice and new spaces for female mountaineering. I begin by outlining how inequality and discrimination impact on women and then move to discuss

the causes driven by the fear of theautoimmunitary reactive nature of the mountaineering community where where developing and maintaining social capital is paramount.

7.1 Inequality: A need for equity

> keep a soft presence, but be quietly discontent (Arnot Reid 2017)

Internationally sexual discrimination in mountaineering has, and, as I go on to show, continues to be a significant issue for women mountaineers. Melissa Arnot Reid, one of America's most successful mountaineers, gives a rare account of how she had dealt with:

> such a widespread and continuous presence of sexual harassment that ranges from comments to really inappropriate touching and attempts to pursue further physical contact that I didn't want. I didn't see that happening to my male counterparts, and I wanted the same freedom. I have been thinking a lot about how much I've put up with and how my silence has helped keep that negative culture going (ibid.).

Only now at the height of her career is Arnot Reid comfortable speaking out. During the field research all the research participants talked about the discrimination they had experienced. However, only one of the participants was prepared to challenge employers and peers publicly about how discrimination in the mountaineering environment impacted on their daily lives. I next consider some of the reasons why women are unwilling to raise their concerns publically, perpetuating the autoimmunitary culture. The research participants were very cautious about being considered to be critical of their male colleagues, and seven of them did not identify with the current 'women's movement', instigated by public organisations like the BMC and MT. In fact they were outwardly hostile to those who were assuming a 'voice' on behalf of women in the mountaineering industry. The pressure to conform to secure legitimacy through achieving a 'name' was an exhausting process creating an atmosphere that compels women to be silent and remain 'quietly discontent' about the sexism prevalent in mountaineering (ibid.). Not challenging the sexism that pervades the mountaineering environment could be classed as a process of self-masculinisation that acts to silence a voice that could expose a wrong (Ahmed 2017). On joining a hypermasculine world women mountaineers become 'space invaders' because they have crossed into a space where white male power is firmly entrenched (Puwar 2004, p. 11). The consequences of being 'invaders' in this male domain mean women mountaineers need to work harder to avoid being considered troublemakers. In doing so, they adopt protective masculinised behaviours to maintain and build social capital by managing their femininity through an

enforced silence on issues like sexism. Therefore, the female research participants actively resisted anything that could harm their social capital.

As an example of this, the research participants had remained silent when experiencing sexism from clients. Selkie described how women had to work harder to gain respect and trust when clients are assigned a female leader, citing how male clients express 'that dip in the shoulders when they are given [Annabel] or myself on mountaineering courses.' Lorrie also described how she would use self-effacing humour to lighten the palpable moment when the body language of a group of men would demonstrate disappointment at being assigned a female instructor. She would handle this through responding to the inevitable questions of how hard she climbed by replying with examples that she knew would 'blow their minds.' Usually, within 20 minutes of setting off, Lorrie could confidently quash any doubts in her abilities, however, the impact of this continual need to reaffirm place was exhausting. This highlights the incongruent nature of assuming a masculine leadership role where female mountaineers receive negative responses from their clients and peers (Frauman and Washam 2013; Wittmer 2001). The trope of the mountaineering hero is exclusive and produces such autoimmunitary reactions.

Oppression of this nature serves to disrupt a woman's sense of control and self-determination, interfering with her ability to repress negative emotions and find space to be the mountaineer she wants to be. Perceptions like these led the research participants to carefully choose how they generated income. On setting up a new business with another female mountaineer Jo had wanted to offer courses solely for women:

> we just started out offering … just courses for women and it being just women specific. Now, … because [Annabel] and I were not really particularly pleased with the idea … we have come away from that now, and we are going to have generalised outdoor courses, … we are going to have a female specific side to it, but that is just not going to be our business.

Jo understood there was a significant gap in the market for female specific courses and mentoring but cited that she was uncomfortable with this contributing to segregation in the sector (Warren 2016; Pomfret 2015). On the surface this seemed a perfectly valid point that both women and men should be able to learn skills effectively together. However, this has not been borne out through the statistics that demonstrate the poor uptake of women undertaking mountaineering courses (MT 2017). I discussed with all the participants if they

felt there were tangible differences and approaches to working with aspirant female mountaineers and all talked about particular traits and the subtleties of being able to utilise 'softer' skills, particularly when working with women. The use of softer skills was not exclusive to women and is actually built into the national training programme's syllabuses. However, it is hard to find a definitive set of competencies that define what is meant by softer skills within these programmes. Discussion about softer skills revealed the nuanced approaches the research participants used for reading behaviours and giving appropriate levels of feedback and assurance, along with understanding how to handle emotional responses to quieten negative voices. Such skills helped with assessing ability and how far to push aspirants in order that clients could build confidence, self-belief and ultimately self-reliance. Such an approach has a heritage that can be traced back to the earliest antecedents, from D'Angeville to the establishment of the Pinnacle Club through to Arkless and Lawrence's female specific training courses.

On pushing Jo to further to explain why she and her business partner felt so uncomfortable about running women's only programmes, she revealed a concern that the current women's debates were driven by the wrong kinds of messages. The issue pivoted on segregating women to the exclusion of a major part of the industry i.e. men. She felt that this was having a counterproductive effect with men not really taking the debate about women's issues seriously and it was probably pushing the agenda backwards not forwards. Nor did Jo feel she had the strength of argument to support a business choice to be female only: 'I feel like if I was going to have a debate with somebody I couldn't give it my all, you know, you have to stand by it.' Yet she felt conflicted about her loyalty to the women she clearly wished to support: I do stand by women's courses, and I am happy to run them and support them and understand the need for them but I don't think there is a complete need for that segregation.' The consequence is a silencing of voice, because that last thing Jo wanted to do was draw more attention to herself and trigger a backlash, as illustrated by Jo explaining that male peers were arguing for equality in terms of access to courses and in particular one-to-one mentoring, currently only on offer to women undertaking higher level national qualifications through MT. MT had implemented a trial programme of mentoring for female aspirant MIAs to counter the poor conversion rates from training to assessment to make access more equitable. In contrast, the numbers of male aspirants were very healthy demonstrating that the male claim for equality was groundless and borne out of professional jealousy and sexism (this point I problematise on pp. 230 – 231). Jo's experience of running women's only courses had been very positive for all concerned; however, pursuing this

lucrative business venture was abandoned due to the pressure to retain legitimacy, which was more compelling than taking a wilful path to support women's needs in the industry.

7.1.1 Inequality in the mountaineering industry

Gender is still very much a twenty-first century consequence for women who wish to support other women to progress with higher level skills or pursue a new activity in mountaineering (a topic covered in more detail later). To offer female focused activities would have been perceived as a wilfully feminist political act by peers. The drive to achieve greater equity for women in mountaineering seems to have regressed from the very prominent efforts of Arkless and Lawrence to introduce new approaches for engaging women in mountaineering and climbing. A clear example of the autoimmunitary affect impact of this hypermasculine community.

Jo and I discussed how the debate about the inequalities in mountaineering should be led by prominent men and women in the industry and not just women alone. This was a criticism she levelled at the current round of seminars and events led by public organisations like the BMC that had solely targeted women. In Jo's view the debate had to be founded on what the real problems were, and then concentrate on finding solutions. She placed the responsibility upon women that 'it was women who needed to sort out what they saw as the challenges and present these in a collaborative space that could include men being part of the solution.' Jo is certainly not the first woman to voice the call to men and women mountaineers and climbers to expose 'Deep seated assumptions [that] need to be challenged' and ask the question 'How important is this and what is the best way to approach it. Then we need to do the right thing' (Hill no date). On discussing the initiatives being pushed by the BMC, MT and AMI Annie believed the 'women's movement in mountaineering … was pushing out the wrong kind of message' and this in her opinion would lead to the alienation of male colleagues serving to increase the divide. It was felt that a smarter conversation was needed that had a clear set of objectives, and that was inclusive, requiring not only women but leading male role models. She felt that women needed to be clear about what it is that they want and to give some indication of how that might be achieved, providing concrete things that both men and women could do to improve recruitment, retention and engagement. The lack of clarity on the surface seemed to be a clear reason for not engaging with the current debate, yet it also served to reinforce the hypermasculine culture by silencing the research participants. The underlying reason expressed by Annie was founded on concerns that the current backlash would widen the divide and potentially damage female mountaineers'

ability to attract the work. This had resulted in a number of prominent female mountaineers choosing to withdraw and not participate in the current debate and engagement programmes being delivered through the public agencies.

The backlash towards MT's small, but highly effective, introduction of a mentoring programme is indicative of how institutionalised sexism is still very much alive in mountaineering. For Jo and [Annabel], the impact forced them to compromise their business idea so they were not perceived to 'play up their gender' by excluding men, a troubling indictment of how the status quo remains (Frohlick 2005, p. 188). Doing the right thing requires, firstly, recognition of how the hypermasculinised culture impacts on all mountaineers and, secondly, how this then acts to prevent women from accessing mountaineering. Until such time, the autoimmunitary affects of hypermasculinity will continue to compel women like Jo to withdraw from offering gender sensitive opportunities in favour of protecting their name or social capital. I now turn to consider the processes of social capital and the impact they have.

7.2 Social capital: Building a name

As a professional mountaineer, it is essential to produce lasting, useful relationships that can secure symbolic and material profits (Bourdieu 2013 [1977]). Applying Bourdieu's (2013 [1977]) concept of social and symbolic capital, a mountaineer seeks to acquire position through securing a name and thus, legitimacy that enables them to reap material profits, economically, socially, technically, and geographically. In definition, the strategies produced individually or collectively, and consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing and reproducing social relationships within a mountaineering community, create the social capital that secures place (Bourdieu 2013 [1977]). The hypermasculinised culture of mountaineering requires women to work extremely hard both physically and socially to achieve and maintain their status or name as trusted and competent leaders (Warren 2016; Wright and Gray 2013; Newbery 2004, 2003; Wittmer 2001). The personal sacrifice and labour required to maintain positionality is so intensely felt it makes female mountaineers very protective of their status, because 'having a name is actually quite a thing in the outdoor industry' (Jo). In twhat follows, I consider the structural challenges the research participants face in their everyday mountaineering lives.

Bourdieu (1986 [1977]) talks about the hidden nature of 'symbolic power', being immanent to bodies creating social distance and distinction (p. 17). Achieving distinction for

mountaineers performing at the top of their profession produces a sense of exclusivity and distinction, which is achieved through an extensive apprenticeship that is guided by the rules of traditional mountaineering practice (Beedie 2003). On a day out mountaineering with Freddie I experienced how female mountaineers perform social distancing through both overt and covert practices. In next describe how Freddie, in one particular instance, used covert masculinised strategies to create a distance that firmly asserted her dominance.

Freddie and I discussed a day out. The weather was predicted to be horrendous with significant precipitation and high winds of up to 96mph on the summit of Cairngorm. Freddie talked about how she would consult at least three different weather forecasts to get a sense of what the weather was doing and then make a note of which one was the most accurate for the day. This gave her a sense of confidence about which one to use for subsequent days out on the hill. We chose to do a lower level route, going up to a height of 732m, so a relatively easy day distance and climbing-wise, because the wind meant conditions were too dangerous to do anything else. There was no hesitation or perceivable worry on Freddie's part in terms of venturing out into what many would consider extreme conditions. Halfway through our journey we sheltered behind a rock and discussed (or rather shouted over the wind) where the route went and how the wind would affect us. Freddie had already been blown over by the wind when it caught her hood, demonstrating the severity of the conditions. She gave me two alternatives for our descent, to either head back towards the forest (the easiest route) or battle back over the ridge (facing into the wind that was now increasing). We shouted the following responses:

> I do not really feel the need to do that [my internal dialogue did not relish the idea of walking into a wind punishing us with 70mph gusts] (Jenny)
>
> It would be fresh [laughs with a goading intonation] (Freddie)
>
> Yes a bit blustery [not laughing and trying to play down my alarm] (Jenny)
>
> Yeah, a blustery day [laughs a lot] (Freddie).

Freddie intensified the competitive stakes so that I (the client) yielded and in doing so I felt a keen sense of being pushed beyond where I wanted to be. It is a hard-faced attitude that creates an atmosphere where (if I had not known better) I would have agreed to head back over the ridge to prove I was capable. It reveals an underlying power dynamic that can and often does, lead to what McCammon (2004) identified as heuristic traps or decision-making processes based on rules of thumb rather than hard facts. The heuristic thought processes in

mountaineering are dominated by a masculine culture of competition, of being brave and it was this that I experienced, narrowly avoiding a competitive urge to show I was hard enough in what McCammon (2004) described as proving yourself in that particular social situation or social proof. Freddie and I both had enjoyed playing in the wind, whooping and 'whoahing' at the forces exerted on us, excited at getting away with it and being in the now, but the moment was broken by my emotional guide and resistance to be goaded. I had conjured up images of being blown over that grew into visions of being dashed on rocks or over a precipice, my fear acting as a fail-safe: it was time to go down. A keen sense of inferiority crept in and I felt my inability to meet the challenge, by being put in a position to choose the lesser option for our journey. I had demonstrated a weakness. I was not up for pushing that far into the unknown and in that moment Freddie had asserted her dominance by making the decision mine, which made me feel the distance between us. By choosing the lesser option I lost my opportunity to prove and build a form of masculine social capital. At the beginning of the day, Freddie exhibited a feminine leadership style, carefully researching and collaboratively planning the day with me by assessing the environmental and human factors (Sharp 2001). This was sharply contrasted by her move into a heuristic model of leadership in what Dilley and Scraton (2010) describe as female masculinity that literally threw caution to the wind.

I suggest that this is driven by a need to be continually proving 'you are good enough' (Jo) in a masculinised culture. Freddie utilised masculine strategies creating distinction and therefore building distance between us, and doing so, reinforced what it means to be a hard professional mountaineer in contrast to an amateur mountaineer like me. This moment in our day was not a calculated move by Freddie to create distinction; her outward intention, at that moment on the hill, was to collaboratively arrive at a decision. Nor do I think that she ever believed I would take her up on the offer to head back into the maelstrom behind us. The outcome, however, was a subtle shift in the power dynamic between us building her social capital of being a hardened professional and reaffirming my place as the amateur. The shift was an unconscious move to assert power, be the leader and demonstrate competence, and it was also about staying alive. Beedie (2015) considers the desire to accumulate symbolic capital through experiences like the day Freddie and I had as an ongoing social battleground. The tensions arising from this battleground illustrate how easily in the now moments of whooping in the wind are broken by a shift in the power dynamic between companions. Freddie's actions were affected by the masculinised atmospheric flows of how to do traditional mountaineering, evidenced by her switch in behaviour (Knudsen and Stage

2015). She did so to assert her name as a professional and thus conformed to the practices of a highly competitive mountaineering culture and a clear demonstration of affective autoimmunitary reactions that serve to reinforce the hypermasculinity in mountaineering. It is a performance that seeks to prove competence in order that women mountaineers can deflect gender prejudice (Chisholm 2008). Such tactics I argue are an act of defiance against an atmosphere of male exclusivity, but they serve to alienate rather than build a sense of inclusivity, which also suggests that the affective dimensions of a masculinised culture are detectable, when expressed through attitudes towards competition and status. This was illustrated by Freddie switching from a collaborative style of leadership to a female form of masculinised leadership where she assumed a dominant role, which signalled the drive to acquire social capital to reinforce a name. This shift in power is a subtle form of subjugating an opponent and achieving a competitive advantage, which is rife within the community of mountaineering. Freddie had asserted her exclusivity as the leader, an attribute most of the research participants enjoyed.

7.2.1 Competition and a sense of exclusivity: Hired because I'm a woman

A common theme amongst the research participants concerned how they had felt a sense of being different as children, often being referred to as 'tomboys.' They expressed how they preferred not being girly girls and being called tomboys, defying social norms like this, 'teaches us how restricted *girl* can be as a category of emergent personhood' (Ahmed 2017, p. 53). Already singled out as different, the participants had sought increasingly extreme forms of sporty activities that gave them the space to match and be included by boys in male orientated activities like mountain biking or climbing. This generated very early on in their lives a sense of exclusivity and social capital that resisted social norms, creating an expanded space to be tough. Being exclusive and seeking a sense of exclusivity in her early mountaineering career, Annie felt a sense of being 'exotic and different' (Annie), which was attractive and desirable to her giving her a 'sense of achievement when she could do what the men could do' (Field notes, 5 December 2016). This made Annie feel like she could stand out and be different from others in her everyday life, which generated a sense of wellbeing. Being exotic or an outlier had produced benefits for all of the participants through the sense of exclusivity felt by being only one of the few who mountaineer at their level. It also generated economic benefits too:

> It has definitely helped me in the outdoors. I have got work because I am woman (Jo)

> The women I have spoken to enjoy that? (Jenny)
>
> [Y]ou would expect people to be a bit more feminist and equal rights and all that but actually I enjoy it as well. I am quite smug about the fact that I get work in Greenland because I am the token girl … you get work because you are female and yeah I quite like it (Jo).
>
> But equally, that comes with its own baggage as well? (Jenny)
>
> I want to be hired for the skills that I have not because of my gender …. But I think the people that have hired me because I am a female accept I have those skills as well. I can be the token female going on an expedition, but it is because I have got those skills, they accept that and it is not just because you are female. I think that is why you can be a bit smug about it and a bit relaxed, it gives you a step up in the competition ladder (Jo).

The conflictual nature of Jo's statement underlines how tokenism is still prevalent in mountaineering undermining the achievement of female mountaineers. The fact that Jo positively engaged in this practice and yet had to justify to herself she was being hired for her skills, and not her gender, highlights a fundamental ethical dilemma professional female mountaineers face of engaging in tokenism and thus reinforcing the novelty of being a woman and not the norm in mountaineering. Lorrie echoed this sentiment, expressing how being a women mountaineer made her feel like the centre of attention, special and different in a largely male world. She also reiterated women did not find it difficult to find work, and this was part of the attraction. High altitude record holder, Melissa Arnot Reid, expresses how:

> You're an outlier, and outliers are interesting, so you get opportunities that maybe your equally skilled male counterparts wouldn't. I've been the beneficiary of that. The other side of it is this knowledge that perhaps you've been given an opportunity because you're the diversity quota, the lone woman, and you have to work twice as hard to establish that you deserve the spot (Arnot Reid 2017).

Arnot Reid's experience shows how discriminatory behaviours quickly escalate when the rules of mountaineering (Barratt 2010) are threatened by a woman surpassing her male peers. Arnot Reid (2017) described how she had been professionally undermined when hired to work on a prestigious expedition in 2008. She was accused by a male client of being hired because the expedition leader was attracted to her and not for her skills. The paradoxical nature of wanting recognition, yet endorsing such behaviours as tokenism raises an ethical dilemma for women mountaineers - support women's rights or lose a name. Thus, tokenism is closely tied to a sense of exclusivity and feeling different. Women like Jo utilised this sense

of exclusivity to secure lucrative work contracts and projects, thus building social capital. The cost, however, as I explore later, led to a rejection of an open dialogue concerning the discrimination of women in the workplace, precipitated by retaining competitive advantage and meeting expectations of the industry and clear demonstration of autoimmunitary affects within mountaineering

7.2.2 Competitive forces: Meeting expectations

As I have already discussed mountaineering is underpinned by a highly structured system of codification and classification, which specifies how competitive advantage and social capital can be acquired. Guidebooks contain the manual for prowess listing the severity and complexity of routes with often an ambivalence designed to catch out the underprepared, where the difficulty of some routes is under-played. Understating the severity of a situation is ubiquitous in mountaineering culture, having a particular manly discourse that is dismissive of weakness and underpinning a heroic code of invincibility that a mountaineer can take 'whatever the mountain throws at us' (Lorrie). For example, the term 'sandbagging' is used for routes that are far harder than the grade listed in the guide. To be sandbagged is considered to be a rite of passage or character building for those who have in good faith ventured onto these climbs and been traumatised by the experience (Harris 2016; Estep 2015; Rickly-Boyd 2012; UKC 2002). Sandbagging identifies those mountaineers who undertake a route they are ill equipped for or too inexperienced to undertake. The term usually describes how mountaineers 'got away with it' or had to self-rescue or be rescued from a route. The stories told after the experience of being sandbagged are relayed in terms of how mountaineers had 'an epic' adventure in contrast to failing to conduct a climb in style. Mountaineers are judged by the routes undertaken and the places they have travelled to and as such having epic adventures and a mountaineering history generates respect and reputation (Rickly-Boyd 2012; UKC 2002). This is a cultural marker that denotes the absolute necessity to demonstrate your prowess as a mountaineer; a marker that often conceals how a mountaineer has failed to appreciate or misjudged conditions and been sandbagged as a result. There is a hard man psychology of playing down the difficulties of a climb: on Everest, for example, Pennington described how 'someone told me it is a walk in the park' (2014). The traditional rules require a mountaineer to maintain an air of success, good judgement and extensive knowledge. Such qualities are essential for building and maintaining social capital and thus a name as a competent mountaineer.

For example, on a winter's day, where the environmental conditions are so appalling that there is absolute surety that mountaineering routes will be unclimbable, mountain leaders will still set off with clients knowing the project is doomed to failure. The expectations of clients, employers and the competition between mountain leaders are so powerful that, as one research participant put it, 'people either want a summit or an epic' (Annie 2016). This statement belies the intensity of a mountaineering culture that requires a successful outcome no matter what the circumstances, returning back empty handed is seen as failure for clients and mountain leaders alike. The pressure to deliver a perfect mountaineering product for clients is intense. The competitive forces exerted to continually make the right judgement and appear infallible can create an atmosphere of fear of getting it wrong, being blamed, appearing incompetent, not delivering enough challenge for clients or not being daring enough, which represents a loss of face. Lorrie expressed how these pressures exerted enormous stress upon leaders:

> This is what I have seen of the guys, there are an awful lot of opinions and quite a bit of ego, but I am not convinced that anybody really knows what is right and wrong and it is a bit too grey for anyone to go I am right about this. I have noticed that they will all just make themselves sound like they were right to choose what they did that day to back up [their decisions], but I am not actually convinced that it is necessarily correct. I try and make clear judgement to keep everyone safe and if in doubt I would rather err on the side of caution, but not too much, it's [finding a] balance between giving a good day [out] and staying alive [it's challenging to make those decisions] day after day.

The conflictual nature of trying to manage the unmanageable in a highly unstable environment and culture that does not accept failure exacted a significant toll on the personal lives of the research participants. Outwardly mountaineers do not voice their concerns, putting on a brave face that conceals an inner ethical turmoil to meet the expectations of others. This was demonstrated by Caitlin for whom:

> mountains are about freedom and feeling like I can go anywhere and I can do anything and it is partly why I have all the skills and qualifications … [I enjoy being] … self-sufficient and being able to go anywhere and not be reliant on other people to look after me.

Caitlin's motivation to gain her mountain qualifications had been, partly, to prove to others that she was capable of being self-sufficient and competent enough to set up her own mountaineering business. Moreover, it was a point of seeking legitimacy through proving a sense of self-sufficiency. The autoimmunitary atmosphere of heroism exerts an oppressive

regime of silence where women cannot share their fears and concerns and must continually perform above and beyond their capacities.

7.2.3 Competition: Measuring up

> If you are given two options, take the harder one because you'll regret it if you don't (Hargreaves 1995)

The pressure to continually demonstrate performance at an extreme level was palpable even amongst women considered being at the top of their profession as mountaineers. The research participants' attitudes towards this competitive atmosphere were expressed as a means to 'make the grade' (Lorrie) as a name. Predominantly the challenges the research participants set themselves remain introverted personal goals, not overt public expressions of achievement, they maintain a silent modesty that did not encroach upon male spaces. Crucially, the women's goals appeared to centre on measuring up and performing things as well as men, rather than being better or the best. This was illustrated by Annie, one of the most experienced research participants, who, having summited many high altitude peaks in the Greater Ranges, described how in her early mountaineering career she would*:* 'go at it like a bull in a "china shop" in a bid to prove I could do it as well as the men.' Annie's statement belies the desire to retain acceptance and not take up too much space and risk challenging the male domain of mountaineering, as Lynn Hill experienced. Lynn Hill, perhaps one of the most famous living climbers in the world, achieved international fame after becoming the first person, male or female, to make a free ascent of The Nose on the mountain El Capitan in Yosemite National Park, USA. El Capitan is one of the most iconic and famous climbing destinations in the world. It is formed of granite and rises 900m above the valley floor. The Nose, a particular route on El Capitan, is often referred to as the most famous rock climbing route in North America and was once considered impossible. It was first climbed in 1958 by a team, led by Warren Harding, who used a technique called aid climbing where pegs and sling systems are used to provide artificial hand and footholds. In 1993 Hill became the first person to free climb the route (without aid). This took Hill four days to complete, and she returned the next year to make an astounding repeat ascent in less than 24 hours. Today it typically takes parties four to five days to complete, with a 60 per cent success rate. Yet given the success Hill has achieved throughout her career, as a professional mountain climber, she has experienced discrimination, with some attributing her success on The Nose being due to her 'small fingers' (Ryan 2005, p. 2). In a film interview for The REI Co-op (Hill no date) Hill even now has to assert that not only was she a woman but that she was

the 'first person to do that' (Hill no date). Even when women perform at the highest level in mountaineering, achieving legitimacy is a precarious business. Hill crossed a line disrupting the masculinised mountaineering space and used it to taunt male peers with the challenge 'It goes boys!' (in Ryan 2005) in a move to promote her supremacy. Hill had become what Puwar (2004) calls a 'space invader' (p. 11) by wilfully pushing through a frontier and becoming a harder climber than her male peers. The subsequent discrimination that Hill experienced is illustrative of what DiAngelo (2011) conceptualised as 'white fragility', where the social environment in which people live protects them from race-based stress (p. 54). DiAngelo refers to racial stress as not only impacting on people of colour but all those who suffer oppression including women and as such is illustrative of autoimmunitary reactions. She states that being insulated from race-based stress builds:

> white expectations for racial comfort while at the same time lowering the ability to tolerate racial stress …. White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves (ibid., p. 54).

Exemplified in the autoimmunitary reaction that led peers to undermine Hill's achievements through attacking her morphology thus, Hill's gender became a consequence. Hill climbed a route that was considered to be the hardest climb in the history of men's climbing. She overcame not only the physical challenges of a route designed by men but also an atmosphere of hypermasculinity, opening 'the bodily modalities of free movement and existence that any woman can cultivate and discover' (Chisholm 2008, p. 18). In direct challenge to a space traditionally occupied by men, her actions opened the potentiality of space for other women, to not just match but be the best. The autoimmunitary backlash that Hill experienced as a result of her achievements came at a cost to both herself and also other women in general through a pervading sense of anti-feminism. She challenged the dominance of male bodies in a space where men traditionally performed being men (Chisholm 2008; Frohlick 2006; Ortner 1999; Wearing 1998). The space created by Hill and other women like her is, however, still very much at stake and is under constant pressure to conform to a masculinised ideal of what mountaineering should be.

In contrast to Hill the research participant's reflections on competition revealed a discourse that presented them as non-threatening, neutral and benign. Although the women operated at a very high level and had undertaken extraordinarily difficult projects, they had not broken through that glass ceiling of being 'known' as the best. Being the best ensured Hill's economic survival as a climber and athlete but it did not protect her from discrimination by her peer

group. The research participants could not transcend the social norms of the mountaineering community through having achieved fame, or profile in the way Hill had done, insomuch that a professional mountaineer's livelihood depends on the interrelationships with other trusted professionals. These interrelationships are founded on masculinised social norms where women feel they need to present a non-threatening persona. The constant fear of being ostracised and rejected, or passed over for lucrative work opportunities, access to climbing partners and exciting projects was an ever-present atmosphere that tempered outward expressions of prowess and competitiveness. To retain place therefore, the research participants presented a persona that was diminutive, neutral, collaborative and nurturing and that did not invade space, too much. This was demonstrated in a conversation I had with Freddie where I asked if she saw herself as competitive:

> I am not sure I see myself as competitive against other people … possibly a wee bit. I think I would rather set goals for myself rather than set goals against other people. I don't think I want to do better than them it just would not work for me it is more that I would want to improve myself. I have never been one for running races. (Freddie)
>
> I do not know if it is true for men but it does seem that there is a competitive drive? (Jenny)
>
> Oh yes … it is about being the best there is, a lot of gauging themselves against others (Freddie)

The research participants were not, in most cases by their own admission, on a level with athletes like Hill. Hill had asserted her right to be the best, taking a masculinised approach to claim space. The research participants' attitudes towards competition were feminised, representing a reduction in space that can be traced back to early mountaineering traditions. The reasons for this are a complex mix of compliance with social norms or fitting in, building trust and overcoming a lack of confidence. For Jo taking the decision to meet her personal goals had been a battle with that inner voice of doubt, a common theme for all of the research participants. For many years Jo had shied away from taking national qualifications, lacking the confidence to go for it, and it was not until her partner and close friend had gained the qualifications that she felt able to undertake MIA. Like Annie, Jo was fearful of being left behind and it was more about measuring up and challenging herself, since she did not want to be seen as weak by:

> back[ing] away from a challenge. I feel like I have got to do [the qualifications] if somebody else is doing qualifications … I do not want to

> get left behind, so if my group of friends are [taking the qualifications] I definitely want to be doing the qualifications as well. And if [your friends are] climbing harder I need to climb harder, I am not going to be left behind. If they are climbing grade V's I am going to climb grade V's too. You are doing good things and climbing well, that is healthy competition, we egg each other on to do things, although it is never in a nasty way. It is [about being] competitive with yourself (Jo).

Like Freddie, Jo had feminised her competitiveness making it about nurturing others and internalising the challenges she set herself. She was strongly against the idea of setting out to be better than others, for her it was more about keeping up and meeting the mark. Llewellyn and Sanchez (2008) point out that even though men tend to take more risks than women this was not reflected in ability in terms of the difficulty of routes undertaken or taking the lead. When the research participants had ventured too far into a male space, they were often left feeling isolated and reluctant to speak up. Annie would feel 'intimidated visiting the Lodge' (Glenmore Lodge is one of two National Mountaineering Centres based in Scotland), and I asked if this was because people were hostile to her, but the reverse of this seemed to be true (Field notes, 5 December 2016). On pushing her to explain why she felt intimidated, Annie felt she had 'burned her bridges there by speaking out on issues of safety' (Field notes, 5 December 2016). In doing so Annie had exposed egotistical notions of appearing infallible, strong and competent. Exposing any errors meant her peers would have to admit weakness, poor decision-making that could result in a loss of face. For the research participants, the fear of losing face is a common concern, in a predominantly freelance working environment where attracting lucrative contracts is predicated on being perceived as a safe decision-maker and strong leader. This uncertainty leads to a fear culture that silences vital opportunities for learning and sharing information about near misses. The harsh realities of mountaineering at high altitude leave little room for empathy or reflection. It is very much a case of 'put up and shut up.' The competitive autoimmunitary forces to perform beyond often reasonable expectations pushes mountaineers to, at times, take extreme risks and was reflected in the drive to acquire qualifications, which I discuss next.

7.2.4 Competitive drive for qualifications: Making a name

Being a young woman in this atmosphere of competition was particularly challenging. Lorrie had experienced a series of negative comments related to her age on being accepted onto the BMG Guide Scheme. Some colleagues had exhibited a professional jealously questioning whether she was experienced enough to attempt such an advanced qualification. Before undertaking the final entry requirements for the guide scheme she had been introduced to

'the old boys' network of guides' which had left her feeling very uncomfortable (Lorrie). This encounter had led Lorrie to question whether she wanted to pursue the programme at all. She could not see how she could reconcile the culture of the guide programme with achieving a sense of fulfilment and wellbeing. The other female guides she had been introduced to were closed socially and put up a masculinised front. Lorrie attributed this to 'having to put up and shut up' with the pressures experienced of performing at such a high level. She was struggling to accept that she would need to make the same sacrifices of postponing a family, along with putting up with extreme forms of sexism and a lack of people to discuss professional issues with. Lorrie's childhood dream to become a guide had been derailed by the cultural practices she had experienced by coming into contact with the realities of surviving as a female guide. For her working with clients was about nurturing them rather than 'dragging them up extreme routes they were not capable of climbing' (Lorrie). Her perceptions about what was important in life had radically shifted. Lorrie could not envisage how she could maintain her own sense of values, integrity and femininity and be a guide (Field notes, 18 November 2016). Being young, exceptional and ambitious marked Lorrie as a 'space invader' (Puwar 2004, p. 11) and had significant consequences for her chosen life course.

Lorrie did however believe that if she passed her guide qualification, this would 'open the door to gaining respect and be listened to by colleagues' (Lorrie). She also believed that if she did achieve this ambition she might be able to make changes to the culture from within. Gaining qualifications was symbolic of professional prowess but was also perceived to be a pathway for Lorrie and the other research participants to find voice and be listened to, producing a feminised approach to competition that positioned women as 'meeting the mark.' If they crossed the line between meeting the mark and being the best they risked an autoimmunitary backlash from both male and female peers. This was particularly acute for younger female mountaineers like Lorrie, reducing her space to progress and be the best. The professional jealousies that Lorrie experienced produce in women an autoimmunitary reaction to modify their ambitions and certainly not promote them, echoing the Victorian values of modesty and remain silent about one's achievements.

7.2.5 Competition: Feminine attitudes

Compliance with the traditional rules of mountaineering can be enormously damaging to perceptions of achievement in a number of ways. For example, if a female mountaineer breaks the rules by asserting the right to be the best as Hill, Annie and Lorrie had done then a

backlash can occur, and if a mountaineer does not comply with the rules of self-sufficiency this can equally be damaging. This had parallels with Moffat's experience, in the 1950s, of breaking the rule of accepting male assistance from two Austrian climbers: 'having two handsome men tie my waist knot was the last thing I needed to restore my confidence' (Moffat 2013 [1961], p. 211). Following the abseil Moffat talks of the shame she felt: 'The fact I had done another first feminine ascent could not dispel the miasma of shame that clung to me' (ibid., p. 212). Moffat was unable to enjoy her success at making a first female ascent because she had not complied with feminised mountaineering rules of refusing male assistance. Her reaction typifies the affective forces of hypermasculinity, to never express fear or lack self-sufficiency, but worst of all accept help from men. Moffat had failed to live up to expectations, since being '*up to it'* is, as Kiewa (2001) asserts, is the 'essence of climbing' (p. 372). Moffat could not control her emotional response and thus lost control of her space as a mountaineer and prime example of the autoimmunitary affects of hypermasculinity.

The autoimmunitary affective intensities of competition in mountaineering are such that the research participants, in some instances, reduced their competitive ambitions to be about caring for others and setting personal goals in contrast to being the best like Hill. They described themselves as 'measuring up' and 'meeting the grade', a tactic that meant they occupied a smaller space, in an effort not to be identified as 'space invader[s]' (Puwar 2004, p. 11). This goes some way to explaining why all of the female research participants chose very careful language when talking about their competitive ambitions in an effort to counter a discriminatory backlash, illustrated by Hill's comment about the under publicised efforts of many female mountaineers that:

> The man is always trying to do the accomplishment and go out after that accolade and the women, we like doing it when we are feeling really good, when we are climbing well, to be the first it's like a secondary thought for us (Hill no date).

Thus, suppressing competitive urges to a 'secondary thought' was an act of self-preservation to retain a name. In fear of a autoimmunitary backlash women continue to downplay their competitive drive, ambitions and achievements; like Annie and Whittaker who claim they want to be as good as men or climb 'just as hard' but not be the best (in Beaumont 2013). This is illustrated by the contentious issue of the accreditation and documentation of female first ascents (FFAs); the ascent of routes by women previously pioneered by men. For these reasons, women like Whittaker claim not to be concerned with achieving FFAs the argument is that this sets a boundary or a reduction of the space they can occupy, to be the best male

or female, a view shared by many female mountaineers. Whittaker preserves the right and space to be a pioneer of new routes, yet her language is contradictory, making the modest claim that she wants to be 'just as hard' not better than her peers (in Beaumont 2013). Despite Schirrmacher's (2008) view that without public reporting of FFAs women's achievements will forever remain in the shadows, I argue the notion of FFAs is reductive, defining women by male standards that are unaligned with women's bodies, psychologies or morphology. Due to a milieu of social constraints, first ascents by women are rare, raising the question that if more women were to pioneer new routes would a feminised version of mountaineering emerge; and if women were to create routes and write the guidebooks could a different form of mountaineering be realised?

Unlike Hargreaves' (1995) call to take the harder option, the harder option for the research participants was mired in a complex balancing act between appearing hard enough and avoiding an autoimmunitary backlash for being perceived as being too competitive. I next consider the competitive culture in mountaineering and I argue that these challenging competitive forces are founded on a 'grade-ist' culture. I frame 'grade-ism' in the context of female mountaineers' efforts to maintain positionality and acquire social capital.

7.3 Grade-ism

In this next section, I explore how bodies are codified and graded to fit a masculine ideal that is often at odds with a female morphology. I then consider how this is compounded by competitive expectations arising within the professional climbing partnerships women forge to undertake their mountaineering paying particular attention to the temporal differences they experience. I conclude with how women develop their own informal spaces within this grade-ist culture.

To measure up in the competitive stakes and build social capital, the research participants had to negotiate 'grade-ism' or how hard a 'grade' they were climbing (Ryan 2005). Grade-ism is a classification system built on male bodies and male ideals and is the mark of being tough and as such, can be exclusionary. It is also foundational to the national mountaineering qualification system, which I consider later.

Mountaineering is a competitive culture of grades and grading, and conversations are dominated by what you have climbed, where you have climbed, how you climbed it. Climbers talk about gaining 'beta', a colloquial term for sizing up a route and each other, to

acquire information about their competitors and whether they can match or surpass the physical challenge. Gaining beta is a process of competitive one-upmanship symbolising a level of prowess that distinguishes a mountaineer from other mountaineers and climbing hard routes is the traditional way to gain this distinction and distancing from others. Grade-ism can be traced through the way in which a male morphology and physiology have been foundational to the creation and development of mountaineering as a sport; men, for example, tend to be taller, have a longer reach and are stronger than women and it is thus exclusive to those who share similar anatomical qualities. Historically the vast majority of routes were first climbed by men and thus men devised the classification system to grade them (Tonnies Moore 2015). Grades are set by the first ascensionists of routes of which few are women and they are verified by respected clubs like the FRCC and SMC. Therefore, contemporary grading systems are still dominated by men even though grades are supposed to be based on a consensus within the climbing community. All new routes are then described in guidebooks, largely written by men, and named by men who attribute names with physical properties and locations, but they can also refer to 'social circumstances of the community or broader social trends … which do hold currency' (Rickly 2016, p. 80). Making a systematic survey of the 32 UK guidebooks I own, covering most of the major mountain areas in Scotland, Wales and the Lake District, only one has received editorial contributions from a woman. D'Angeville's call for 'A feminine stamp' is still sadly lacking, with a feminine voice virtually absent in published climbing guidebooks (Stockham 2012, p. 2). The online platform UKClimbing.com (UKC no date) lists all of the climbing and mountaineering routes in the British Isles and a large proportion globally and has a voting system that allows climbers who have completed a route to both grade it and comment on its features (UKC no date). As a user of this voting system, I have observed that most of the voters avoid making themselves appear weak by marking that a grade was harder than they anticipated, with many saying it was too easy for its current grade. Most voters appear to agree with the consensus view even if a route is poorly graded and it is a system that, I suggest, reinforces grade-ism and one that requires further research.

Many routes considered to be 'classics' like Vector (E2) on the cliffs of Tremadog, North Wales, become untouchable even if their grade is considered to be wildly inaccurate (Vector is not considered as such) in this competitive culture (Tonnies Moore 2015). Vector (E2) is a multi-pitch trad. climbing route and was first climbed by the famous mountaineer and climber Joe Brown in 1960 and is cited as perhaps the most famous climb at Tremadog (Barratt 2010). Vector has a legendary status and is a very desirable climber's logbook tick.

Vector's reputation was cemented by the struggles endured during its first ascent and was reinforced through a challenge initiated by climber and mountaineer Malcolm Campbell in the mid-1980s when he worked at the National Outdoor Centre at Plas Y Brenin. The Vector challenge (as it became known) was to order and take one sip of a pint of beer at the bar in Plas Y Brenin then drive 20 miles to Tremadog, complete the climb, drive back and finish the pint in under an hour. The story has it that Campbell completed this in just over an hour in the late 1980s (UKC 2011). The Vector challenge is still attempted and considered to be a test piece of a climber's mettle and is joked about by instructors delivering mountain leader courses. It is symbolic of the inherent competitive *one-up-man-ship* ingrained in the rules of how to be a hard trad. climber or mountaineer (Barratt 2010). Tonnies Moore (2015) refers to climbing grades like Vector as 'Dude Grades' describing how one of his female climbing partners became frustrated on climbs far below her perceived grade because a climb had been established by someone with a very different morphology. He argues this denigrated her ability and prowess as a climber and contests the notion of grades, suggesting that by continuing to follow grades 'we are implicitly supporting … sexist rating systems' (Tonnies Moore 2015, p. 1). Moreover, if women were more involved in making first ascents and in the grading of climbing routes then routes would perhaps make more sense to their bodies. Describing her first ascent of Everest Pennington had to make different steps and movements to ascend the final section of the climb and being: 'only 4'ft 11" … I do struggle' because the snow bucket steps were created by much larger male bodies (Pennington 2014). Recognising that body morphology is a problem for everyone and in an attempt to counter grade-ism Tonnies Moore (2015) has established a colour coding system for his Black Mountain climbing guide, in the USA, that represents difficulty within a range rather than attaching numbers and letters to each individual climb. As such, I next consider how the research participants negotiated grade-ism and the autoimmunitary impact it has on their mountaineering.

7.3.1 Grade-ism in climbing partnerships and leading professionally

The research participants often struggled to find climbing partners who they trusted, were supportive and also sensitive to their needs when undergoing their mountaineering apprenticeship. Rising through the national qualification system meant that the research participants had a limited choice when it came to climbing partners because so few women progresses beyond MLS and climb at their level. Thus, they had to rely on male climbing partners. Although this was a generally productive experience, it could also produce a

mismatch in abilities and styles in a partnership. For example, Lorrie was invited to climb a hard route with a trusted male mentor:

> my mentor got in touch last week and said: Do you want to go climbing? And [asked me]: Have you climbed this route? It was a fairly hard route, and then he asked how I was going to climb this route? I said no [I am not leading the route] but will second if you want to climb? The main thing, for me, was to have a good time so I kind of set him up. I am not going to push myself into an uncomfortable position [the message was] basically do not push me into something I do not want to do. I have had that a few times with older peers and people much more experienced than me. I just want[ed] to have a good day and have a nice time [but male climbing partners often] somehow manage to push me into climbing something with not enough gear, or [convince me to] go and do [a climb saying] it is easy and then it is not that easy [with] not very much gear. It [turns out to be] a stressful experience and [I think] cheers for that!

Although Lorrie had asserted her desire not to lead the route she expressed how uncomfortable she felt about declining to lead. She felt guilty and worried that this influential peer might perceive her to be not 'good enough' and weak. Lorrie had on this occasion created the climbing space she was prepared to occupy but it was evident that she often felt pressurised to climb at a grade above her limit to maintain her name. Lorrie's mentor was assisting her in making the grade to push for her BMG guide qualification, a pressure that compounded her guilt at not leading on this particular climb. Pushing for this qualification along with being a newly qualified MIC had placed Lorrie under significant strain which filtered into working in a new area for Plas Y Brenin, the national mountaineering centre:

> I have done a lot of pushing quite quickly particularly last year. In the summer I worked in North Wales for a bit and was [also] around local people who were climbing really hard and know the area really well. I [was] trying to on-site the work to make sure I was doing a good job for the Brenin. [As well as] climb in my spare time for myself. I was not really appreciating that this was putting me under [a lot] more pressure than I thought.

Lorrie had worked really hard to build social capital with her new employer and colleagues and the chief way of doing this was to 'on-site' the work leading clients on climbs. In trad. climbing or mountaineering the unwritten rules require the leader to climb a route without having any prior knowledge of it physically, apart from the route description contained within a guidebook. This is classed as on-siting from the ground up where acquiring information prior to climbing a route other than that contained within the guidebook is considered a weakness or cheating or not climbing 'cleanly.' To on-site a route ramps up the pressure on

the leader because all the unknowns of the climb have to be worked through in situ. This, combined with leading unknown clients who may not be competent climbers themselves or be reliable belayers, means the leader has to be sure they can not only climb the grade but can effectively solo the route. As a result, some of the research participants were continually under pressure to lead at their limit to satisfy the demands of clients and employers. To achieve this, leaders feel pressured to climb in their spare time at even harder grades to maintain a sense of bodily power, confidence and control to meet the expectations of others.

Lorrie had recreated her body to be in line with the dominant grade-ist discourse to be hard by on-siting routes. The personal cost was significant with Lorrie acknowledging how being under continual pressure to perform had impacted on her climbing:

> I think recently fear has been overwhelming most of the sensory. Well, it was not alright for part of the summer. I think the pressure stops me from getting into the zone (Lorrie)
>
> It was not just the fear of dying, it was more failing? (Jenny)
>
> Yeah failing and how I was perceived in front of peers, all that stuff is exhausting. [It is] why am I so tired [and] not really doing very much … it would be good to get that back [to climbing at my best] and I am not there yet (Lorrie)

I asked Lorrie if she was prepared to drop grades she climbed to ease the pressure during her personal climbing and mountaineering days. Lorrie's response was that when she did go out with other peers or friends they continued to push boundaries, compounding her inability to enjoy her personal climbing and achieve a sense of being in the now or wellbeing:

> the more pressure and dialogue you have the harder it is to get to that point … [of being in the now] (Lorrie)
>
> So you are saying the pressure to climb a certain grade must have been detrimental to all of your climbing? (Jenny)
>
> It stopped me enjoying going climbing that winter. I enjoyed it once at work. It was alright once I got to work because I just had to get on with it, but personal time I just did not really want to be there it was just too pressured (Lorrie)

One of few times she did feel comfortable to drop grades and pursue climbing for its own sake was when she ventured out on solo days. I asked why it changed her experience:

> a recent example was going with other people, not clients [where I] felt quite under pressure [where I did not climb well]. Then I went back to the crag by myself [I did] a traverse that you could do from the ground, I had a great time. I climbed so much better, it flowed because it was just me and the rock and what I wanted to do. There was no one there to pass any opinions and to distract me from what I was doing and I suppose it is that personal time. It is difficult to go climbing on your own, and I do go and do some soloing, but do not want to die, there is a fine line between the two. I used to do a lot more than I do now (Lorrie).

Wright and Gray (2013) express the prejudicial conundrum women like Lorrie face: on the one hand, they are considered odd for wanting to be a mountaineer in everyday society and on the other they endure an unrelenting level of scrutiny and expectation from the mountaineering community to conform. Women like Lorrie feel pressured to meet these expectations and as a result, overcompensate by pushing themselves to exhaustion and burnout. Due to these pressures, Lorrie had had to take time out to rest at her family home before returning to the world of mountaineering. The personal mantra of Hargreaves to take the harder option belies more than just the need to pursue a personal goal or challenge, it rings out like a warning: *take the harder option; you will regret it if you don't*; in other words, you will never measure up. The voice of society is ever present and has a major autoimmunitary impact on female mountaineers' ability to achieve a sense of wellbeing.

7.3.2 Grade-ism and difference

Grade-ism is punctuated with a jibing culture that insists a climber must 'man-up' or rise to the challenge. It is the kind of mountaineering banter or hard-talk levelled at those who are perceived to be backing out of a challenge, failing on a route, or considered to be not up to it. It is also adopted as an internal mantra, as climber Shelma Jun described on a particular climb:

> I felt pressure not to appear weak … by confessing my fears of making that crux move.... Unconsciously, I acted totally differently … I told myself I needed to 'man up'. There's a constant pressure to prove ourselves as strong and capable climbers (Jun 2016).

To man-up and appear strong and fearless is suggestive of a masculinising process that silences those inner voices of doubt, which can have positive effects. Engaging in the processes of self-talk in many instances is a necessary tool for survival, but it also internalises the pressure to constantly prove worth and a name. I also contend that it silences voice and narrows the choice of a climber in terms of what and how to climb, placing a constant pressure on female mountaineering spaces of difference. It is well documented that women

are achieving and climbing routes that in many cases equal male achievements, illustrated by mountaineer Hazel Findley, who became the first British woman to climb E9. However, such achievements are diminished by the widely held notion that 'The difference between men and women, both physically and mentally, has led many a man to state that women will never climb as hard as men' (Ryan 2005, p. 2). The common view held by men and women is that a female mountaineer is physically and emotionally deficient by being too short, not as strong, lacking the motivation, and getting scared too easily. Ryan (2005) describes how 'some men think that they possess some monopolistic evolutionary advantage when it comes to climbing' (ibid., p. 2). Prominent publisher Weil (2005), however, contests this, believing that 'climbing is a nearly perfect sport for women, one in which balance, finesse, and strength-to-weight ratio are more important than stand-alone power or speed' (p. 1) a point Mary Mummery had already argued in the 1880s. At the Banff Film Festival 2016, Lynn Hill was reported to have said that women like her were as capable as men, pointing out that whilst there were differences in her anatomy they had not held her back (in Enders 2017). Yet, like Hill, women are subject to grade-ist prejudices that undermine their achievements.

The only woman on her course, Caitlin had recently passed her MLW during which she had experienced a very challenging and potentially crushing experience*:* 'I got told off by my assessor for not walking quickly enough; it was not directly sexist, but I was the shortest person on the course.' The expectation was to walk at a speed of about 4km per hour, which Caitlin was more than capable of if she was using poles, but because of the intensity of the navigational exercise this was not possible and she fell behind:

> [The Assessor] came up to me and said 'Come on now you are taking the piss and it is not fair, if you can do 4km an hour on your leg you can do 4km an hour on other people's legs, you need to stop dragging behind because it is not fair on other people'. I told him that just before he turned around I fell over so I was just picking myself up so that was why I was behind. It was not true, and I felt a bit shitty because it was a comment on my fitness. I know I am unfit and normally it does not bother me but it just seemed unnecessary and I was not 100m behind, I was maybe 20 or 30m behind.

The temporal space of mountaineering is gendered, where speed is a mark of prowess and strength. Caitlin was more than capable, being awarded a strong pass on completion of her course, but her particular walking speed marked her as different enough to be subject to a debilitating form of sexism that led her to believe she was unfit. The marginal difference in speed was a cause for intolerance and discriminatory behaviour that knocked Caitlin's

confidence and made her question her fitness, which was a common concern for all the research participants. Grade-ism of this temporal nature can be traced through every aspect of mountaineering from to the difficulty of a route one is expected to climb to the speed at which it should be conducted. Guidebooks are a classic source of this kind of gendered temporality whereby a route might be described as taking a strong party one to two hours, when in fact a more reasonable amount of time would be three to four hours. Admittedly, in winter, speed is a matter of survival, however, Caitlin was only marginally slower than her male peers and had passed when others on her assessment did not. The temporal qualities of traditional mountaineering culture produce an atmosphere of fear that correlates masculine ideals of speed with fitness, thus producing a very narrowly defined *aesthetic* of movement. Temporal perceptions of speed were ingrained with the masculinised skills and emotions of managing risk, bravery and heroism. A trope that is transgressed by the very presence of woman producing the autoimmunitary reactions experienced by Caitlin.

7.3.3 Grade-ism: Out on the lead

The research participants talked about how they would find different ways to overcome these problems, through 'reading the rock' to find solutions. In winter, although the objective dangers are greater, Freddie found ice climbing became more of a 'level playing field' because bodily movements and the gear placements were more flexible than those experiences on rock routes established by male bodies (Freddie). Ice gives far more flexibility for movement because climbers do not have to necessarily make a specific foot or handhold or gear placement, being able to find solid placements in snow or ice that are in reach and fit with their body shapes. Leading in winter conditions was cited, therefore, as the most desirable kind of mountaineering route by the research participants.

However, it had taken some of the more experienced research participants many years before they had felt the confidence to stand their ground and assert the right to lead climb routes. Freddie had a continual challenge to carve a space to climb at a grade that suited her rather than be 'dragged up' something by her male partner:

> I realised that I needed these days for myself and so I said hang on you are going to come along for my day. I am not [going to be] bullied into it [I said] hang on a minute I want to do something for me, rather than stand and hold your ropes.

It had taken many years for Freddie to feel confident enough to assert her right to lead the routes she wanted to lead, and women taking the lead is still a social battleground that is

very much at stake (Ives 2016b; Kiewa 2001). The scarcity of women who lead as guides are reflected in those women who climb in less formal partnerships, who are all too often seen holding the ropes of a man (Hill 2003). To occupy the male space of mountaineering requires women to tread a fine line between being accepted and being ostracised. Ryan's (2005) notion of grade-ism picks up on the blatant sexism that courses through climbing and mountaineering that is so protective of the masculine traditions and upholds practices that are so prevalent that until recently they have not been questioned or challenged in any significant way. However, Selkie had started to question this value system, particularly the expectations placed on leaders to climb at certain grades when leading clients. She had drawn a clear line between what she was and was notprepared to do, but had been forced to accept that in the current male-dominated atmosphere her opportunities to work at the highest level was likely to be reduced:

> So I will have a serious conversation with the guys at the Lodge where are I am down to lead on the [winter climbing] programme this year … I do not think I am good enough, in as far as, I make a very active choice that I am not going to climb grade V with clients in winter it is just too dangerous (Selkie)
>
> Is that really the mark? (Jenny)
>
> It is certainly perceived to be. It was a big point and topic of discussion this week about pushing up the grade for the MIC qualification (Selkie)
>
> Most people do not climb that grade (Jenny)
>
> No, well, they do not see that; they absolutely do not see that (Selkie)
>
> Most people who hire climbing guides do not climb that grade and they are the people with the money (Jenny)
>
> They do not see that either. There were three of us who were trying to get that across, but they did not see that because they are so far removed from that grade, [for example] you have an international guide saying grade III is really easy, it is like walking, it is not a climbing grade and I was just sitting there thinking OMG you really have no idea. [When teaching] I fully appreciate people getting gripped on a VDiff slab and people getting the heebee jeebees when they are on snow and they have not got any runners on a grade I gully. But these guys just don't see it. So if that is the expectation for training and assessment at MIC [to increase the grade] that is where you need to be at [for leading professionally] (Selkie)

The industry debate Selkie had participated in concerned raising the assessment grade for MIC (currently grade III) to grade V and for her demonstrated an industry that was out of

touch with the needs and expectations of aspirant MICs and their clients. For her, it highlighted an overwhelming desire to preserve traditional old fashioned approaches in mountaineering, sending a resounding message that climbing hard is the mark of a good mountaineer. Selkie's experience of climbing in the Scottish winter with clients at grade V had become untenable because of the increasingly unpredictable weather conditions in Scotland. The Scottish winter has always had a notorious reputation for changeable conditions and, with the onset of global warming, routes that would have normally been frozen and covered in a good stable layer of snow are now much harder and more dangerous due to poor quality snow and loose rock. In Selkie's opinion, professional judgement was often clouded by ego driving many mountain leaders into dangerous heuristic behaviours to retain a name. This jostling for a position meant few were willing to speak out and challenge macho ideals of what mountaineers should be climbing both personally and with their clients.

Lorrie had been physically sick through worry about taking clients out in conditions that she considered being potentially very dangerous because she felt like she did not have an option. I asked why she felt she had to go out in these conditions and she explained that as a MIC, to be considered a serious mountaineer worth hiring to take out clients she had to be leading at grade V, even in marginal conditions. This had led her to burn out and lose the capacity to enjoy her personal mountaineering. The research revealed a hidden atmosphere of grade-ism that inflates the professional grades a mountaineer is expected to perform commercially. For example, the requirement to pass MIA is VS 4c (summer rock) and for MIC is grade III in winter, levels that would cover most classic mountaineering routes in the British Isles (MT 2017; Barratt 2010). However, leaders feel the need to climb much harder to achieve the required level to be perceived to be competent enough. Once qualified leaders are then expected to lead clients on routes above grade III in winter, with four of the women expressing how the pressure to perform impacted negatively on them in terms of self-esteem and economically if they refused opportunities.

It could be argued that grade VS 4c for MIA and grade III for MIC are minimum requirements needed because being able to climb much harder a leader will be far more confident leading in all weather conditions and therefore more able to ensure the safety of their clients. However, the ambivalent nature of what is perceived to be hard enough creates a mode of competition that sets ever-increasing expectations in terms of what constitutes a hard climber and thus brings grade-ism into play. Julia (2016) described how one of her friends, a female MIA, despite climbing competently at the required level found it difficult to find

climbing partners when she was preparing for her MIA assessment because she was perceived to not climb hard enough (Field notes, 10 November 2016).

The forces of grade-ism profoundly affected the female research participants, often pushing them both professionally, and on a personal level, to repeatedly climb particular test piece routes (routes that *should* be included in a *hard* mountaineers log book) like Vector or mountaineering routes like Smiths and Point Five gullies, both grade V routes on Ben Nevis. For MICs, in a similar way to MIAs, there is an expectation that they can operate in all but the most dangerous conditions, at VS 4c or grade V. The pressure to conform made four of the research participants feel they were not up to it or not good enough despite all of them being highly competent, collectively having completed some of the most serious high altitude mountaineering routes across the globe. That is not to say that setting high standards is a bad thing but like all grading systems it has the potential to both bring out the best in people and also create a toxic exclusivity that prevents those of different backgrounds from engaging in an activity to their full potential. Grade-ism, I suggest, drives a continual need to prove worth, to feel good enough, and to be accepted, placing pressure on female mountaineers to perform sometimes beyond their capacity. Grade-ism is one of the cornerstones of traditional mountaineering and can be a corrosive form of power-play that acts to discriminate, exclude and alienate those who might do things differently. This was no more acutely felt than when women were either considering having a family or had to juggle their mountaineering with familial responsibilities.

7.3.4 Grade-ism: Maternalism, sacrifice and relationships

Sacrificing motherhood to be a mountaineer was keenly felt by the research participants and their female peers (McNeil, Harris and Fondren 2012). Ahmed (2017) suggests that societal expectations placed on women who forego having children or who return to mountaineering after having children are wilful, demonstrated by the media backlash following Hargreaves' death. Resisting social norms creates an ethical dilemma restricting space women occupy as mountaineers and the space they do create often comes at a significant personal cost. Frohlick, in her 2006 paper 'Wanting the children and wanting K2', explored how mother-mountaineers' ambitions are affected by the dominant discourse concerning motherhood:

> Mountaineering, written about as a masculine desire to escape domesticity, for fraternal camaraderie and so forth, is anti-ethical to an ideology of motherhood as 'sacrificial' and 'intensive'. Professional

> female alpinists do not escape identity as mothers, while men are freed from fatherhood (p. 488).

The research participants felt the pressure to conform and were acutely aware that If you do not have children you are portrayed as hard-hearted, cruel and odd, and if you do have children you are portrayed as selfish and unfeeling (Frohlick 2006). Most of the participants talked about how they either had regrets that they had not had children or described the challenges and restrictions they faced if they wanted or did have a family.

In working so hard to create space to be mountaineers, the research participants found themselves having to relinquish space, social capital and identity when choosing to have or not to have children (Ahmed 2017). In Lorrie's case this had occurred incrementally, where she had become 'slightly more risk averse than I was and I think that is partly because I would quite like to have a family one day.' At a relatively young age (late twenties) Lorrie was self-electing to take on less adventurous challenges and tone down the risks she was prepared to take: 'I think [it] makes me less keen to take unnecessary risks … there is almost a greater reason to stay alive'. Lorrie's shifting attitude toward risk had compelled her to reconsider whether she should continue with an ambition to gain the highest level of mountaineering qualification of BMG guide. Sandberg (2013) suggests that women self-elect not to take opportunities well in advance of having a family thus constricting their space or life chances. Similarly, Jo was feeling the pressure to meet the expectations of her partner and also her own desires to have a family, but faced a huge dilemma in terms of how this would affect her career. Having recently completed her MIA she was keen to see if she could achieve her MIC. The personal cost to her career by having children at this particular moment would mean giving up her ambition and potentially leaving the industry:

> I do not want to leave the industry [to have children] because I would not know how to come back into it and [I do not know] whether I would want to come back into it doing this …. I do not feel like I am quite ready to step aside and do that yet (Jo).

This is certainly an issue that does not affect male mountaineers to the degree it does females. Jo was also feeling a keen sense that her age was an issue, she felt that being in her early thirties increased the chances of medical problems during pregnancy. This made her feel like she needed to decide soon because 'it is something I cannot be too selfish about and I do want kids and [Andrew] is ready to have kids now so I cannot be too selfish about it.' I asked her how she felt about this, and she replied:

> a bit torn really …. If did go and have babies now my outdoor career would be, not over, but I would find it very hard to step back into the position I am in now …. Getting work at the national centre and having a name is actually quite a thing in the outdoor industry and if my name is then Jo with a baby then it is quite difficult to come back. [Largely] because someone will have taken that place and there will not be that space anymore and I would have to start again … building up my reputation and that is quite difficult …. That is a choice I am going to have to make or I get my head down and rattle off my MIC …, which is still going to be two years minimum and that [means I would be] 33 [years old]. It is doable … it is … something that is going on in my head …, it is a sacrifice. In the freelance industry it is going to be very difficult to get back into [a similar position] …. It is built on reputation and then you leave and go and have babies. It is not like a qualification in a school [for example if] you are a deputy head, you could go back into [being a] deputy head or something. [Unlike in the outdoor industry, where] you would have to work back up to being an instructor and then get that reputation back again.

The social capital that Jo had recently enjoyed in passing her MIA had fuelled a sense of confidence, widening the mountaineering space in which she could operate. Her peers viewed her differently but more importantly, she viewed herself differently. For Jo to have children meant giving up both social and therefore economic capital and relinquishing that hard-won space. Jo felt constrained by a time sensitivity to complete her qualifications because she perceived her age to be pushing the boundaries of what she believed was normal, in terms of the right age to have children. Such pressure, I argue, is another form of grade-ism where a name is only valid if it is current; making Jo feel that past experience would not hold weight when she tried to return to work. Mountaineers need to be very mobile, adopting a lifestyle that requires intense dedication and sacrifice (Rickly-Boyd 2012) and which involves travelling to where the work and mountaineering sites exist. Such a lifestyle, it could be argued, is at odds with the sacrifice required to stay put and be a mother. Jo was part of a community of professional mountaineers and had adopted the collective identity of that community, but it was unclear how she would negotiate positionality in the future if she started a family (Rickly-Boyd 2012). Prioritising space to be a mountaineer can lead to a debilitating conundrum for women when they encounter issues such as having children and managing familial responsibilities in a sector that does little to support such needs (Little 2002).

However, women do find different ways to negotiate their mountaineering lives following the arrival of children. Julia had always prioritised mountaineering from the moment her children could walk. She negotiated a strategy which enabled her to undertake what some would

consider outrageous risks, climbing routes with her children. Although Julia felt her opportunities to mountaineer had been curtailed at an early age (in her twenties) she had found space to mountaineer by encouraging and developing her passion through her sons. Her youngest son (now a world-leading climber) lapped up the opportunities, developing an ever-increasing appetite for scrambling by doing many classic routes after school with Julia. However, Julia was annoyed by the way other people often judged her approach to mountaineering with her sons as somehow dangerous or irresponsible. Rejecting the cultural pressures to conform she described a day where she and her youngest son had climbed a famous grade I ridge in winter, without equipment such as ice axe and crampons. She knew her child could do it and strongly believed it was better to allow a child to understand the physical and muscular processes that are needed to negotiate challenging surfaces such as ice patches on rock and steep ground. In her view equipment did not necessarily make an activity safer if the muscular skills had not been developed to cope with or understand how to move over a surface, thus the introduction of technical equipment did not solve this skills gap. During this adventure, Julia and her son had encountered a father and two children wearing all the 'correct' equipment and had been reprimanded by the father for her 'irresponsible actions' (Julia). Julia felt the guilt of being non-conformist but was adamant that she knew her child well enough and had utter confidence that they were safe. She concluded with the rejection of social norms that promotes the 'over-protection' of children (Julia). She had found space to engage in her love of mountaineering whilst her children were young. She had lived her mountaineering needs through her children's development thus negotiating her own space to be a mountaineer (Newbery 2004). Julia's experience was the exception, with all the other research participants having made the decision not to have children in preference of their mountaineering; or, as Jo and Lorrie, were struggling with how they might incorporate a family in their lives and the potential sacrifices they would have to make to do so. The grade-ist culture acutely affected the research participants' approaches to having families and raising children, where normative values impacted significantly on their space to mountaineer. The autoimmunitary backlash they had experienced or anticipated was marked and highly debilitating.

7.3.5 Grade-ism: Finding space in female company

To quell the more negative aspects of grade-ist culture female mountaineers do find space to climb how they want to climb by climbing with other women. Lorrie was planning one such mountaineering trip with two other female peers, where they had agreed on a rule to just

climb whatever felt good. Scholars have shown how all female climbing teams found that climbing with other women proved to be more fulfilling, collaborative and supportive, creating the space needed to feel the freedom to be the climber they wanted to be (Barrett and Martin 2016; Kiewa 2001):

> I would like to go to Alaska and do some big stuff. I would quite like to go anywhere like that but without such a high objective, to go and climb some cool things. To see what it is like to just get a feel for a totally different mountain range without it being too high pressure. So there has been talk of a trip with a couple of other girls maybe this spring. We want to go and experience it and climb whatever we want to climb rather than having a really determined objective (Lorrie).

The space such trips created was one seemingly free of ego and where collaboration, feedback and nurturing could be more outwardly exhibited. Lorrie hinted at the desire to *feel* the mountain range or develop an embodied sense of place within the mountains with an all-female trip opening the possibility for the space to fail and not to go for the biggest prize. Research has shown that men do treat women differently on expeditions even if overt sexism is not present, and women often feel undermined by being subjected to unwanted chivalry, being used as confidantes, not being listened to, and being teamed-up with male companions who are dismissive of giving feedback (Barrett and Martin 2016). Not exclusively so but all-female expeditions tend to be more social in nature and concerned with the wellbeing of others working hard to maintain positive relationships (ibid.).

The masculinised grading of bodies combined with the physical place of mountaineering forged by male bodies creates an environment where women have to psychologically and physically adopt masculine practices. Moreover, the climate of competition is so intense that it can have negative autoimmunitary affects fuelling the fear of not measuring up, driving women to work harder and burn out (ibid.). To be free of masculinised competitive forces, women have always and continue to seek male free spaces and in doing so, as Haraway (1988) points out, adaptation occurs and feminine innovations emerge, as I detailed in the previous chapter, subverting and mapping new boundaries. This desire to find alternative spaces to conduct mountaineering is indicative of how under-valued softer skills are how these and feminised and not considered to be the norm. But such alternative spaces, I argue, mark women as oddities and have requirements that are outside the norm. Female only spaces, although hugely positive, do little to normalise women as mountaineers and contribute to reinforcing the status quo. In the next section, I consider the particular

subjective behaviours women exhibit that both inhibit and have the potential to offer solutions for the future.

7.4 Subjective barriers, softer-skills and solutions

Barriers that reduce women's access to mountaineering are complex; ranging from the experiences of Jo and her business partner deciding not to offer a product that was perceived to be too *feminine,* to women like Caitlin harbouring conflictual negative perceptions of a physical feminine self not being good enough, in tandem with the fear that participation may lead to a loss of femininity. This is compounded by fear of being ostracised for appearing too pushy/forward in their views, like Annie, and therefore taking up too much space (McNeil, Harris and Fondren 2012). I asked all of the participants if they thought women did mountaineering differently. In response the research participants that were climbers, as well as mountaineers, talked about how their peers would make assumptions about what they could climb, saying: 'oh, that route would be good for you, it is delicate, balancey, and it is a more of female friendly route' (Selkie). Such assumptions have led to the perception that women are: 'too short, not as strong, lack the motivation, get scared too easily' (Ryan 2005). Yet women like Hill, Arnot Reid and Hargreaves, have proven they can climb and mountaineer as hard, and in some cases better than men. Performing at the highest level is not then a question of biology, but about how hard women are prepared to train and make sacrifices. The critical point is that women have to invent a style and attitude to climbing that both transcends the physical problems of making an ascent as well as the perception that women cannot climb particular kinds of routes. Hill developed a climbing technique that rejected gender norms to climb in a masculine way, 'debunking the myth that a woman's stature is inadequate for the task' (Chisholm 2008, p. 21). Hill trained hard to create physical solutions to the problems presented by the very hardest routes, creating a specific feminine way of moving to overcome any biological difference. Hill's approach to learning and training was built upon a specific feminine approach that points to a need to normalise difference that incorporates the use of softer-skills.

7.4.1 Gender sensitive pedagogy: Softer skills

When discussing challenges and barriers in mountaineering, the research participants predominantly considered softer-skills to be more important than technical skills (Warren 2016; Dingle and Kiewa 2006; Warren and Loeffler 2006; Sharp 2001). These place greater emphasis on competencies like consensus decision-making, cooperation, emotional empathy

and are relationship focused; in contrast to being competitive, demonstrating strength, toughness, being technically focused and proving oneself (Barrett and Martin 2016; Sharp 2001). Most of the female participants felt softer skills were central to staying alive in extreme environments. In addition, when talking about how to address female engagement and participation in mountaineering the research participants felt that the training programmes needed to formalise the delivery of softer skills. As Sharp (2001) identified, women, placed greater importance on qualities such as communication compared to hard technical skills, which suggests a need for a 'gender-sensitive pedagogy' (Warren 2016, p. 361). Warren (2016) argues women learn technical skills differently than men, requiring a non-competitive space for the repetitive practice of skills to counter lack of skills developed in childhood as a result of social conditioning. The gendered choices children and teenagers made regarding which sports they could or could not participate in was a point that Jo raised when teaching mountain biking to school children. She found girls did not believe it was an activity for them and if they did they were negatively marked out as tomboys or different. Jo felt the societal pressure to conform was ingrained in the teenagers she taught (14/15 year olds) and was probably impossible to change:

> [M]ountain biking is very much seen as a boy's world (Jo)
>
> It is a shame … it is great that schools are pulling you in to give that female perspective? (Jenny)
>
> It is a little too little too late though …. If you manage to change the climate a little bit earlier they might take it a bit more seriously and think of it as … something worthwhile …. It is about getting in there earlier [to avoid that] segregation between boys and girls (Jo)

To be marked as a tomboy represented a loss of femininity and was thus untenable for Jo's students. The linguistic and territorial sexism in teaching environments were a factor that affected all the research participants. For example, the labelling of routes that required the skills of balance and crimping on small holds as 'female friendly' reinforced embodied notions of what women could and could not do (Warren 2016, p. 362). When running female specific engagement programmes, managing groups or expeditions, the female participants raised specific differences and needs. Jo's experience of setting up a women's only mountaineering business meant she had significant experience of designing specially tailored courses to address some of these needs:

> I find that a lot of it is confidence related, so if I can have conversations with women [I try to] instil confidence into them and let them know they are doing really well and doing the right things, you get much more from them [that way]. Men kind of want to be challenged and just get on with it [whereas] women need a lot more feedback [and] generally a bit more input (Jo)
>
> What sort of feedback? (Jenny)
>
> [they want to know] when they are getting it right and the tools they might use … and if they are finding it difficult why they might be finding it difficult. … Letting them know that it is just difficult at that point because the wind is kicking off or it is snowing in your face or whatever it might be, it is not them that are doing it wrong it is just difficult and it might take a while …. It is almost like 'bigging' them up (Jo)
>
> How do you manage the negative voices? (Jenny)
>
> I suppose it is equipping them with confidence, and all I can do is impart what I have found works for me and give them the tools. In that sense [things like] breathing, focusing on one thing at a time, not biting off more than they can chew and also doing things with others that makes them feel comfortable and not stressed. I think that is important [that they go] out with people who they … feel totally comfortable around and maybe not their partners (Jo)

Jo found women needed a much higher level of reassurance and feedback that was not hampered by an overtly masculine competitive atmosphere and, importantly, was led by a strong female role model (Lingis 1999). She also found that women who attended courses with their partners were often less receptive to pushing themselves, so as a result, the amount of female specific climbing and mountaineering courses has risen significantly (MT 2017). The majority of research participants reported the value of female specific mountaineering training and guiding as a means to address some of the challenges women face. Annie described how she felt that women had a different learning style, expressing that 'women don't see 3D maps as well' and how:

> just being able to talk and trying to explain things in several different ways rather than this is it and if you do not understand you are thick. … trying to be a bit softer …, having a laugh when people are rope dyslexic … and that it is O.K (Annie)

Annie talked about putting people at ease and wanting to be seen as a person who does that, citing how she had 'felt that pressure' or masculine competitiveness. She emphasised the importance of humour as a tool to sabotage the normative gender discourse in mountaineering which pinpointed the incongruity between 'the way things are supposed to

be and the way things are' (Green 1998, p. 181). Annie utilised the feminine traits of feedback and female friendship building to ease tension through emphasising similarities between her own experiences and transferring knowledge in a more empathetic way. This suggests Annie also wanted to be seen as person who was empathetic and was good at building social relationships between people, thus reaffirming an identity as someone who was good at using those softer skills. When conducting major expeditions Annie described how collaboration was key to survival and she talked about how most people she had worked with would collaboratively make decisions because the weight of responsibility was too great to bear, particularly when new routing. She talked about how the atmosphere had to be collaborative and people should be open and share anything that was considered to be significant, stating 'it is important that sharing occurs, it is everybody's lives.'

Building and maintaining social relationships through feedback, empathy and diffusing tension through humour were key traits the research participants utilised in every aspect of their mountaineering. However, the utilisation of these softer skills was not openly shared or voiced and suppressed in some instances like Jo feeling uncomfortable delivering female only courses, and Freddie playing down the need for female courses reducing it to trivial matters like managing long hair. Seemingly, representing a regression in terms of how hard women have fought to make ground like the establishment of the Pinnacle club, Kogan's expedition to Cho Oyu and Arkless and Lawrence's female specific courses. The autoimmunitary dominant male discourse continues to threaten female specific or gender sensitive spaces that are evidently needed as I further illustrate.

7.4.2 Learning without ego, a feminine approach

In recent years Selkie had experienced a change of attitudes, signalling a need for a more feminine approach to teaching mountaineering in formal education. She had received feedback about, 'male students [who] say it has been really good going out with a female instructor because [they]… do not feel like [they] … have … to compete with [my]… ego all day' (Selkie), demonstrating a need that males as well as females require greater balance and diversity in their training experiences. Competitiveness has its place, but can so often crush the learning processes of those less confident. On a separate occasion whilst instructing on a national mountaineering qualification programme Selkie received the following feedback:

> a man on a winter [Mountain Leaders course], in his individual debrief, said I want to be you (laughs). I just sat there and thought bloody hell what a thing for a man to say … he said I want to do what you are doing

> the way you do it. I thought wow that is a compliment …. So there are people who are able to express how they feel. It highlights for me, those few statements you get back from men, … [that] they really like having a female instructor and that I can provide something that the male instructors cannot.

Selkie had felt empowered by this recognition, albeit small, of the growing need for different ways to teach skills within mountaineering. Her surprise at these assertions signified how rare and recent they were and such private revelations represented a chink of light that emotional space was beginning to widen and diversify within the mountaineering community. Moreover such revelations represented an emotional space encompassing those often talked about in mountaineering education circles but poorly defined softer skills that include empathy, collaboration, support and care. The opportunity presented by outwardly sharing emotional experiences represents a wealth of untapped knowledge that could enhance a mountaineer's personal safety and wellbeing. This more feminine approach does seem to be emerging as an important shift in mountaineering practice, however its recognition and application are still limited. Feminine styles of leadership that are so clearly valued however can be subject to undermining behaviours that cast women as oddities or superwomen, making female mountaineering seem unattainable. Thus, the task of finding this voice and projecting it more openly to the wider community is still very much at stake.

7.4.3 Space to Lead: Debunking the myth of Superwoman

Researchers have considered how women who demonstrate traditional masculine leadership in the outdoors are devalued by peers, employers and clients (Warren 2016; Wittmer 2001). In an effort to take up less space and not be ostracised the participants had a tendency to be more collaborative, which led some of these highly experienced and competent women to take a back seat (Sharp 2001). Lorrie (2016) described how a very competent female mountaineering friend had initially assumed the role of second on a big route in the Dolomites but was forced to take over the lead when her boyfriend had become unwell. The experience had been revelatory for Lorrie's friend who expressed how she had felt like she had 'superpowers' and was ecstatic that she could overcome her fears and lead. I asked Lorrie why she thought women did not take the lead as often as men: 'I think women … tend to be … more amenable to make life easier for everyone else.' This led her to reason that women tended to:

> hang back a little if somebody else is taking charge …. Often it takes somebody to step down from that role for us to step up and go, alright, I

> had better start. Once you are given that position it is amazing how you … just take to it.

The feminine mode of modesty is still prevalent in contemporary mountaineering and illustrates a classic example of avoiding autoimmunitary reactions. However, when women do take the lead, they are subject to a discourse that sets them even farther apart as 'other' by being referred to as having superpowers or not normal. The phenomenon of being classed as a 'superwoman' divorces the achievement from average women, effectively rendering any status as a role model devoid because the demonstration of skills is perceived to be so beyond that of normal female ability (Warren 2016, p. 361). The perception and process of heroising womens' achievements reduces space, through the processes of affect, by placing women outside of a normal frame of reference. The atmosphere of heroism has the affect of reducing feminine mountaineering accomplishments to a mythological status unreachable by the ordinary.

Sharp's (2001) analysis that his female research participants had a tendency to be more collaborative than competitive goes perhaps some way toward explaining why a preference for terms like wellbeing, achievement, building confidence, self-reliance, setting personal goals and self-esteem were used to describe why the participants engaged in mountaineering, in contrast to more masculine competitive language (Kirkpatrick 2014). Creating space represented a continual struggle between the research participants and their partners, husbands, clients, employers and peers to be accepted as leaders. All the participants shared stories of how they had had to prove themselves to be as good if not better than their male companions and where they had to contend with deflecting gender prejudices along with the bodily challenges of performing routes created by men.

Freddie described how on a particular multi-pitch ice route on Ben Nevis she had surprised her male climbing partner by going for it. The pitch she led required her to climb steep ice with minimal gear and set up a marginal belay at the end. Freddie expressed her satisfaction at achieving this, where she had recast herself in a role as a hard leader that effectively expanded her space to climb (Lewis 2000). Freddie had momentarily broken through a glass ceiling where 'Females are expected to underperform compared with their male climbing partners … when this does not happen, gender becomes associated with accomplishment' (Rickly-Boyd 2012, p. 93). This moment in Freddie's climbing career marked a major step forward, it challenged her male climbing partner's and her own perceptions about what her body could do and how they climbed together. Female mountaineering is thus, in a similar

way to climbing, 'a highly gendered experience, particularly off the rock face' (ibid.) where they are subject to subtle messages about what female bodies are capable of and are permitted and not permitted to do. In some cases when they do surpass this, as Freddie had done, it becomes an exceptional and an unexpected moment and one of distinction. Freddie had broken the norm; she had momentarily become '*superwoman*' to her partner and subsequently faced a continual struggle to retain the space to lead in their relationship (Warren 2016, p. 361). The incongruent nature of building a reputation with everyday society is a key problem for women to attain and retain the confidence push their mountaineering, as I discuss next.

7.4.4 Mountaineering bodies: Perceptions of self

How women perceive themselves and each other is problematic. Caitlin did not perceive herself to fit the mould of an 'ideal' mountaineer, so I asked her what the ideal mountaineer should be like? She replied that such a person should be someone who was 'good looking, slim, hard as nails and who was one step ahead from where she was.' During the co-mountaineering day, I spent with Caitlin she referred many times to her body shape and fitness, describing them to be not up to the 'standard' of mountaineers. She often felt a sense of inadequacy in terms of measuring up to the expectations of her largely male clients:

> Interestingly with clients, it has not caught me out. I had been hired for this job [to take three men up Ben Nevis]. This taxi drew up with two 6ft really fit looking guys [I thought] shit I am going to be running up this mountain trying to keep up. Then the back door opened and this short fat guy got out (laughs), I [thought] I love you, I love you already and you are going to keep me company and give me an excuse to be at the back. That was the only time I thought it was going to affect me professionally. I am not even that slow, I am slower than most people, I am not desperately slow.

Despite the fact that she had led many expeditions and had just been hired to lead a five-week Artic expedition in Finland, body image preyed heavily on Caitlin's sense of identity and what a mountaineering body should be. The notion that women are not strong enough, big enough, hard enough, and so on came up as a problem when operating in such physically demanding environments.

The research participants felt the continual need to justify their ability to cope and operate successfully in difficult conditions. Within sport and in particular climbing and mountaineering there is an ideal body type associated with optimal performance: to be lean,

muscular and weathered facially, showing the inscription of the environments which they have inhabited. The pressure to conform to a body type made the research participants feel that if they did not conform they would be open to speculation, as not being competent or capable enough (Rickly-Boyd 2012). Thus, not conforming to a muscular masculine body shape makes achieving acceptance and a sense of belonging even harder. To counter this, the research participants sought to assert their status and mountaineering identities through engaging in heroic storytelling, wearing the right clothing, being technically astute and moving in masculine ways. However, adopting masculine language traits, clothing and movement despite retaining their feminine body shapes produces the criticism of appearing too masculine and not feminine enough. Women mountaineers are caught between constructs of femininity based on white, middle-class, heterosexual models of beauty where they face an 'untenable dilemma of trying to resist oppressive stereotypes of femininity' (Warren 2016, p. 361) to gain acceptance as a mountaineer. The mountaineering physiological ideal sets women apart, leading to poor perceptions of self that, combined with female-specific physiological challenges, leads to significant barriers to participation, which I consider next.

7.4.5 Taboos and outing hidden anxieties

Many of the barriers women experienced were as a result of hidden anxieties and finding space to express these concerns were not always that easy, with women's only courses and training being one solution. However, to make a change it was clear that women needed to be more open about when they find things difficult, Jo believed:

> It is about being honest about things women might find more difficult than men. A woman might find something really difficult because she is quite slight and petite and she might find cutting steps into the ice really hard. It is about not belittling that aspect [by] saying we should be equal to men. [It's finding a way to say] you should be able to do this well; you are finding this hard because you are quite small.... You would not say that you are shying away from those things … [you would frame it by saying] how can we work around this, can we work on the technique and not just use brute force for it …. Women make better climbers because we are technically better than men [and we do not] just go and thug our way up something.

When working with women Jo had to continually reassure women when they were finding tasks difficult it was a matter of technique. She acted as a buffer against the ingrained beliefs that hampered the progression of her female clients, believing that through adaptation women could do these tasks as well as others. However, Jo felt women had a responsibility to

be more open and share when they were finding it hard because in her experience working on technique produced results. The assumptions made about size, shape and so on in terms of what constitutes a model mountaineer so invades a woman's sense of confidence that even the very best female mountaineers feel like they do not make the grade.

A woman's shape and size were not the only psychological and physiological problems women faced when out mountaineering:

> people are coming on a women's course because they want to find out how other women cope with it. [Things like] how do you manage long hair on a winter's day and a buff is really useful for keeping your fringe out of your face and things like that are maybe more women specific (Freddie).

Freddie thought the biggest barrier was 'the embarrassment factor' in terms of providing strategies to deal with normal physiological functions experienced by women that could very easily be missed in a mixed group. Developing a 'camel bladder' was often a strategy that women experienced to preserve modesty, often choosing this over the embarrassment of virtually having to undress to relieve themselves, particularly during winter. All women's groups provided the opportunity to more openly discuss strategies for dealing with menstruation, going to the toilet and hormonal issues as well as how to access female-specific equipment and clothing. However, generally, subjects like menstruation, menopause and defecation remain taboo, forming a barrier to participation for aspirant mountaineers as well as leaders. Annie's experience of the menopause had effectively grounded her from conducting any major expeditions to the Greater Ranges. This was due to the physiological effects being potentially life-threatening through not being able to make rational decisions or the high possibility of developing hypothermia after a night sweat occurring within a sleeping bag. Menopause was a topic Annie felt needed to be shared more widely within the guiding community to develop a greater understanding of how this affected women. In recognition of the need to be more open about such issues, the Women's Adventure Expo (2017) have recently launched their *Managing Menstruation in Extreme Environments Project (MMiEEP),* to identify issues and to find practical solutions that promote women's health and wellbeing. Until the launch of projects like MMiEEP taboo topics like these have remained hidden issues and certainly have not been the subject of research in mountaineering.

Outwardly expressing emotions like crying when under pressure was a deeply challenging issue for the research participants. In an attempt to control her emotions, Jo had purchased three self-help books before undertaking her MIA assessment, even though she did not read

them, just the act of buying them was enough to help her calm her emotions. The question that concerned her the most was how 'when the pressure is on how you stop yourself from crumbling … that was one of my biggest worries.' The fear or stigma attached to crying in this context was so great that it had prevented Jo from progressing as fast as she would have liked. Crying, although purely a response to relieve stress, represented weakness and a lack of personal control. This perceived sense of shame is so powerful that it acts, I argue, as a significant barrier for women progressing through the national qualification system. The pressure felt during qualification assessments was considered, by most of the research participants, to be a result of programmes being too heavily focused on technical skills and not differentiating between different needs and styles. The assessment process for national qualifications was also felt to be determined by subjective views of whoever might be assessing the individual at the time and not necessarily standardised.

The seemingly masculinised, inconsistent and autocratic way in which national qualifications in mountaineering are delivered continue to act as a major barrier for women progressing in their ambitions to be professional mountaineers (MT 2017). The need to shake up the way qualifications is assessed was a particular concern for all of the research participants. Jo offered a solution by drawing a parallel with the British Canoeing qualification programmes who have adopted a differentiated group style of assessment, expressing how:

> The paddling world is doing wonders in terms of that coaching approach … it is really good because it is all about coaching in the environment we create. The model is TTPP - Tactical Technical Physical Psychological. Before assessments were all about the practical and the physical sides of it and disregarded the psychological and some of the tactical side of it. They are talking about making assessments where you need to feel like you have ownership of that course/assessment and that you are directing it in some way, such as working in a group. Do this task and come back to me and tell me what you found difficult [in that way] you direct the learning and you have ownership of it. Part of the assessment might be - we need to see this today, where do you want to start? So you dictate where and what you are doing [which brings in] the psychological side, which is really valuable and it's definitely forward thinking.

Jo understood how psychological pressures could be so damaging and that by giving women tactics for managing emotions was crucial for their development. Raising awareness and discussion on these topics by creating spaces where women and men can openly debate these issues could be hugely liberating for all, leading to greater knowledge and a sharing of appropriate coping strategies, for caring for clients as well as developing training techniques and models of assessment.

7.5 Leadership training: Female only spaces

Selkie described how female leaders were often better equipped with soft skills and were prepared to be open when given the right environment. She had also witnessed how aspirant female mountaineers worked hard and over-prepared, when taking higher qualifications that led to a very high pass rate. However, the dropout rate of female aspirants between training programmes and assessment for schemes like MIA and MIC are appalling. MT (2017) believes one of the chief reasons is women feel they are not good enough, a factor that spans all ages and affected all of the research participants (Warren and Loeffler 2006). In an attempt to address this MT and the Association of Mountain Instructors (AMI) implemented a feedback orientated approach by trailing an intensive one to one female mentoring programme in 2016. The scheme was developed to address the catastrophic fallout rate between their higher level training and assessment mountaineering programmes for schemes like MIA and MIC. MT contacted ten women, who had completed training but had not progressed to assessment, and of these ten women seven had passed (MT 2017 see table 1 p. 46). The scheme, however, has met with a considerable backlash, with male peers belittling those women that have passed as being given a softer ride at assessment (Selkie). Selkie described how it was rare for women taking MIA and MIC to fail, however, the overall pass rate for men and women was 40 per cent for the scheme. In her experience, the low overall pass rate had nothing to do with the women who achieved a very high pass rate. She talked about how men had jumped on the bandwagon, demanding the same access to mentoring resources and effectively undermining the scheme. Ryan (2005) referred to this:

> as an inevitable backlash if there is even mention of positive encouragement for women, there is still negativity if you mention special treatment or even a little extra encouragement for women (Ryan 2005, p. 2).

The misguided demands of male colleagues to receive equality in terms of access to mentoring resources effectively damaged a very productive and successful programme of engagement for women. This divisive behaviour exhibited by both males and females had served to make women wary of being associated with the initiative. Thus, finding space to develop as a female mountaineer is highly problematic and even more so for those who want to make a change. Despite this, the programme did improve assessment rates significantly and certainly supported Jo's view that:

> There should be different approaches to the way we are assessed, trained and coached …. We need more feedback and talk around the issue [I also]

> think there are probably quite a lot of blokes that would want that too. There is a generalised sweeping statement that more females want a softly softly … feedback kind of approach and why not have that?

In Jo's experience giving feedback helped to reduce women's anxiety about feeling not good enough and would provide that reassurance and confidence to progress. However, competing with men often led women to feel like they could not keep up or match male peers, whether this was on higher level courses or as clients on a group journey. This is also true when guiding clients, as illustrated by alpine guide Abby Watkins:

> Being guided or taught by a man does not apply as directly as being guided or taught by a woman. Watching a man do something bears no significance to a woman – it simply does not apply to her. … it is more tangible, easily transferable, to watch a women climb: I am in essence watching my own form – the form I most naturally, inherently relate to and identify with – and it doesn't stop at movement, but encompasses attitude and composure as well (in Loomis 2005, p. 103).

Gender sensitive spaces are proven to bear fruit when women are pioneering first ascents, exemplified by Junko Tabei, the first woman to summit Everest and veteran of all-women expeditions having participated in forty-four at high altitude:

> The satisfaction I get from women-only expeditions is greater than from mixed expeditions. When the members have similar physical conditions, climbing becomes equal among them. … I feel much happier when we overcome difficulties with only women (in Loomis 2005, p. 102).

Tabei's experience epitomises what can be achieved when women have access to appropriate spaces for development and realising their ambitions. This is no truer than when considering temporality, where women have a very different sense of speed and time when mountaineering, as I discuss next.

7.5.1 Temporal nature of being competent

Masculine perceptions of the speed at which tasks should be conducted affected the research participants by making them feel like they were slow in their performance. Selkie had observed that women, in some instances, did need more time to complete similar tasks to males when under MIA or MIC assessment conditions. The research participants often, when leading mixed groups, had experienced female clients express either verbally or through body language by hanging back that they felt slow or made to feel so by the pace set by men. The temporal experience of mountaineering for the research participants was compressed into a

masculine ideal of how long a task should take. The temporal qualities of how time is experienced by women mountaineers were a point of difference that had a debilitating effect on confidence because to be perceived to be taking too much time is considered to be a sign of incompetence. Such an affect was reflected in Caitlin's MLW assessment and Nea and Denise Morin's experience of climbing the Grépon.

Mountaineering is time critical where taking too much time over a task could be argued is dangerous; thus, speed is a valued competence in mountaincraft, for example, if you take too much time crossing an avalanche-prone slope you could die. Yet the time it takes to do any task is a matter of subjectivity, the perception that women take longer to do things is not evidenced by their ability or achievements both in terms of the research participants or that of the achievements of women mountaineers internationally. However, it could be a factor in assessment situations and one that requires further research.

7.5.2 Leadership training: Female-specific courses

The current solution, offered through national centres, seems to be to offer female-only courses, yet Selkie had experienced difficulty in recruiting women to attend women's only courses because, 'they think that is about extreme feminism.' Engagement remains a highly problematic topic in the field of mountain training and development, where the homogenising view of how to do traditional mountaineering still dominates training and assessment of national qualifications that privileges technical skills over soft skills that remain undefined in this context. This was evident during the Women in Adventure Sport Conference, (Glenmore Lodge 2016), involving leading female mountaineers whose agenda was to find solutions to tackle the poor levels of female engagement in mountaineering. Selkie had found this caused her male colleagues to feel 'worried about saying inappropriate things' and that they did not feel they could usefully join the debate. She wondered if this was a smokescreen, stating that there were still 'a lot of guys out there who generally think there is not a problem.' Despite growth in terms of the number of women participating in mountaineering and climbing activities, those progressing through the national training programmes has remained shamefully low (MT 2017). This suggests a need for innovative ways to tackle self-inhibiting and also discriminatory behaviours that corrode confidence levels and discourage women from participating in women-specific courses (Warren 2016). Warren (2016) highlights how women's only programmes have had successes since the turn of the century by creating an atmosphere of care, cooperation, collaboration and informed choice that 'resists the subtle influences to conform to facilitator or programme values' and

recognises difference (p. 362). The Women in Adventure Sport Conference, in 2016, made a call for 'women-specific' rather than 'Women-Only' coaching and training events believing a women-only approach to be less supportive and divisive (Glenmore Lodge 2016). However, the conference did not offer a useful way forward in terms of what 'women-specific' meant and how to deliver this. Warren (2016) points out that women only spaces do not necessarily challenge the dominant masculine discourse and lead to social change, and as such this political task needs to be escalated and taken seriously within the governing institutions and unpicked in terms of what exactly women need and how to deliver this before the sector feels confident enough to support the women's agenda. However, what is clear is that women need space free from judgement and the potentially damaging effects of ego. Until this is achieved the research participants felt that if they were seen to engage in such politics too fully it might affect their ability to attract lucrative work contracts and access prestigious projects, which is a prime example of an autommunitary affect of a masculinised community turning in on itself.

7.6 Conclusion: Redesigning the room

The autoimmunitary affects of hypermasculinity identified in contemporary mountaineering have a heritage that can be traced back to the earliest origins of the sport. Rules, codification and classification systems are all founded on masculine structures, attributes, behaviours and morphology which are reinforced by the dominant discourse. Securing place and space in this environment requires women to make significant adaptation and go to extraordinary lengths to generate social capital to establish legitimacy. In doing so, women have recast, moulded and transformed perceptions of what a female body can do in extreme places; thus, mapping new routes of experience (Lewis 2000). However, female mountaineers remain in a minority, and I argue this is due to a complex array of structural and subjective issues reinforced through institutional forms of discrimination that are compounded by particular feminine subjectivities. Sharp (2001) suggests that the underrepresentation of female mountain leaders is a problem related to the 'design of the room' rather than 'the way the door is opened' (p. 82). The male space of mountaineering has remained an effective model of masculinity that has silenced difference through the competitive forces of grade-ism prevalent in the mountaineering industry, governing bodies and national training organisations. The affective intensities of competition exert such a pressure to conform that the creation of different female spaces (like the women's only MIA mentoring programme) has suffered autoimmunitary reactions that discourage others from participating. The fear of

such an autoimmune reaction creates a culture of silence where learning is inhibited and adaptation is stunted by the fear that mountaineers may lose place and potential economic opportunities.

How mountaineers mediate relationships with places, people and objects or 'others' is imbued with a politics of care and responsibility. The social interconnections within mountaineering as discussed earlier are bound by emotional conditions that guide a community of mountaineering practice, but for women, this creates conflict. The competing demands, to be a wife, mother and partner in contrast to professional guide situates female mountaineers in a perpetual ethical dilemma. It is this sense of responsibility to others that makes purer forms of engagement with mountains and alterity seemingly impossible. In addition, the network of relationships in which female mountaineers circulate creates an emotional social milieu that institutes a mountaineer within a mountaineering community. By participating in this institution, female mountaineers reproduce the institutional rites of mountaineering by asserting masculinity in ways that compound the inequalities they face (Warren 2016; Robinson 2010; Frohlick, 2006, 2005, Humberstone and Pedersen 2001; Wheaton 2000).

Establishing female focussed spaces that attempt to 'redesign the room' has been, since the establishment of the LAC and Pinnacle Club, an ongoing concern within the female mountaineering community. Events like the Women's Climbing Symposium, UK and the BMC Women's Winter Weekend (Ochota 2017) have attempted to create these spaces with varying degrees of success. Spaces created through climbing symposia, clubs, groupings and online forums have the potential 'to resist, reconstruct or subvert gender identities' (Dilley and Scraton 2010, p. 129) in the same way that the Pinnacle Club has been doing for nearly 100 years. Conversely, they can also act to reinforce negative gender norms that constrain female spaces to mountaineer like the *This Girl Can* campaign (Sport England 2017). Initiatives like the Women's Winter Weekend at Glenmore Lodge have tried to offer spaces that create 'private cultures of intimacy' (Green 1998, p. 180) where the role of softer skills through discussion and feedback is central. Green (1998) describes how talk is fundamental to spaces of women, assisting in the construction of subjective identities and is also one the most satisfying and sustaining ways of building relationships within social groupings. However, Green (1998) acknowledges that talk between women is a powerful medium for maintaining gender divisions to reinforce the sense that they are a 'space invader' (Puwar 2004, p. 11). An example is Jo's rejection of a business model focused on women only

mountaineering courses, highlighting how women's only spaces can reinforce gender divisions and become counter-productive. Ethically Jo supported women specific mountaineering spaces, but she did not want to be perceived to challenge the very community where she had achieved a strong sense of belonging and enjoyed a sense of exclusivity (Dilley and Scraton 2010). In addition, in the bid for legitimacy, women have effectively built a set of feminised extreme mountaineering rules that have reduced their space further. Kogan's expedition to Cho Oyu is a chief example, where the stakes were raised seemingly invalidating subsequent achievements like that of Rutkiewicz.

The different spaces women have created demand different temporal approaches to learning delivered in a safe space free of grade-ist forms of competition. This recognises the importance of softer skills where collaboration and the sharing of fear are crucial if the mountaineering industry is to build safer ways to engage in the sport. This requires that both male and female role models work together to clearly define how softer skills work and how they should be integrated into the structures that support mountaineering. Institutional change and support that treats women as women and not girls are required to negotiate the fine political line between community adaptation and learning and women being perceived as feminist killjoys (Ahmed 2017). Attempts to redesign the room have yet to bear fruit through the national campaigns and qualification programmes that I argue require a radical shift in content, delivery and ultimately culture to facilitate greater access. Even though women have successfully created space to be hard mountaineers, the need to overthrow the dominant masculine perception that women are not tough enough is still a political task that requires work and in the words of Countess Gravina remains a 'challenge to international womanhood' (in Nelsson 2009, p. 123).

Over one hundred years ago in 1911 professional mountaineer Annie Smith Peck told the *New York Times*: 'Don't call me a woman climber' (in Brown 2002, p. 146) recognising that uncommon activities performed by women can have marginalising affects, a marginalisation that persists through the controversial issues like FFAs. Grade-ism epitomises how women are subject to conventional notions of what and how a body should be and move and what level of risk is permissible. Even Davis holds the notion that mountaineering is 'unnatural' for women, rendering it un-natural, uncommon and beyond what is normal for them. As a result, women do not publish as widely as men, remain modest about their achievements and refrain from appearing too overtly competitive (in Loomis 2005). The intensity of this hypermasculinised culture has since the early nineteenth century shaped how women have

engaged in mountaineering and the lack of participation in the discourse surrounding it. The Victorian dichotomy between public and private lives of female mountaineers is still very much alive, and revision of the existing situation is a long way from addressing inequalities (Digby 1990). Thus women and men need to find a way to unify agendas, because only then can learning occur, adaptation result, solutions be implemented, social change be achieved and the culture of silence be broken (Derrida and Ferraris 2001).

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

This project researched for the first time the experiences of professional women mountaineers based in the UK. In this chapter, I bring together philosophical, historical and empirical findings to evidence new knowledge about how women experience mountaineering. I have shown how gender matters in the hypermasculine space of mountaineering with the aim of answering questions about how women transgress normative boundaries in mountaineering to shape their own spaces. For the first time, historical accounts of female mountaineering have been brought together with contemporary empirical research. The research has traced how Victorian notions of modesty continue to silence the voices of women in contemporary mountaineering. Despite this, however, I have demonstrated how women continue to adapt and innovate new ways to create space and place through their ability to interchange between masculinities and femininities to craft different ways to mountaineer.

8.1 Research questions

Through the empirical research, I sought to reveal new sentient and emotional geographies of women who mountaineer by asking why and how they mountaineer, and what do they experience? I focused on their sensory and emotional lives to understand how political, economic and social influences impacted on their experiences of extreme risk. The question I asked was:

> How do women experience mountaineering and what motivates them to take such risks in extreme vertical worlds of rock, snow and ice in the twenty-first century?

In particular, I asked:

> What their sensory and emotional experiences were like and if/how these were impacted upon by political, economic and social influences?

In exploring these questions I have problematised the hypermasculine culture of mountaineering, demonstrating that women do express difference in their mountaineering practices. I have also shown how women interchange between masculinities and femininities as, in part, a process to legitimatize their difference in this male space. However, the empirical evidence revealed that when women transgress masculine boundaries they can be subject to autoimmunitary reactions, fear of which can produce paradoxical behaviours that undermine hard-won space. Further, I have demonstrated how autoimmunitary reactive

behaviours reinforce discrimination and perpetuate inequality in mountaineering communities and that implementing programmes to achieve equity still have a long way to go before greater balance in the sector can be achieved. In what follows I discuss the major findings and the implications these have for the future of female mountaineering.

The empirical research set out and achieved the following:

1. In chapter two I brought together for the first time a critical review of the historical literature to trace women mountaineers' experiences from the nineteenth century to the present day. The review revealed that over the last 170 years women have experienced the emancipating effect of mountaineering as a space to express male emotions like aggression and leadership, unsettling the ontological position of what mountaineering *is*. In doing so, however, women continue to tread a fine line as 'outsiders within' that has the effect of reducing ambition, silencing voice, reinforcing social norms and producing autoimmunitary reactions that perpetuate the hidden nature of female mountaineering achievements (Hill Collins 1986). This is evidenced by the paucity of information publicly available about our outstanding British female mountaineers from Walker right through to Pennington.

2. In chapters two and three, I applied affective feminist theory to historical and contemporary accounts of female mountaineering for the first time to consider how women have been portrayed in a particular way. This led to consideration of mountaineering as a gendered experience and of how this impacts on female mountaineers through the masculinised affective intensities of this space. By doing this, I made an original contribution by showing how Victorian androcentric codes of behaviour pervade in twenty-first century mountaineering practices. I demonstrated how these codes subjugate women into reinforcing gender norms and stereotypes, concerning notions of what is to be female and how feminine happiness is constructed (Ahmed 2010). I also revealed that when women transgress masculine boundaries they experience a backlash that serves to protect the male space of mountaineering. I demonstrated how women become affectively attuned to Victorian androcentric codes of behaviour, adopting processes of learning to 'think straight' even in their most private mountaineering spaces like soloing (Ingraham 2005, p. 1).

3. In chapter four I developed new philosophical understandings of female mountaineering through the theories of Derrida to consider the body by applying feminist and affective lenses. Derridean theory provided a foundation to deconstruct the processes of how a mountaineer plays with risk and the unknown through flow experiences to achieve a sense of absolute alterity. I then troubled the notion of flow through Derrida's analogy of community with the body's immune system wherein a process of self-protection it produces autoimmune reactions to protect itself from invaders. I thus established how women are *outside* of the mountaineering community and in a perpetual ethical struggle between creating personal spaces to mountaineer in contrast to complying with androcentric socio-normative values. I concluded by applying Derridean theory to offer a framework for establishing potential solutions. For the first time, I grounded the physical and psychological construct of the haptic sublime in contemporary mountaineering practice, building on McNee's (2014) notion, to show how this is a gendered experience. Finally, I have established a highly original contribution by showing how little was understood about 'mountaincraft' and expanding the concept to encompass the broader processes and practices of mountaineering.

4. In chapter five I developed an innovative and original affective methodology designing methods to trace and detect the affective intensities of mountaineering as it is sensed, felt and reflected upon. This was the first time this kind of methodology had been applied in the context of mountaineering. The methods I developed were ethnographic, utilising go-along techniques and MVE, and I became an ethno-mountaineer, co-producing empirical data with the research participants. The research participants were a group who had not been studied before in this live in situ context and therefore the empirical data are unique.

5. In chapters six and seven, I have made a significant original contribution to the understanding of female mountaineering by using empirical data to analyse how women perform mountaineering. The analysis evidenced how women interchange between masculinities and femininities to create unique spaces and practices. Finally, this enabled consideration of how the spaces of women are impacted upon by the hypermasculine culture of mountaineering and the implications this has for the

future of professional female mountaineers. I also pinpointed specific points of difference producing pointers for possible solutions and political change/voice.

8.1.1 Challenges and solutions

The paucity of information regarding the experiences of female mountaineers both in the academic and in mainstream literature has required a review of a wide-ranging number of sources crossing several interdisciplinary boundaries. This has presented a significant challenge in terms of identifying appropriate academic studies drawing upon empirical data. To overcome this, I have drawn upon sources from extreme adventure sports and tourism studies often conducted outside of the UK. This did at times present problems in terms of cultural difference, attitudes and social norms. However, the use of historical sources, predominantly from the UK, enabled me to triangulate data and in this sense was geographical in its mapping of patterns.

In terms of collecting empirical data I was able to draw upon my own personal experiences as a mountaineer, however, I had to be highly reflective and careful not to draw upon this experience at the expense of what was or was not actually recorded. The intersubjective nature of co-producing data places an ethical responsibility to be forthcoming about how this shaped fieldwork and the writing up of the results. Like the research participants, the weight of conformity in this hypermasculine space weighed heavily on me. I, like them, felt and feel the pressure to not speak out and be marked as a killjoy (Ahmed 2017). The empirical data that emerged was, however, so compelling that I had a duty to present the views of the research participants as accurately as I could and not unknowingly suppress their voices. I was careful to ask open-ended questions and not to direct the conversations that occurred between the research participants and me, however, I did use deeper level questioning to clarify points. During the writing up process I did use my own personal experience to illustrate technical details like how equipment is used and how guidebooks are produced, however, all the key points made in the thesis are directed by the voices of the participants and are supported by historical secondary sources, where required.

Collecting the data using go-alongs and MVE had its challenges, in particular, the battery life of the Go Pro Hero 3 cameras was variable, and so I did not capture as much film footage as originally intended. However, I did capture more conversation via this means, which was unexpected and highly useful, providing an additional source of data to back up my field

notes. It was my intention to share the film footage of the joint day out as part of the post-interview process but on reflection, I decided that as Oakley (2005) succinctly puts it:

> All research represents an intrusion and intervention into a pre-existing system of relationships; thus, taking research data back to the researched is an example of a social event rather than a scientific test (p. 66).

For these reasons, I chose not to ask participants to watch the filmic representations of our day mountaineering as it would have produced a voyeuristic trace of what had been. The film provided the initial overlay of emotional processing, and I did not want to complicate this with further interpretative analysis on the part of the participant. Moreover, the films provided first-hand impressions of the experiences we had both had, recording the haptic experience as well as the visual and auditory. Further research into the use of MVE will certainly help provide insight into how best to use these techniques in future fieldwork. In addition the unpredictable nature of gathering data live in the field (Crang and Cook 2007) meant that the originally intended field diaries of the participants' solo journeys were limited due to the unwillingness of participants to undertake this aspect of the research: six of the eight opted not to do this due to work commitments and feeling uncomfortable with being responsible for gathering the *right* kind of data. Two participants did, however, agree to conduct their own solo journeys in the mountains and make filmic and audio recordings, using a Go Pro Hero 3 in one instance and mobile phone audio recordings producing Mp3 files, at key points during the day.

In ethical terms protecting the identity of the research participants has been both challenging and a major concern for this study. The research participants are part of an elite group that is very small in number, highly interconnected and known by many in the mountaineering community. Therefore specific stories of their exploits could easily render them identifiable. In addition, they work under extreme pressure to conform so that being anonymous was important to protect their professional status, prevent any backlash and loss of social or economic position. I have been careful to use research participant quotations that are less likely to be attributed to individuals.

In sum, the empirical findings have been rich and offer significant contributions to new knowledge along with several future lines of enquiry to which I now turn.

8.2 Empirical contributions: Wellbeing and risk

The empirical research has evidenced how the research participants may not find happiness in the same things that normative society applies to notions of femininity. Mountaineering for women can mark them as wilful, setting them apart from and being perceived as uncommon in normative society, as well as in the androcentric space of mountaineering. Compelling evidence, however, expresses how the research participants seek out risk in the most extreme environments because it is a space where they can achieve a sense of fulfilment and wellbeing. Moreover, the research participants found perceptual and physical experiences of risk were vital for securing their psychological and physical health, also evidenced in accounts of their antecedents. Importantly the research identified particular mountaineering conditions and practices that produce sensations of wellbeing, like creating a space to feel and express masculine emotions leading to sensations of bodily power, control and understanding one's corporeal and perceptual limits. Achieving a sense of wellbeing was a complex process that required particular conditions, although this did not have to be where everything went smoothly, and in fact, overcoming challenges and trauma was often part of the process of achieving it. The research has identified a rich tradition of women soloing, established after World War I, to escape social pressure and access a sense of wellbeing. Moreover, this was often a practice undertaken covertly away from androcentric surveillance, requiring the right levels of exposure and control in order that sensations of flow, self-sufficiency and mastery could be realised, factors that had not been identified before. Engaging in the risk laden activity of soloing, I argue, is a space women have embraced to experience sensations of flow, but is also the product of the androcentric nature of proving a name. It drives a culture of ever-increasing stakes in undertaking 'accepted' levels of risk where competitive gradism has become the norm. It produces significant stress upon individuals to prove worth and name by following the androcentric rules of hard mountaineering and one-up-manship.

Importantly the research participants had found mountaineering to be an emancipating space where they could take risks, however, over a life course, tolerance to exposure varied, leading to desensitisation or, at the other extreme, risk aversion. The research showed how women became desensitised to extreme risk through repeated exposure, personally and through leading clients, reducing their ability to experience sensations of wellbeing. Desensitisation was a chief reason why the research participants sought to repeat and in some instances increase their exposure to risk so that they could achieve sensations of

wellbeing. In contrast teaching and coaching others about risk heightened their awareness of how chaotic and utterly uncontrollable mountaineering is, producing a disabling sense of fear that significantly reduced their ability to take risks. In addition, gendered experiences of risk, particularly the pressure to conform to familial responsibilities, curtailed career paths through the autoimmunitary *affects* of sacrificial motherhood, thus reducing space for wellbeing.

8.2.1 Mountaincraft: Risk, gender and difference

This research has begun to fill the gap concerning mountaincraft's sensory and emotional heritage with empirical findings contributing new knowledge concerning how emotional and sensory practices are developed and used in mountaineering. This has expanded the notion of mountaincraft beyond that of hard technical skills, revealing a major aspect that has had until now remained a mysterious unwritten expression of bodily knowledge, intrinsically founded on experience that cannot be shared absolutely. Mountaincraft is innate and founded in an absolute sense of alterity, however, it is situated and responsive to the forces exerted on it and is therefore not innocent from the affective influences of hypermasculinity inflected by a pervading sense of Victorian androcentric haptic sublimity. Hence the reason why 'hard' technical skills, associated with masculinity, dominate every aspect of mountaineering discourse, whereas 'softer' sentient and emotional skills have not found a legitimate place. This study is the first time mountaincraft has been considered in terms of gender, producing insight into the particular ways that women practice it. For example, the empirical research identified how the research participants utilised particular morphological processes of playful puzzling that were often out of sync with masculine temporal perceptions associated with speed, bravery and strength. Although soloing is utilised to access sensations of wellbeing, the practice had a dual purpose when connections with communities were remade, where the pressure to conform compelled women to convert their experiences into stories and thus social capital. Authenticating experiences extended beyond storytelling, influencing every aspect of the research participants' mountaineering lives from clothing, climbing the right kind of routes in the right kind of weather, to climbing in the right kind of mode and even down to how individual moves are made. In these contexts, bodies attune to the 'right kind' of androcentric proprioceptive pathways to communicate to self and others the muscular intelligence required to be a hard mountaineering name. In this context, the 'right kind' is usually considered to be masculine.

The research has shown mountaineering is dominated by a masculinised morphology and haptic traditions producing a rich intuitive language of male bodily aesthetics. Deviation from this tradition produces a backlash that fiercely protects the male space of mountaineering. By their very presence, female mountaineers subvert the notion of the haptic sublime, introducing a feminine morphology that is often at odds with the masculine nature of mountaineering. The research participants all acknowledged differences in the way they moved and the way in which they used a specialised pedagogy that valued technique over strength and brute force. To avoid being perceived as different however the research participants demonstrated how they adopted masculinities to both assert power over clients and also to build social capital, illustrated by the adoption of competitive forms of leadership. An example of this is the use of fear tactics to control decision-making which signalled an autoimmunitary use of mountaincraft to exert power and status. In sum, mountaincraft is founded on a geography of action that utilises spatial tactics, emotional reflexivity and is rhizomatic in nature reproducing and reinforcing the exclusive practices of the hypermasculine world of mountaineering. However, the epistemological basis of mountaincraft is innate, formed in absolute alterity and therefore can never be shared between bodies or communities. Only the trace of experience can be shared through the emotional reflexive processes of storytelling, where it becomes a question of ethics concerning what it *should be* rather than what it *actually is* and thus becomes social capital.

8.2.2 The ontological nature of silence in mountaineering

A major finding and original aspect of the research, concerning mountaincraft, identified that silence in mountaineering is ontological and it is through, in part, the processes of silence that mountains become places of mountaineering. Extreme environments such as mountains require a silencing of voice and a rebalancing of our ocular-centric ways to allow the body to connect with a wider milieu of senses to produce actions and knowledge of survival. Thus, mountaineering in Western cultures opens up silent space that is not possible in everyday life. The research participants utilised silence in a variety of ways to create collaborative silent spaces that built a pedagogy of silence to help clients, and companions find their own sense of wellbeing. Using silent pedagogies to attune the research participants' senses to risk enabled them to feel a sense of control and thus the ability to manage emotional reactions to fear. An aspect of this self-silencing was the ability to create space to self-talk through problem-solving during moments of extreme danger. In addition, the research participants used this sentient knowledge to silently assess companions' and clients' capabilities by

listening and watching their movements, in addition to using silencing techniques that established sentient pedagogical systems to teach and guide companions how to attune proprioceptive capacities to navigate risk.

The study has identified that silence in mountaineering is an ontological space where the senses are opened and more receptive to identifying risk and muscular knowledge is formed for assimilating appropriate bodily action producing a methodology for survival. Moreover, silence in mountaineering is a space of learning, adaptation, control and mastery and is used in a variety of modes to control self and others in situations of risk where a body becomes so practised and well-rehearsed in its ability to subconsciously recall the actions of survival that it is able to instinctively avoid disaster by drawing upon the body's muscular intelligence to control fear. This illustrates how mountaincraft is more than just the acquisition of hard technical skills and technologies, it embraces a much broader arena that encompasses sensory knowledge enabling a mountaineer to know risk.

8.2.3 Gender matters and inequalities

The study has shown that female mountaineers are not only capable but excel at taking risks and hard work possessing the ability to endure the extreme privations experienced in mountaineering. However, the powerful forces of autoimmunitary social conditioning reinforce that mountaineering is not the *natural* domain of women, limiting what women can *naturally* do. Grade-ism epitomises how women are subject to masculinised conventional notions of what a body should be and how it should move and what level of risk is permissible. Even experienced female mountaineers believe that mountaineering is not natural for women, rendering it un-natural, un-common, superhuman and beyond what is normal for women. I have shown how such semiotic processes mark women mountaineers as oddities marginalising their achievements and reducing their space to be mountaineers.

The empirical findings demonstrated how the research participants were under such pressure to comply with social norms to achieve a sense of legitimacy in the context of mountaineering that they fluctuated between modes of resistance in contrast to resisting these norms. This created contradictory behaviours towards addressing inequalities, evidenced by all the research participants; recognising women having particular needs, but being reluctant to jeopardise their position by outwardly supporting gender-sensitive training or engaging in women's debates. Such autoimmunitary behaviours served to confuse and undermine women's development in the sport by reinforcing androcentric gender norms.

This is not to say that mountaineering consciously conspires to exclude women or 'others', indeed not all women or men become masculine or feminine in the same way or consistently over time. This was evidenced by the different ways the research participants worked to build social capital through competition, power and leadership, for example.

As a result, the research participants wanted to feel reassured that their professional choices fit with the dominant masculine politics. The consequence was a silencing of voice because the last thing they wanted to do was draw attention to themselves and trigger a backlash such as that against Hargreaves. When the research participants did speak publically, they often suffered repercussions. In fear of such a backlash, women continue to downplay their competitive drive, ambitions and achievements. This is illustrated by the contentious issue of the accreditation and documentation of FFAs or the concept of climbing *manless* that produced an autoimmune reaction rendering illegitimate so many great achievements by women. The repercussions are that women do not publish as widely as men, remain modest about their achievements and refrain from appearing too overtly competitive. This, however, creates deep-seated personal conflict, for example, the ethical crisis over developing a female-focused business. The intensity of this hypermasculinised culture has since the early nineteenth century shaped how women have exercised the materiality of their engagement in mountaineering rather than participating in the discourse surrounding it. Despite the fact that women have subverted, the definition of what women can do at high altitude they have been less successful at affecting the broader discourse. The Victorian dichotomy between public and private lives of female mountaineers is still very much alive, where revision of the existing situation is a long way from addressing inequalities and is still very much at stake. Women in their attempts to belong to the world of mountaineering end up in a position of difference as outsiders; to belong does not mean they do belong (Derrida and Ferraris 2001). Making a break from the herd to create female-only spaces is seemingly harder than the mountaineering endeavours women undertake and attempts to redesign the room have faltered and are only just beginning to re-emerge (ibid.). The androcentric nature of mountaineering constrains the potential for it to be a space for experiencing different forms of risk. This study has demonstrated that these spaces of risk do exist but are hidden. The processes of normalising the feminine contribution to mountaineering have yet to gain serious traction and this requires voice. Acknowledging that softer skills play a major role in mountaineering experiences and by normalising a broader range of emotional and sentient expressions such as stress responses like crying could open new spaces of experience and reduce the risks taken. Acknowledgement of different ways to engage, perform and embody

mountaineering need to be realised through increasing representation in leadership, training, research and in mainstream sources of literature, film and social media. I am also mindful that this may not be exclusive to mountaineering but to sport in general.

8.2.4 Identity

The research has demonstrated how hypermasculinity builds an exclusive culture within the elite ranks of mountaineering, where identities are formed by how what and whom mountaineers climb with. Establishing a *name* absorbs significant amounts of energy, creating a competitive culture that rejects any hint of weakness. The research participants experienced an acute sense of isolation and guilt concerning major life decisions such as either having or not having children, and the pressure to conform led some of them to accept tokenistic work based on gender because it gave them a sense of exclusivity. Mountaineering androcentric codes of behaviour were often simultaneously adopted and resisted at different points and in different contexts particularly in the contexts of competitions and specifically grade-ism. The empirical data produced new original evidence to expand the notion of grade-ism as a particular form of competition that is toxic, inhibiting the potential of female mountaineers. Although this changed over a life course its impact remained significant, reducing ambition, legitimacy and space. Thus, I have shown how the affective forces of grade-ism influence every aspect of professional and personal mountaineering spaces from national qualifications through to private days out soloing. Mountaineering has an identity that strongly reflects a stereotypical Victorian notion of manliness that is fiercely protected and reinforced through the ritual of epic storytelling, churning out a familiar heroic trope that marginalises the role of women. These imaginings, performances and discourses generate semiotic processes independent from the body, creating affective autoimmunitary atmospheres where masculinity *is* what shapes the identity of mountaineering and femininity *is not*.

8.2.5 Resisting and adapting the rules

Women may not have found a sense of belonging in the community of mountaineering, however, it has afforded them space to access emotions and sensations that are often rendered illegitimate in society more broadly. Female mountaineers such as the research participants, along with the likes of Le Blond, Hill and Pennington, who have written about their mountaineering, have created space to express forms of aggression, confidence, leadership and bodily power, which are generally the exclusive preserve of men. For example,

the research has shown how women have differentiated styles of leadership, coaching, attitudes to competition and expressing emotions, but these have remained largely hidden. It is undeniable that women have innovated feminine ways to experience mountaineering, the *Cordee Feminine* being one critical turning point when women took control of their own mountaineering spaces, thus openly politicising their rights and desires to experience independence. The research has shown that this continues in often hidden ways, for example breaking with emotional conventions by crying. Crying in the context of mountaineering is regarded as a display of weakness, loss of control or feebleness, beliefs which can be traced back to Victorian androcentric values that favour displays of strength and bravery. Thus, crying in front of companions and clients, as some of the research participants had done, feminised the experience of mountaineering, shifting the masculinised norm and expanding perceptions of acceptable emotional behaviours in mountaineering and epistemological understandings of what a feminised experience of mountaineering can be. Similarly, the research participants shifted the masculine dynamic when teaching mountaineering students, by using softer skills to create a gender-sensitive pedagogy. This enabled some male students to feel less threatened by masculine forms of competition, producing a more productive learning environment. The research traced pervading historical attitudes towards competition where the research participants had a tendency to play down ambition taking a collaborative and softer approach when realising goals. This collaborative approach to competition delivered two key functions: it made women more amenable and less threatening to their peers and also became highly useful when teaching or managing clients.

Expressing emotion, particularly inner fears about risk, were not common practice in mountaineering, however, a feminised atmosphere of sharing and collaboration was beginning to signal a change occurring in the mountaineering community and highly experienced and previously silent male colleagues were beginning to open up and talk about such matters. The research has identified that such feminised approaches, although invariably hidden, are useful resources suggesting that they are more extensively used than previously understood by both female and male mountaineers. It problematises the androcentric culture of mountaineering and offers new directions for the development of the sport.

8.2.6 Ethno-mountaineering: Detecting affect

The research used an innovative methodology, applying mobile video ethnography in the context of mountaineering for the first time. This enabled detection of the affective forces at

work in mountaineering, offering access to the emotional and sentient expressions of the research participants in situ. Using a go-along, or mountaineer-along, approach on day-long mountaineering expeditions meant that I was co-producing the data; I became an ethno-mountaineer. This was also the first time the go-along, or mountaineer-along, was conducted through experimental MVE in the context of mountaineering to produce empirical data. The methodology and methods both proved to be largely successful at generating new data to support the investigation into how women experience harder forms of mountaineering and are a new contribution to knowledge. The concept of detecting the impact of affect through using innovative methods such as MVE was proven through empirical findings that explore how hypermasculinity impacted on the performance of mountaineering and the particular ways in which women engaged in risk through gradism and negative forms of competition. The way in which women conducted soloing, silencing and mountaincraft were identified and explored, for the first time, as feminised spaces, demonstrating how particular practices were shaped by androcentricism within mountaineering.

By building upon the work of feminist affective scholarship I was able to detect how Victorian androcentric codes pervade and impact on mountaineering practices today. Modesty, silencing and uses of silence, softer skills, haptics and the building of social capital were evidenced through MVE and go-along methods. The methods proved that a feminist affective methodology could provide evidence of affect as it is lived. This shows, for example, how even very personal bodily movements and experiences are shaped by masculine norms. It also showed, however, that feminised spaces did exist, but were actively hidden to avert negative androcentric affective repercussions that could impact on women's mountaineering reputations or social capital.

As co-mountaineer I was able to directly witness and experience the lived affective impacts of mountaineering. This gave a unique insight into how feminised forms of mountaincraft are developed, experienced and evolve. I could relate to and have experienced the formation of incremental sentient knowledge that can only be experienced in situ. For example, I experienced attunement to extreme weather conditions with Freddie in 70mph winds. During this experience I built sentient knowledge and was subject to how these experiences are shaped to form social capital, witnessing how power dynamics shift when women transition between feminine and masculine forms of leadership.

By triangulating the empirical data with secondary historical research I was able to trace a heritage of affective impacts that pervade today. This was unique research developing a pathway for analysing such experiences through a feminist Derridean lens to understand the processes at play within mountaineering and how these impact on the lives of female mountaineers. I offer this as an innovative way to explore the impact of affect in the context of extreme sporting environments and suggest it is a model with wider potential. In addition, it offers scholars in cultural geography and wider disciplines such as leisure studies, pointers for how to counter androcentric approaches by creating gender sensitive spaces to collect empirical data. Collecting empirical data in situ, in the moment of *doing,* not only captured deeper understandings but fundamentally opened feminised space to do so. Using a less structured approach to facilitate discussion opened avenues of dialogue and bodily discourse that were critical for detecting affective impacts, such as MVE and go-alongs. The use of methods like MVE and go-alongs encourage and generate softer spaces that are less threatening, allowing the layers of emotional armour to be relaxed and a window to be opened into hidden worlds of sentient and emotional expression.

8.2.7 Derridean theory

The use of deconstruction to research sport or extreme adventure is relatively rare and its application to mountaineering is new. Derrida's theories provided an important framework for considering the gendered experiences of female mountaineers as well as the practices of mountaincraft. In particular, Derrida's concept of autoimmunitary forces was for the first time applied in the context of affective theory providing new insight into how female mountaineers are subject to hypermasculinity within their everyday lives. More widely the use of autoimmunitary forces, in the context of affective theory, offers the potential for a geographical enquiry into how communities produce and reproduce defence mechanisms for self-protection against *différence*, and, conversely, how this drives paradoxical forces of competition/compliance and resistance/rejection. The use of Derrida's concepts of alterity and absence through play also proved fruitful for analysing the motivational aspects of mountaineering and how muscular knowledge and thus mountaincraft is formed. Again, in terms of broader geographical research, Derridean theories applied in the context of affect provide a lens to explore how play through physical and perceptual problem-solving creates space to be other. This analysis has guided the development of potential new avenues of research and provided pointers for how the research could aid improvement and development within mountaineering along with potential for scope to be applied more

widely in sporting, tourism, leisure and broader contexts in cultural geography. The use of Derridean theory has, therefore, offered new ways of interpreting knowledge about how women experience mountaineering and offers a rich line of enquiry for future research in the field of sport and extreme adventure tourism.

Philosophically, Derridean theories of difference provide a useful and underexplored theoretical model for geographers researching the impact of affect in everyday society. This is a unique and major contribution to research and cultural geographical knowledge. The theories of alterity and autoimmunitary, when applied to the study of affective lived experiences of mountaineering, provided a novel conceptual tool that is geographical and feminist in its conception providing a new framework for deconstructing how the practice of mountaineering life is founded on androcentric codes. This has opened up a means for understanding the extreme tensions and struggle women experience to create space to experience sensations of alterity or flow; contrasted with how this is disrupted by their connections to community. Thus, the theoretical analysis of autoimmunitary processes revealed a dichotomy between achieving self-actualising spaces and wellbeing that are deeply rooted in spaces of alterity, in contrast to being part of a community. This lens enabled close scrutiny of the ethical dilemma female mountaineers face in terms of what society deems to be feminine and breaking these boundaries to create new models of femininity and space. This provided a significant analytical framework for asking question and answering questions about the inequalities experienced within mountaineering in contrast to how women have redefined and created new spaces to *be*. This framework has the potential to provide a significant geographical tool for analysing social life in general.

Deconstructionism enables the re-analysis of historical positioning of women in mountaineering history and how traditions formed in the earliest development of the sport pervade and impact on the mountaineering practices of women today, providing new insight into how women evolved their mountaincraft to achieve legitimacy. This historical re-framing has opened up new ways to consider why women are so starkly under-represented in mountaineering; a major concern in the sport. The political task of building meaningful models of engagement, participation and thus representation is as Derrida points out a process of absorbing differences through learning to achieve, adaptation and change.

As such, Derrida's theories of autoimmunity and alterity enabled the identification of possible solutions involving the normalisation of softer skills to develop gender sensitive pedagogies

of learning, coaching and leadership, which I consider next. In this chapter, I sought to answer the question of how women mountaineers experience extreme risk and how they craft responses in the hypermasculine community of mountaineering. I next consider solutions to some of the barriers and issues women experience in mountaineering and show how a Derridean framework has been foundational to this process.

8.3 Autoimmunitary adaptation and learning: Softer skills a solution?

The empirical research has provided new evidence pointing to the specific contextual nature and importance of softer skills and how these could be developed more widely to facilitate difference and widen access. This responds to Derrida's call for communities in general to engage in the autoimmunitary processes of learning and adaptation, where a body incorporates and evolves to include difference. The mechanisms for learning and adaptation within the mountaineering community reside within public organisations such as the BMC, Sport England and MT but also the responsibility of each individual to acknowledge difference. One hidden tool women use, yet poorly defined, are softer skills that could assist with the processes of normalising feminine practices within mountaineering. Achieving this requires mountaineering communities to first define and then formally recognise the type of skills and spaces required to effectively deliver upon this task. Such a task is problematic given that the sentient practices of mountaincraft are, in part, non-verbal and instinctive and thus hard to define. Despite this, the responsibility to achieve even partial definitions should be shared by all because of the significant benefits this could bring to the whole mountaineering community. Such action could help to re-balance representation of existing feminine achievement and produce the potential to stimulate greater female participation at all levels.

The research has evidenced that some women still need female-specific spaces led by non-super-humanised female role models. Yet this is a controversial issue in the community of elite mountaineers, where some rejected these spaces because they were fearful that participation in delivering these could be prejudicial and unduly hinder their economic or social progress as mountaineers. Gender differences are so marked that the research participants were effectively silenced from discussing such issues, suggesting that urgent attention should be directed towards normalising difference and diversity in mountaineering by increasing appropriate representation. This, I suggest, should begin by initiating informed debates concerning what 'female-specific' means and how to deliver upon this by formally raising the profile of the problems that exist and identifying the things that could be done to

address them. Only then will women and men feel equipped, informed and legitimised to use softer skills to design and offer gender-neutral training, coaching and leading that is sensitive to a diverse range of needs. As such, this requires the formal development of pedagogical techniques that utilise softer skills to tackle specific issues such as a lack of confidence and negative bodily perceptions, by introducing discursive methods of positive self-talk, feedback and discussion, for example. In this sense, such techniques could open up a reconnection with sensory and emotional heritages of mountaincraft to develop new softer and more humane ways that expand the craft of mountaineering to encompass more than just the learning of hard technical skills. Perhaps if such practices were more openly adopted in mountaineering a productive, safer and more amenable environment could be realised. This could, in turn, open space to initiate processes of normalising feminine approaches in mountaineering and potentially lead to a safer environment to practice mountaineering, facilitate participation and most importantly improve a sense of wellbeing. In addition, developing a pedagogy of collaboration that overrides competitive drivers to save face and name could enable a safe space for peers to share failures, fears and near misses that creates a meaningful culture of sharing risk experiences and alleviating negative stress such as anxiety. Finally, perhaps the use of the phrase 'adaptive techniques' or gender neutral pedagogies instead of 'softer skills' could help in reducing negative perceptions associated with something being *soft* in the *hard* world of mountaineering.

Overall the research has shown how feminine spaces of wellbeing in mountaineering are complex, fragile and at times contradictory. Improving access and voice involves normalising the idea that women excel at this sport and finding effective channels of communication and development. Sport and mountaineering public organisations would do well to heed the call from the research participants and their antecedents to avoid marginalising women's achievements through gendered campaigns like the *This Girl Can* campaign. Well-meaning though it might have been, it served to identify the participation in sports like climbing as uncommon activities for women, which can have marginalising affects, evidenced through controversial issues such as FFAs. Ordinary women can do extraordinary things if they are afforded with the right conditions that are produced through processes of adaptation and learning that normalise difference, which helps to eradicate autoimmunitary reactions and challenge the dominant androcentric discourse. Belonging to the community of mountaineering requires common ground where for female mountaineers even the very notion of what a mountain *is* can be contested on the basis of the masculine practices of

codification and classification and morphology. Thus finding common ground for sharing difference is what is at stake.

8.4 Future research

This research has begun to expand sentient and emotional understandings of what mountaincraft is as the epistemological foundation of mountaineering. It has started to understand the processes and practices of this craft that has its origins in an ancient ancestry of sensing and knowing. Thus, there is much to learn in terms of how it has developed, is used and is evolving from differences in terms of temporality through to physiological issues like the menopause. Specific techniques such as the use of silence have only just been explored through this research, and further research is required to analyse how these techniques are used. Gendered experiences of mountaincraft and thus risk, as I have shown, are a new area of research that requires development such as exploration of the practice of soloing; along with how gender-sensitive pedagogies are developed and used in situ. Such knowledge could help to encourage more effective routes to participation, but also evolve far more effective training, coaching and guiding techniques. Researching the development and delivery of gender-sensitive pedagogies is an area of study that could be highly productive in helping to reform formal training and coaching techniques and thus help to normalise femininity in mountaineering.

Women in the UK experience particular challenges in terms of the pressure to conform to familial responsibilities and how far this inhibits their mountaineering career choices and opportunities is also little understood. This also raises questions about how women should be supported in this regard, through the professional mountaineering community, particularly in terms of representation, policy and governance. Thus, research that compares female and male mountaineering experiences may be insightful in terms of understanding where paths cross and diverge to establish common ground and key points of difference. In addition, a systematic survey of female first ascensionists and their experiences, including analysis of how routes are geographically selected, graded, named and performed, offers the potential to identify distinctive qualities that may open new ways to engage and encourage women to pioneer and lead new routes. This could help in understanding how to best engage and establish safe spaces for debate, learning and adaptation, which is critical to the development of the next generation of female mountain leaders. Representation through books, journals, academic scholarship and virtual environments is also an area that requires consideration, in order that future marketing campaigns, aimed at encouraging women to participate in sport,

do not marginalise them. Furthering geographical understanding of whether mountaineering cultures are global, regional or local or a mixture of these would also be fascinating. Such an enquiry could also reveal if the experiences of female mountaineers in the UK corresponded with or differ from experiences of women mountaineers from other countries.

The theoretical use of deconstruction has proven a useful model to interrogate the affective lived experiences of female mountaineers producing a methodological approach that could be further developed and applied to wider geographical research projects considering everyday life. In particular, the theories of autoimmunitary and alterity offer potential to consider community impacts and the ethical dilemma that individuals face when pursuing routes to self-actualisation and wellbeing. In addition, the theory play and its foundation in absence and presence, offers a framework to explore what occurs in those spaces of alterity in terms of the development of muscular intelligence. Specialist methods to research affect through the use of ethno-mountaineering and MVE also require further development to produce more effective use of technology to capture in situ data. This offers exciting new empirical methods for undertaking affective geographical research that could produce greater depth and be utilised over extended periods.

This also presents a challenge to scholars in the fields of cultural geography, leisure, sport and tourism to consider how androcentrism in research can be challenged. Recognising difference from the start by developing gender sensitive methodologies, is a way to mitigate and identify the subtle power dynamics that consciously and subconsciously underpin behaviours. Utilising for example, methods that facilitate and are founded on softer skills that allow space for dialogue is crucial when researching subjects in situ. Methods like MVE and go-alongs have proven to be successful in opening up non-threatening spaces where deeper understandings and knowledge can be sourced through empirical data.

This research has shown how rich understandings of social life can be realised and points to new ways of conducting both primary and secondary field research. Normalising gender and diversity sensitivities in scholarship is a responsibility, I would suggest, we all share as researchers. Following Robinson (2008) I have shown, how female mountaineers develop transformatory masculinities and femininities, which can be both emancipatory and also reductive of the space to *be*. As I have shown, gender boundaries are fluid, interchangeable and even paradoxical at times and present fascinating subjects for research. Androcentricity has the danger to constrain our practices as researchers and, as such, Derrida's theory of

autoimmunitary processes acts as a warning to academia that by following traditions we reinforce institutional practices that could be exclusionary. Adapting to difference is challenging and it is a process of both experimentation and learning to discover news ways to research the complexities of social life that is our challenge. It is not just a question of reflexivity but one of appropriateness, am I the right person conduct this research? Do my skills and experience justify this privilege?

My experience as an amateur mountaineer gave me a unique insight into the sentient and emotional experiences of female mountaineers enabling me to share a language and empathy that was invaluable. I fully recognise that this is not the only way to research such a geographical group and I call for a new wave of research that is sensitive, innovative and experimental to shed light on this fascinating area of sporting tourism and heritage.

8.5 Conclusion

Mountains and mountaineering routes are precise geographical spaces founded on masculine principals and technologies. Researching affective life, in particular the impact of hypermasculinity in mountaineering required the development of a feminist methodology. This methodology was experimental and highly original in the field of cultural geographical research and offers exciting potential for broader application. To capture empirical data innovative methods were utilised to detect the affective impact of hypermasculinity in mountaineering. Again the potential of MVE and go-alongs is largely untapped. Analysis of the data through a Derridean lens provides a theoretical framework that is sympathetic to research that considers difference; to consider how adaptation and learning mechanisms can be established to help communities be more responsive to change and difference. Triangulating the research with a historical analysis identified how literary and media coverage of mountaineering has and still does fail to represent women's achievements; and, as a result, women have struggled to achieve legitimacy and recognition. This empirical research has raised serious questions for the mountaineering community concerning how models of engagement and participation need to change if gender issues are to be addressed. The research has begun defining the specificity of female differences in mountaineering, particularly in terms of how they craft their mountaineering knowledge and use softer skills. Such insight offers an opportunity to consider how softer skills could be deployed to develop gender-neutral pedagogies of learning and teaching, providing more equitable routes to participation and progression that could be beneficial at all levels. To achieve change, policy

and governance require a radical review that supports appropriate growth and development, requiring:

- A policy that has does not just pay lip service to address issues of gender and diversity, which aims to normalise difference and greater balance through spaces of learning and adaptation.
- Finance and funding structures that support the development of new pedagogies for learning, coaching and pioneering of new routes.
- Better female representation within governing bodies, National Mountaineering Centres,major clubs and the production of guidebooks and journal articles
- Formal fora that openly acknowledge gender issues in the industry, defining what they are and identifying how to address them.
- Appropriate representation within mainstream literary, media and academic communities.

This transition requires women to take up more space and perhaps the appointment of Lynn Robinson as the first female president of the BMC (Messenger 2018), during the course of writing this thesis, is a nod in this direction. Thus, change requires a rebalancing of the rules that govern mountaineering, rules that affect all. Challenging the dominant discourse requires the active participation of women and their male peers to tackle androcentrism that impacts on all who engage in mountaineering. I end by making a call to scholars to expand research spaces by recognising difference from the start to avoid marginalising effects of being labelled uncommon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, A. (1996) *Tigers of the snow and other virtual sherpas: An ethnography of Himalayan encounters.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2010) Happy objects. In: Gregg, M., and Seigworth, G.J. eds. *The affect theory reader*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press, pp. 29 – 51.

Ahmed, S. (2017) *Living a feminist life*. London, Duke University Press.

Aitchison C. (2005) Feminist and gender perspectives in tourism studies: The social-cultural nexus of critical and cultural theories. *Tourist Studies*, 5 (3), pp. 207 – 224.

Allen-Collinson, J., Hockey, J. (2011) Feeling the way: Notes toward a haptic phenomenology of distance running and scuba diving. *International Review of the Sociology of Sport*, 46 (3), pp. 330 – 345.

Anderson, B. (2014) *Encountering affect: capacities, apparatuses, conditions*. Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Anderson, B., Harrison, P. (2010) *Taking-place: Non-representational theories and geography*. Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Anderson, B., Wylie, J. (2009) On geography and materiality. *Environment and Planning A,* 41, pp. 318 – 335.

Anderson, J. (2009) *Understanding cultural geography: Places and traces.* London, Routledge.

Angell, S. (1988) *Pinnacle Club: A history of women climbing*. UK, The Pinnacle Club.

Arnaud, P. (2014) Ancient mariners between experience and common sense geography. In: Geus, K. and Thiering, M. eds. *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*. Germany, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, pp. 39 – 68.

Arnot Reid, M. (2017) *The Alpinist: Melissa Arnot Reid* [Internet]. Available from https://www.outsideonline.com/2171181/alpinist-melissa-arnot-reid [Accessed 17 May 2017].

Bale, J. (2011) Running: Running as working. In: Cresswell, T. and Merriman, P. eds. *Geographies of mobilities: Practices, spaces and subjects.* Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 35 – 51.

Barratt, P.R. (2011) 'My magic cam': A more-than-representational account of the climbing assemblage. *Area*, 44 (1), pp. 46 – 53.

Barratt, P.R. (2010) *Hybrid climbing bodies: The climbing assemblage and the technologically mediated engagements and ascensions of rock climbers.* Hull, UK, University of Hull.

Barrett, E., Martin, P. (2016) *Extreme: Why some people thrive at the limits*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Bartram, S. A. (2001) Serious leisure careers among white water kayakers: A feminist perspective. *World Leisure Journal*, 43 (2), pp. 4 – 11.

Bate, C., Arthur, C. (2006) *A Glossary of climbing terms: From abseil to zawn* [Internet]. Available from https://www.ukclimbing.com/articles/features/a_glossary_of_climbing_terms_from_abseil_to_zawn-33 [Accessed 9 July 2018].

Baumeister, R.F., Vohs, K.D., DeWall, C.N., Zhang, L. (2007) How emotion shapes behavior: Feedback, anticipation, and reflection, rather than direct causation. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11 (2), pp. 167 – 203.

Beames, S., Pike, E.C.J. (2008) Goffman goes rock climbing: Using creative fiction to explore the presentation of self in outdoor education. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education*, 12 (2), pp. 3 – 11.

Beattie, A. (2006) *The Alps: A cultural history.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Beaumont, P. (2013) On the moors and mountains, female climbers find there's room at the top. *The Guardian* [Internet], 1 December 2013. Available from https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2013/dec/01/women-climbers-records-ascents [Accessed 17 November 2017].

Beedie, P. (2015) A history of mountaineering tourism. In: Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. eds. *Mountaineering Tourism*. London, Routledge. pp. 40 – 54.

Beedie, P. (2003) Mountain guiding and adventure tourism: Reflections of the choreography of the experience. *Leisure Studies*, 22 (2), pp. 147 – 167.

Berger, J. (2008 [1972]) *Ways of seeing*. London, Penguin Books, Design Series.

Berlant, L. (2011) *Cruel optimism*. London, Duke University Press.

Bicknell, J.W. (1996) *Selected letters of Leslie Stephen, Volume 2, 1882 – 1904*. Ohio, Ohio State University Press.

Birkett, B., Peascod, B. (1989) *Women climbing 200 years of achievement.* London, A & C Black Publishers Ltd.

Black, S. (2001) Women and the mountains: Ginette Lesley Harrison. *Alpine Journal*, pp. 99 – 104.

Blackman, L. (2012) *Immaterial bodies: Affect, embodiment, mediation*. London, Sage.

BMC (2018) BMC 2017 Finances. *Summit,* 90, Summer, Insert Supplement.

Bondi. L. (2005) Making connections and thinking through emotions: Between geography and psychotherapy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 30, pp. 433 – 488.

Bordo, S. (2003) *Unbearable weight: Feminism, Western culture, and the Body*. 2nd ed. London, University of California Press.

Borradori, G. (2003) *9/11 and Global terrorism: A dialogue with Jacques Derrida* [Internet]. Available from http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/derrida/derrida911.html [Accessed 5 March 2018].

Boulter, S. (2007) *The Rediscovery of common sense philosophy*. Hampshire, UK, Palgrave Macmillan.

Bourdieu, P. (2013 [1977]) *Outline of a theory of practice*. *Ed. 28.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986 [1977]) Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1), pp. 14 – 25.

Boyes, M., Houge Mackenzie, S. (2015) Concepts of the wilderness experience and adventure mountaineering tourism. In: Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. eds. *Mountaineering Tourism*. London, Routledge. pp. 66 – 84.

Brickell, K., Garrett, B.L. (2012) Geography, film and exploration: Women and amateur filmmaking in the Himalayas. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).*

Brown, K.M. (2017) The haptic pleasure of ground feel: The role of textured terrain. *Health & Place*, 46, pp. 307 – 314.

Brown, R.A. (2002) *Women on high: Pioneers of mountaineering*. Boston, Appalachian Mountain Club Books.

Brown, K.M., Banks, E. (2015) Close encounters: Using mobile video ethnography to understand human-animal relations. In: Bates E. ed. *Video methods: Social science research in motion*. Oxon, Routledge, pp. 95 – 120.

Brown, M., Wattchow, B. (2016) Enskilment and place-responsiveness in outdoor studies: Ways of life. In: Humberstone, B., Prince, H., and Henderson, K., A. eds. *Routledge International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*. London and New York, Routledge, pp. 435 – 443.

Brown, M., Wattchow, B. (2011) *A Pedagogy of place*. Australia, Monash University Publishing.

Brymer, E., Schweitzer, R. (2013) Extreme sports are good for your health: A phenomenological understanding of fear and anxiety in extreme sport. Journal of Health Psychology 18 (4), pp. 477 – 487.

Butler, J. (2011) *Bodies that matter*, 2nd ed. Oxon, Routledge Classics.

Butler, J. (2010) *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. 6th ed. New York and London, Routledge Classics.

Campbell, E., Lassiter, L.E. (2015) *Doing ethnography today: Theories, methods, exercises*. United Kingdom, Wiley Blackwell.

Carpenter, C., Harper, N. (2016) Health and wellbeing benefits of activities in the outdoors. In: Humberstone, B., Prince, H., and Henderson, K. A. eds. *Routledge International Handbook of Outdoor Studies.* London and New York, Routledge, pp. 59 – 68.

Caretta, M.A., Riaño, Y. (2016) Feminist participatory methodologies in geography: Creating spaces of inclusion. *Qualitative Research* 16 (3), pp. 258 – 266.

Carson, F. (2001) Feminism and the body. In: Gamble. S. ed. *Feminism and postfeminism*. 2nd ed. London, Routledge, pp. 117 – 128.

Casey, E. S. (2009) *Getting back into place: Toward a renewed understanding of the place-world*. 2nd ed. USA, Indiana Press.

Cater, C. (2013) The meaning of adventure. In: Taylor, S., Varley, P., and Johnston, T. eds. *Adventure tourism, meanings, experience and learning*. Oxon, Routledge, pp. 5 – 18.

Chatterjee, S. (2016) What does it mean to be a postcolonial feminist? The artwork of Mithu Sen. *Hypatia,* 31 (1), pp. 22 – 40.

Chisholm, D. (2008) Climbing like a Girl: An exemplary adventure in feminist phenomenology. *Hypatia*, 23 (1), pp. 9 – 40.

Clark, K. (1982) *Civilisation*, 3rd ed. London, Penguin Books.

Clough, P.T. (2008) The affective turn: Political economy, biomedia and bodies. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 25 (1) pp. 1 – 22.

Coddington, K. (2017) Voice under scrutiny: Feminist methods, anticolonial responses, and new methodological tools. *The Professional Geographer*, 69 (2), pp. 314 – 320.

Coleman, R., Ringrose, J. (2013) *Deleuze and research methodologies*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Colley, A.C. (2010) *Victorians and the Mountains: Sinking the sublime*. Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Colls, R. (2011) Feminism, bodily difference and non-representational geographies. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37, pp. 430 – 445.

Connell, R.W. (2005 [1995]) *Masculinities*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Coolidge, W.A.B. [Brevoort, M.] (1872) A day and night on the Bietschorn. *Alpine Journal*, VI, pp. 114 – 124.

Cosgrove, D., della Dora, V. (2009) *High places*. London, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.

Cousquer, G.O., Beames, S. (2014) Professionalism in mountain tourism and the claims to professional status of the international mountain leader. *Journal of Sport Tourism*, 18 (3), pp. 185 – 215.

Crang, M., Cook, I. (2007) *Doing ethnographies*. London, SAGE Publications Ltd.

Crenshaw, K. (1991) Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (6), pp. 1241 – 1299.

Cresswell, T., Merriman, P. (2011) *Geographies of mobilities: Practices, spaces, subjects*. Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Crouch, D. (2015) Unravelling space and landscape in leisure identities. In: Elkington, S., and Gammon, S. eds. *Landscapes of leisure: Space, Place and Identity*. Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 8 – 22.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1998 [1988]) *Optimal experience: The psychology of flow in consciousness*. 6th ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Davidson, L. (2015) The narrative construction of self through a commitment to mountaineering. In: Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. eds. *Mountaineering Tourism*. London, Routledge. pp. 121 – 137.

de Beauvoir, S. (1997 [1949]) *The second sex*. Trans. Parshley, H.M. London, Vintage Books.

de Certeau, M. (1988) *The practice of everyday life*. Trans. Rendall, S. London, University of California Press Ltd.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F. (2013 [1988]) *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia.* Trans. B. Massumi. 14th ed. London, Bloomsbury Academic.

Deleuze, G. (2015 [1969]) *Logic of sense*. Boundas, C.V. ed. Trans. Lester, M. with Stivale, C. 11th ed. London, Bloomsbury Academic.

Derrida, J. (2006 [1978]) *Writing and difference*. Trans. Bass, A. 9th ed. London, Routledge Classics.

Derrida, J. (2002) *Acts of religion*. Anidjar, G. ed. New York, Routledge.

Derrida, J. (1995) *The gift of death*. Trans. Wills, D. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Derrida, J., Ferraris, M. (2001) *A taste for the secret*. Trans. Donis, G. Donis, G. and Webb, D. eds. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Derrida, J., McDonald, C.V. (1982) Choreographies: Jacques Derrida and Christie V. McDonald. *Diacritics*, 12 (2), pp. 66 – 76.

Destivelle, C. (no date) *Catherine Destivelle* [Internet]. Available from http://catherinedestivelle.com/about/ [Accessed 25th May 2017].

DiAngelo, R. (2011) White fragility. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*. 3 (3), pp. 54 – 70.

Digby, A. (1990) Victorian values and women in public and private. *Proceedings of the British Academy* (78) pp. 195 – 215.

Dilley, R.E., Scraton, S.J. (2010) Women, climbing and serious leisure. *Leisure Studies*, 29 (2), pp. 125 – 141.

Dingle, P., Kiewa, J. (2006) Links between kayaking, fear, confidence and competence: Factors affecting women's participation in paddling in a tertiary outdoor education course. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education*, 10 (1), pp. 46 – 53.

Donnelly, P. (2003) The great divide: Sport climbing vs. adventure climbing. In: Rinehart, R.E. and Sydnor, S. eds. *To the extreme: Alternative sports, inside and out*. New York, State University of New York Press, pp. 291 – 306.

Douglas, E. (2015) *Mountaineers: Great tales of bravery and conquest*. 2nd Ed, Alpine Club in Association with the Royal Geographical Society, London, Dorling Kindersley Ltd.

Douglas, E. (2010) Eileen Healey obituary. *The Guardian* [Internet], 22nd November. Available from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/nov/22/eileen-healey-obituary [Accessed 19th December 2017].

Dowling, C. (2000) *The frailty myth*. New York, Random House.

Duignan, B. (2018) Postmodernism: Philosophy [Internet]. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Available from https://www.britannica.com/topic/postmodernism-philosophy [Accessed: 23rd February 2018].

Edensor, T. (2012) Illuminated atmospheres: Anticipating and reproducing the flow of affective experience in Blackpool. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30 (6), pp. 1103 – 1122.

Elkington, S. (2006) Exploring the nature of pre and post flow in serious leisure. In: Elkington S., Jones I., and Lawrence L. eds. *Serious Leisure: Extensions and Applications*. Eastbourne, UK, Leisure Studies Association, pp. 145 – 159.

Enders, C. (2017) At the Banff mountain film festival, the future of adventure sports is female. *The Guardian*. [Internet], 8th January Available from https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/jan/08/banff-mountain-film-festival-adventure-sports-female-athletes [Accessed 16th June 2017].

Engel, C.E. (1943) Early lady climbers. *Alpine Journal*, 54, pp. 51 – 59.

Estep, J. (2015) *In rock climbing, what does 'sandbag' mean, especially when it is being used as a verb?* [Internet]. Available from https://www.quora.com/In-rock-climbing-what-does-sandbag-mean-especially-when-it-is-being-used-as-a-verb [Accessed 15th June 2017].

Evans, J., Jones, P. (2011) The walking interview: methodology, mobility and place. *Applied Geography*, 31 (2), pp. 849 – 858.

Evans, K., Anderson, D.M. (2018) 'It's never turned me back: Female mountain guides' constraint negotiation. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 21 (1), pp. 9 – 31.

Evers, C. (2009) 'The Point': Surfing, geography and a sensual life of men and masculinity on the Gold Coast, Australia. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10 (80), pp. 893 – 909.

Ewert, A., Taniguchi, S. (2015) The motivations and satisfactions attendant to mountaineering. In: Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. eds. *Mountaineering Tourism*. London, Routledge, pp. 156 – 181.

Fletcher, R. (2014) *Enhancing the wild: Cultural dimension of ecotourism*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.

Fowler, J. (2017) Alison Chadwick-Onyszkiewicz, 1942 – 1978. *American Alpine Club Publications* [Internet], Available from http://publications.americanalpineclub.org/articles/12197934700/print. [Accessed 8th December 2017].

Fox, K.M., Humberstone, B., Dubnewick, M. (2014) Cycling into sensoria: Embodiment, leisure and tourism. *Tourism Review International*, 18 (1) pp. 71 – 85.

Frauman, E., Washam, J. (2013) The role of gender as it relates to confidence among University outdoor programmes' staff. *Journal of Outdoor Recreation, Education and Leadership* 5 (2), pp. 119 – 122.

Frisby, D. (1989) Simmel and leisure. In: Rojek, C. ed. *Leisure for Leisure Critical Essays*. London, Palgrave Macmillan Press Ltd, pp. 75 – 91.

Frohlick, S. (2006) Wanting children and wanting K2: The incommensurability of motherhood and mountaineering in Britain and North America in the late twentieth century. *Gender, Place and Culture,* 13 (5), pp. 477 – 490.

Frohlick, S. (2005) 'That playfulness of white masculinity': Mediating masculinities and adventure at mountain film festivals. *Tourist Studies*, 5 (2), pp. 175 – 193.

Frohlick, S. (2004) Who is Lhakpa Sherpa? Circulating subjectivities within the global/local terrain of Himalayan mountaineering. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5 (2), pp. 195 – 212.

Frohlick, S. (1999/2000) The hypermasculine landscape of high-altitude mountaineering. *Michigan Feminist Studies* [Internet], 14. Available from

https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?cc=mfsfront;c=mfs;c=mfsfront;idno=ark5583.0014.004;g=mfsg;rgn=main;view=text;xc=1 [Accessed 5 June 2018].

Fullagar, S., Pavlidis, A. (2018) Feminist theories of emotion and affect in sport. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Feminism, Sport, Leisure and Physical Education*. Mansfield, L., Caudwell, J., Wheaton, B., and Watson, B. eds. London, Palgrave Macmillian, pp. 447 – 463.

Fullagar, S. Pavlidis, A. (2012) It's all about the journey: Women and cycling events. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 3 (3), pp. 149 – 170.

Gamble, S. (2001) *Feminism and postfeminism*. 2nd ed. London, Routledge.

Gardner, T. (2016) *Everest: Facts and figures* [Internet]. Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/everest-facts-and-figures [Accessed 12 March 2018].

Gardner, T. (2015a) BMC (2015) *Popularity and economic benefit of mountaineering: instant expert*. [Internet]. Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/participation-in-climbing-mountaineering [Accessed 12 March 2016].

Gardner, T. (2015b) *Mountaineering is on the up.* [Internet]. 29th January, BMC. Available from www.bmc.co.uk/mountaineering-is-on-the-up [Accessed 12 March 2016].

Gerlach, J. (2014) Lines, contours and legends: Coordinates for vernacular mapping. *Progress in Human Geography*. 38 (1), pp. 22 – 39.

Gifford, T. (2013) Early women mountaineers achieve both summits and publication in Britain and America. In: Gomez Reus, T., and Gifford T. eds. *Women in Transit through Literary Liminal Spaces*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 91 – 106.

Glenmore Lodge (GL) (2016) *Women in adventure sport conference: Supporting and enabling female coaches and leaders* [Internet]. Aviemore, Scotland. Sport Scotland, Glenmore Lodge. Available from https://www.glenmorelodge.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2016-Women-in-Adventure-Sport-Conference-Report.pdf [Accessed 4th September 2018).

Glenmore Lodge (no date) *Mountaineering instructor award training* [Internet]. Available from https://www.glenmorelodge.org.uk/cat-19-

Summer%20Walking%20&%20Navigation/course-166-mountaineering-instructor-award-training/ [Accessed 7th June 2017].

Green, E. (1998) 'Women doing friendship': An analysis of women's leisure as a site of identity construction, empowerment and resistance. *Leisure Studies* 17, pp. 171 – 185.

Grosz, E. (2005) Derrida and feminism: A remembrance. *Difference: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 16 (3), pp. 83 – 94.

Grosz, E. (1995) Ontology & equivocation: Derrida's politics of sexual difference. *Diacritics*, 25 (2), pp. 114 – 124.

Habermas, J. (1984) *The theory of communicative action vol.1: Reason and the rationalization of society*. Trans. McCarthy, T. Boston, Beacon Press.

Hall, J. (2018) Women mountaineers and affect: Fear, play and the unknown. In: Saul, H., Waterton, E. eds. Affective Geographies of Transformation, Exploration and Adventure. Oxon, Routledge, pp. 147 – 164.

Haraway, D. (1988) Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14 (3), pp. 575 – 599.

Hargreaves, A. (1995) A hard day's summer: Six classic north faces Solo. 2nd ed. London, Coronet Books, Hodder and Stoughton.

Harrer, H. (2005) *The white spider*. London, Harper Perennial.

Harris, W. (2016) *Climbing lingo: how to talk the talk* [Internet]. 15 March, BMC, Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/climbing-how-to-talk-the-talk [Accessed 8th March 2018].

Harrison, J. (2001) *Synaesthesia the strangest thing*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hartsock, N. (2003) The feminist standpoint: developing the ground for a specifically historical materialism. In: Harding, S., and Hintikka, M. B. eds. *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and Philosophy of Science*. 2nd ed. New York, Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 283 – 310.

Havergal, F.R. (1881) *Swiss letters and alpine poems*. ed. Crane, J. M. New York, Anson D. F. Randolph & Company.

Heath, C., Hindmarsh, J., Luff, P. (2010) *Video in qualitative research*. London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Hickey Moody, A. (2013) Affect as method: Feelings, aesthetics and affective pedagogy. In: Coleman, R., and Ringrose, J. eds. *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, pp. 79 – 95.

Hill, L. (no date) *REI Co-op Journal, stories of a life outdoors: Within reach* [Internet video]. Available from, http://blog.rei.com/climb/documentary-about-womens-equality-climbing/ [Accessed 17th May 2017].

Hill, L. (2003) *Climbing Free*. London, Harper Collins *E*ntertainment.

Hillis Miller, J. (2007a) Derrida enisled. *Critical Enquiry* 33 (2), pp. 248 – 276.

Hillis Miller, J. (2007b) 'Don't count me in': Derrida's refraining. *Textual Practice*, 21 (2), pp. 279 – 294.

Hill Collins, P. (1986) Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of black feminist thought. Social Problems, 33 (6) pp. s14 – s32.

Hochschild, A.R. (1979) Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 85 (3), pp. 551 – 575.

Horton, J., Kraftl, P. (2014) *Cultural geographies An introduction*. Oxen, Routledge.

Humberstone, B. (2013) Adventurous activities, embodiment and nature: Spiritual, sensual and sustainable? Embodying environmental justice. *Motriz, Rio Claro*, 19 (3), pp. 565 – 571.

Humberstone, B. (2011) Embodiment, social and environmental action in nature-based sport: Spiritual places. *Leisure Studies*, 30 (4), pp. 495 – 512.

Humberstone, B., Prince, H., Henderson, K.A. eds. (2016) *Routledge international handbook of outdoor studies.* Oxon, Routledge.

Humberstone, B., Pedersen, K. (2001) Gender, class and outdoor traditions in the UK and Norway. *Sport, Education and Society*, 6 (1) pp. 23 – 33.

Husserl, E. (2012) *Ideas: General introduction to pure phenomenology.* Trans. Boyce Gibson, W. R. London, Routledge Classics.

Ingold, T. (2011) *Being alive: Essays on movement, knowledge and description*. Oxon, Routledge.

Ingold, T. (2010) Footprints through the weather-world: walking, breathing, knowing. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 16, pp. S121 – S139.

Ingold, T. (2000) *The perception of the environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. Oxon, Routledge.

Ingold, T., Lee, J. (2006) Fieldwork on foot: perceiving, routing and socializing. In: Coleman, S., and Collins, P. eds. *Locating the field: Space, place and context in anthropology*. Oxford, Berg, pp. 67 – 86.

Ingraham, C. (2005) *Thinking straight: The power, the promise, and the paradox of heterosexuality*. London, Routledge.

Ives, K. (2016a) Sharp end: The ice world, beyond. *The Alpinist*, 53. [Internet], 4th February. Available from http://www.alpinist.com/doc/ALP53/sharp-end-the-ice-world-beyond [Accessed: 30 November 2017].

Ives, K. (2016b) *Women on the lead*. Crux Crush [Internet] Available from http://cruxcrush.com/2016/03/17/women-on-lead-katie-ives-editor-in-chief-of-alpinist-magazine/ [Accessed 17 May 2017].

Jackson, M., Stark, E. (2000 [1959]) *Tents in the clouds The first women's Himalayan expedition*. Washington, Seal Press.

Jasper, D. (1986) *The interpretation of belief: Coleridge, Schleiermacher and Romanticism*. London, The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Jun, S. (2016) *Accept and adapt: Women in climbing* [Internet]. Available from https://www.climbing.com/people/women-in-climbing-accept-and-adapt/ [Accessed 8 June 2017].

Keller, P.F. (2014) *Mountainlikers: New trends of mountain tourism for the summer season.* [Internet]. Presented at 8th World Congress on Snow and Mountain Tourism, Andorra-la-Vella, Principality of Andorra. Available from http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/1_1_unwto_mountainlikers_2014_peter_keller.pdf [Accessed 10 June 2016].

Kiewa, J. (2001) Control over self and space in rockclimbing. *Journal of Leisure of Research*, 33 (4), pp. 363 – 382.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2017) *Psycho vertical* [Internet Video]. Available from http://www.psychoverticalfilm.com/ [Accessed 11 July 2018].

Kirkpatrick, A. (2014) *When hell freezes over.* Presented at Durham Gala Theatre, Durham, UK [26 March].

Knudsen, B.T., Stage, C. (2015) *Affective methodologies: Developing cultural research strategies for the study of affect.* Hampshire, Palgrave MacMillan.

Krein, K., Weaving, C. (2015) Alternative chicks: Examining women free-skiers and empowerment. *Fair Play*, 3 (2), pp. 1 – 23.

Kusenbach, M. (2003) Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool. *Ethnography,* 4 (3), pp. 455 – 485.

Langdridge, D., Butt, T. (2004) The fundamental attribution error: A phenomenological critique. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 43, pp. 357 – 369.

Langmuir, E. (2004) *Mountaincraft and leadership*. 3rd ed. Manchester, Mountain Leader Training England.

Lassiter, L.E. (2005) *The Chicago guide to collaborative ethnography*. London, The University of Chicago Press Ltd.

Le Blond, E. (1903*) True tales of mountain adventure*. New York, E.P. Dutton & Company.

Le Blond, E. [Burnaby, F.] (1883) *The high Alps in winter*. London, Gilbert & Rivington Ltd.

Lee, A. (2013) *The last great climb*. Posing Productions, [Internet video] Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IqkxeZza5mM [Accessed 28 April 2018].

Lefebvre, H. (1979) Work and leisure in daily life. In Mattelart, A., Siegelaub, S. (eds), *Communication and class struggle: Capitalism, imperialism*. New York, International General, pp. 135 – 141.

Lester, J. (2004) Spirit, identity, and self in mountaineering. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 44 (1), pp. 86 – 100.

Lewis, N. (2004) Sustainable adventure: Embodied experiences and ecological practices within British climbing. In: Wheaton, B. ed. *Understanding Lifestyle Sport: Consumption, Identity and Difference*. London, Routledge, pp. 70 – 93.

Lewis, N. (2000) The climbing body, nature and the experiences of modernity. *Body and Society*, 6 (3-4), pp. 58 – 80.

Lewis, M.W., Wigan, K.E. (1997) *The myth of continents: A critique of metageography.* California, University of California Press.

Lingis, A. (1999) *Dangerous emotions*. Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press.

Livy, T. (1823) *The history of Rome by Titus Livius*. Trans. Baker, G. Philadelphia, Samuel F. Bradford.

Little, D.E. (2002) Women and adventure recreation: Reconstructing leisure constraints and adventure experiences to negotiate continuing participation. Journal of Leisure Research 34 (2), pp. 157 – 177.

Llewellyn D.J, Sanchez, X. (2008) Individual differences and risk taking in rock climbing. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 9 (4), pp. 413 – 426.

Loomis, M. (2005) *Going manless, looking back, forward and inward*. American Alpine Club [Internet]. Available from http://publications.americanalpineclub.org/articles/12200509900/Going-Manless-Looking-Back-Forward-and-Inward [Accessed 22 January 2018].

Lorimer, H. (2011) Walking: New forms of spaces for studies of pedestrianism. In: Cresswell, T., and Merriman, P. eds. *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, spaces, subjects*. Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 19 – 33.

Lorimer, H. (2005) Cultural geography: the busyness of being 'more-than-representational'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29 (1), pp. 83 – 94.

Lyng, S. (2004) Crime, edgework and corporeal transaction. *Theoretical Criminology*. London, Sage Publications, 8 (3), pp. 359 – 375.

Lyng, S. (1990) Edgework: A social psychological analysis of voluntary risk taking. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 95 (4), pp. 851 – 886.

MacFarlane, R. (2003) *Mountains of the mind*. London, Granta Publications.

MacKendrick, K. (2001) *Immemorial silence*. USA, State University of New York Press.

Mangan, J.A. Walvin, J. (1987) *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America 1800 – 1940.* Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Manning, R.E. (2011*)* Motivations and benefits in outdoor recreation. In Manning R. E. ed. *Studies in Outdoor Recreation: Search and Research for Satisfaction.* Oregon, Oregon State University Press, pp. 166 – 189.

Massumi, B. (2002) *Parables for the virtual: Movements, affect, sensation*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.

Mazel, D. (1994). *Mountaineering women: Stories by early climbers*. USA, Texas A&M University Press College Station.

McCammon, I. (2004) Heuristic traps in recreational avalanche accidents: Evidence and implications. [Internet], *Avalanche News*, 68, Available from www.sunrockice.com/docs/Heuristic%20traps%20IM%202004.pdf [Accessed 18 March 2018].

McCarthy, J. (2002) A theory of place in North American mountaineering. *Philosophy and Geography*, 5 (2), pp. 179 – 194.

McClintock, M. (1996) Lesbian baiting hurts all women. In Warren, K. ed. *Women's voices in experiential education*. ERIC, pp. 241 – 250 [Internet] Available from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED412049.pdf [Accessed 9 July 2018].

McDowell, L. (1992) Doing gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers,* 17 (4), pp. 399 – 416.

McNee, A. (2017) *The new mountaineer in late Victorian Britain: Materiality, modernity, and the haptic sublime.* London, Palgrave Macmillan.

McNee, A. (2014) The haptic sublime and the 'cold stony reality' of mountaineering. *19, Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* [Internet] Available from https://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.697/ [Accessed 4 December 2017].

McNeil, J.N., Harris, D.A., Fondren, K.M. (2012) Women and the wild: Gender socialization in wilderness recreation advertising. *Gender Issues*, 29 (1 – 4), pp. 39 – 55.

Merleau Ponty, M. (1996) Eye and mind. In Johnson, G.A. ed. *The Merleau-Ponty aesthetics reader: Philosophy and painting*, Trans. Smith, M. B. 2nd ed. Illinois, Northwestern University Press. pp. 121 – 151.

Messenger, A. (2018) *Historic AGM sees new constitution and Lynn Robinson become first female BMC president.* [Internet], 16 June, BMC, Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/historic-agm-sees-new-constitution-and-lynn-robinson-become-first-female-bmc-president [Accessed 9 July 2018].

Messner, M.A. (2002). *Taking the field: Women, men and sports*. London, Minnesota Press.

Messner, R. (1999 [1978]) *Everest: Expedition to the ultimate*. Seattle, The Mountaineers.

Mills, S. (1991) *Discourses of difference: An Analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism*. London, Routledge.

Mitchell W.J.T. (2007) Picturing terror: Derrida's autoimmunity. *Critical Inquiry*, 33 (2), pp. 277 – 290.

Moffat, G. (2013[1961]) *Space below my feet*. 2nd ed. London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

Moller, M. (2007) Exploiting patterns: A critique of hegemonic masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16 (3), pp. 263 – 276.

Monasterio, E., Brymer, E. (2015) Mountaineering personality and risk. In: Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. eds. *Mountaineering Tourism*. London, Routledge, pp. 198 – 210.

Morin, N. (1968) *A woman's reach mountaineering memoirs*. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode.

Mort, H. (2017) *Give me space below my feet*. BBC Radio 3 [Internet recording] Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b096g27p [Accessed 2 October 2017, first broadcast on 30 September 2017].

Mountain Heritage Trust. (2017) *Alison Chadwick*. [Internet] Available from https://www.mountain-heritage.org/entity.php?ID=134 [Accessed 8 December 2017].

Mountain Partnership. (2014) *The importance of tourism for mountains* [Internet]. Presented at the international symposium on mountain economy. Guizhou University of Finance and Economics (GUFE) Guiyang – PRC, 6 – 8 May 2014 [Internet]. Available from http://www.mountainpartnership.org/fileadmin/templates/mountain_partnership/images/Vlatko_ANDONOVSKI.pdf [Accessed 10 June 2016].

MTS (Mountain Training Scotland). (2017) *Winter mountain leader award prospectus, Syllabus & Guidance Notes* [Internet] Available from http://www.mountain-training.org/walking/skills-and-awards/winter-mountain-leader [Accessed 15 May 2017].

MT (Mountain Training England and Wales). (2017) *Award statistics on women 2011 – 2016*. [Internal MT documents analysing female participation received via personal communication with Jasieniecka, N. nicola@mountain-training.org, 23 March 2017].

Mummery, A.F. (1908a) *My climbs in the Alps and Caucasus*. London, Thomas Nelson & Sons.

Mummery, M. (1908b) Der Teufelsgrat. In: Mummery, A. F. *My climbs in the Alps and Caucasus*. London, Thomas Nelson & Sons.

Musa, G., Higham, J., Thompson-Carr, A. eds. (2015) *Mountaineering tourism*. London, Routledge.

Nelsson, R. (2009) *On the roof of the world, the Guardian book of mountains*. London, Guardian Books.

Newbery, L. (2004) Hegemonic gender identity and outward bound: Resistance *and* re-inscription? *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal,* 13 (1), pp. 36 – 49.

Newbery, L. (2003) Will Any/body carry that canoe? A geography of the body, ability and gender. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 8 (2), pp. 204 – 216.

Nuwer, R. (2014) *The mountains we have never climbed.* BBC Future [Internet]. Available from http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20140703-the-last-mountains-to-climb [Accessed 3rd September 2018].

Oakley, A. (2005) *Experiments in knowing: Gender and method in the social sciences*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Oakley, A. (1972) *Sex, gender and society*. Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Ochota, M.A. (2017) *Winter is coming (it's not just for guys).* [Internet], 13 December, BMC, Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/winter-is-coming [Accessed 9 July 2018].

Olstead, R. (2011) Gender, space and fear: A study of women's edgework. *Emotion, Space and Society,* 4 (2), pp. 86 – 94.

Ortner, B.S. (1999) *Life and death on Mount Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan mountaineering*. Oxfordshire, Princeton University Press.

Owens, C. (1983) The discourse of others: Feminists and postmodernism. In: Foster, H. ed. *Postmodern Culture*. USA, Pluto Press, pp. 57 – 82.

Pálsson, G. (1994) Enskilment at sea. *Royal Anthropological Institute*, 29 (4), pp. 901 – 927.

Parks, R.J. (1987) Biological thought, athletics and formation of a 'man of character': 1830 – 1900. In: Mangan, J.A. and Walvin, J. eds. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800 – 1940.* Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 7 – 34.

Pennington, A. (2014) *The resilience to climb Everest – Adele Pennington at GDAW2014*. [Internet video] Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTs6_KJatYs. [Accessed 12 December 2017].

Peter, L. (2018) *The commitment series Ep. 1 – Libby Peter devotion*. [Internet video]. Available from https://vimeo.com/184513716 [Accessed 8 March 2018].

Peter, L. (no date) *Libby Peter*. DMM climbing [Internet video]. Available from https://dmmclimbing.com/Climbers/Libby-Peter [Accessed 20 April 2018).

Pile, S. (2010) Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35 (1), pp. 5 – 20.

Pilley, D. (1989 [1935]) *Climbing days*. 2nd ed. London, The Hogarth Press.

Pink, S. (2010) The future of sensory anthropology/the anthropology of the senses. European Association of Social Anthropologists 18 (3), pp. 331 – 340.

Pomfret, G. (2011) Package mountaineering tourists holidaying in the French Alps: An evaluation on the key influences encouraging their participation. *Tourism Management,* 33, (3), pp. 501 – 510.

Pomfret, G. (2006) Mountaineering adventure tourists: A conceptual framework for research. *Tourism Management,* 27, pp. 113 – 123.

Pomfret, G., Doran, A. (2015) Gender and mountaineering tourism. In: Musa, G., Higham, J., and Thompson-Carr, A. eds. *Mountaineering Tourism*. London, Routledge, pp. 138 – 155.

Probyn, E. (2010) Writing shame. In: Gregg, M., Seigworth, G. J. *The Affect Theory Reader.* Durham, NC, Duke University Press, pp. 71 – 92.

Protevi, J. (2004) Love. In: Patton, P., Protevi, J. eds. *Between Deleuze and Derrida*. 2nd ed., London, Continuum.

Puwar, N. (2004) *Space invaders: Gender and bodies out of place.* London, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Quora. (no date) *How many people attempt to climb Mt Everest annually? and how many people go along with these climbers as crew?* [Internet]. Available from https://www.quora.com/How-many-people-attempt-to-climb-Mt-Everest-annually [Accessed 9 June 2016].

Raisborough, J. (2006) Getting on board: Women, access and serious leisure. *The Sociological Review*, 54, pp. 242 – 262.

Rak, J. (2007) *Social climbing on Annapurna: Gender in high-altitude mountaineering narrative.* ESC [Internet], 33 (1 – 2), pp. 109 – 146. Available from https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/esc/index.php/ESC/article/view/9056 [Accessed 3 September 2018].

Randall, J. (2015) *Operation Moffat* [Internet video]. Available from https://www.reelhouse.org/jenrandall/operation-moffat [Accessed 27 April 2018].

Rawlinson, S. (no date) *To bolt or not to bolt.* Boulders [Internet] Available from http://bouldersuk.com/2013/09/bolt-bolt/ [Accessed 18 March 2018].

Reilly-Cooper, R. (2013) *Intersectionality and identity politics.* [Internet]. Available from https://rebeccarc.com/2013/04/15/intersectionality-and-identity-politics/ [Accessed 22 February 2018].

Relph, E. (1976) *Place and placelessness*. London, Pion Ltd.

Richards, L. (2018) Can girls play sport? Gender performativity in online responses to Sport England's This Girl Can campaign. In: Mansfield, L., Caudwell, J., Wheaton, B., and Watson, B. eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Feminism, Sport, Leisure and Physical Education*. London, Palgrave Macmillian, pp. 757 – 767.

Rickly, J.M. (2017) The (re)production of climbing space: bodies, gestures, texts. *Cultural Geographies,* 24 (1), pp. 69 – 88.

Rickly, J.M. (2016) Lifestyle mobilities: A politics of lifestyle rock climbing. *Mobilities,* 11 (2), pp. 243 – 263.

Rickly-Boyd, J. M. (2012) Lifestyle climbing: Toward existential authenticity. *Journal of Sport & Tourism,* 17 (2) pp. 85 – 104.

Robinson, V. (2010) Researching everyday sporting masculinities: Thoughts from a (critical) distance. *Journal of Gender Studies,* 19 (3), pp. 209 – 313.

Robinson, V. (2008) *Everyday masculinities and extreme sport: Male Identity and Rock Climbing*. Oxford, Berg.

Roche, C. (2015) *The Ascent of women: How female mountaineers explored the Alps 1850 – 1900.* PhD thesis, Birkbeck, University of London.

Roche, C. (2014) *Lady-like Victorian psyche: the story of Lucy Walker and the Eiger.* Interview Carter, C.J. BMC. [Internet]. Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/ladylike-victorian-psyche-the-story-of-lucy-walker-and-the-eiger [Accessed 17 November 2017].

Roche, C. (2013) Women climbers 1850 – 1900: A challenge to male hegemony? *Sport in History*, 33 (3), pp. 236 – 259.

Rose. D., Douglas, E. (1999*). Regions of the heart: The triumph and tragedy of Alison Hargreaves*. London, Michael Joseph.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism & geography: The limits of geographical knowledge*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

Rose, M. (2006) Gathering dreams of presence: a project for the cultural landscape. *Environment and Planning D, Society & Space*, 24 (4), pp. 537 – 554.

Ryan, M. (2005) *Climb like a girl – Part 1.* UKClimbing.com [Internet] Available from https://www.ukclimbing.com/articles/page.php?id=107 [Accessed 7 June 2017].

Ryff, C.D., Singer, B.H. (2008) Know thyself and become what you are: A eudaimonic approach to psychological well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 9, pp. 13 – 39.

Sandberg, S. (2013) *Lean in women, work and the will to lead.* United Kingdom, W H Allen.

Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2017) Making polysense of the world. In: Tolia-Kelly, D.P., Waterton, E., Watson, S. eds. *Heritage, Affect & Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*. Abingdon, UK, Routledge, pp. 12 – 29.

Schirrmacher, K. (2008) *Role models: Women climbers of today*. BMC [Internet] Available from https://www.thebmc.co.uk/role-models-women-climbers-of-today [Accessed 13 December 2017].

Sedgwick E.K. (2003) *Touching feeling: Affect, pedagogy, performativity*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.

Sharp, B. (2001) Take me to your (male) leader. *Gender and Educatio*n, 13 (1) pp. 75 – 86.

Shepherd, N. (2011 [1977]) *The living mountain*. Edinburgh, Canongate Books Ltd.

Shouse, E. (2005) Feeling, emotion, affect. *Journal of Media & Culture, Australia,* 8 (6). [Internet] Available from http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0512/03-shouse.php [Accessed 29 March 2017].

Simmel, G. (2002 [1903]) The metropolis and mental Life. In: Bridge, G., Watson, S. eds. *The Blackwell city reader.* Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 11 – 19.

Spinney, J. (2015) Close encounters? Mobile methods, (post) phenomenology and affect. *Cultural Geographies*, 22 (2) pp. 231 – 246.

Spinney, J. (2011) A chance to catch a breath: Using mobile video ethnography in cycling research. *Mobilities*, 6 (2) pp. 161 – 182.

Spivak, G. C. (1988) Can the subaltern speak? In: Nelson, C., and Grossberg, L. eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture.* London, Macmillan, pp. 24 – 28.

Sport England (2017) *This Girl Can*. [Internet]. Available from https://www.sportengland.org/our-work/women/this-girl-can/ [Accessed 16 June 2017].

Stebbins, R.A. (2015) *Leisure reflections (Research Blog) 40: Tourism, flow and the serious leisure perspective. LSA Newsletter*, 3 November, 2015. [Internet] Available from https://leisurestudiesblog.wordpress.com/2015/11/03/tourism-flow-and-the-serious-leisure-perspective/#more-159 [Accessed 9 June 2016].

Stebbins, R.A. (2005) *Challenging mountain nature: Risk, motive, and lifestyle in three hobbyist sports*. Calgary, AB, Detselig, pp. 70 – 78.

Stebbins, R.A. (1982) Serious leisure: A conceptual statement. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 25 (2) pp. 251 – 272.

Stephen, L. (1871) *The playground of europe*. London, Spottiswoode and Co.

Steven, H. (2010) *Rising to the challenge: 100 Years of the Ladies Scottish Climbing Club*. United Kingdom, Scottish Mountaineering Trust.

Stewart, K. (2011) Atmospheric attunements. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (3), pp. 445 – 453.

Stewart, K. (2010) Worlding refrains. In: Gregg, M., and Seigworth, G. J. eds. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press, pp. 339 – 355.

Stewart, K. (2007) *Ordinary affects*. Durham, NC, and London, Duke University Press.

Stockham, K. (2012) *"It went down into the very form and fabric of myself": Women's Mountaineering Life-Writing 1808 – 1960*. PhD Thesis, University of Exeter.

Stranger, M. (1999) The aesthetics of risk: A study of surfing. *International Review For The Sociology of Sport,* 34 (3), pp. 265 – 276.

Terry, M., Owens, R. (2005) Transformation and postmodern feminism. In: Schmidt, K. ed. *The Theatre of Transformation: Postmodernism in American Drama*. Amsterdam, New York, Rodopi, pp. 129 – 172.

Thorpe, H., Rinehart, R. (2010) Alternative sport and affect: Non-representational theory examined. *Sport in Society*, 3 (7/8) pp. 1268 – 1291.

Thrift, N. (2008) *Non-representational theory: Space, politics, affect.* London, Routledge.

Tolsdorff, T. (2013) 75 years after the Eiger was conquered. Spiegel Online. [Internet]. Available from http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/75th-anniversary-conquering-the-eiger-north-face-a-912939.html [Accessed: 16 March 2018].

Tonnies Moore, A. (2015) *Dude grades: A look at sexism in climbing grades*. [Internet]. Available from http://mojagear.com/journal/2015/12/23/dude-grades-a-look-at-sexism-in-climbing-grades/ [Accessed 16 June 2017].

Tuan, Y.F. (1998) *Escapism*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tuan, Y.F. (1974) *Topophilia*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Tullis, J. (1987) *Clouds from both Sides*. London, Grafton Books.

UKC. (no date) *Logbook voting*. [Internet]. Available from https://www.ukclimbing.com/logbook/c.php?i=487885 [Accessed 8 July 2018].

UKC. (2017) *Adele Pennington climbs Manaslu, 8193m*. [Internet] Available from https://www.ukclimbing.com/news/item/45360/adele__pennington_climbs_manaslu_8163m [Accessed 12 December 2017].

UKC. (2011) *Vector challenge* [Internet]. Available from https://www.ukclimbing.com/forums/t.php?t=458303. [Accessed 7 June 2017].

UKC. (2002) *Sandbagging. Dangerous?* [Internet]. Available from https://www.ukclimbing.com/forums/rocktalk/sandbagging__dangerous-26104 [Accessed 8 March 2018].

Urry, J., Larsen, J. (2011) *The tourist gaze 3.0*. London, Sage Publications.

Visit Scotland. (no date) *Scottish Munros and Munro bagging.* [Internet]. Available from https://www.visitscotland.com/see-do/active/walking/munro-bagging/ [Accessed 17 April 2018].

Waitt, G., Clifton, D. (2013) 'Stand out, not up': Bodyboarders, gendered hierarchies and negotiating the dynamics of pride/shame. *Leisure Studies,* 32 (5), pp. 487 – 506.

Walker, D. (2004) The evolution of climbing clubs in Britain. *Alpine Club Journal*, pp. 187 – 195.

Walsh, V., Golins, G. (1976) *The exploration of the outward bound process*. Denver, CO: Outward Bound Publication.

Warren, K. (2016) Gender in outdoor studies. In: Humberstone, B., Prince, H., Henderson, K. A. (2016). *Routledge International Handbook of Outdoor Studies,* Abingdon, Routledge*,* pp. 360 – 368.

Warren, K., Loeffler, T.A. (2006) Factors that influence women's technical skill development in outdoor adventure. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, 6 (2), pp. 107 – 120.

Waterton, E., Watson, S. (2014) *The semiotics of heritage tourism.* Bristol, Channel View Publications.

Watson, S., Waterton, E. (2015) Methods in motion: Affecting heritage research. In: Knudsen, B.T., Stage, C. eds. *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect.* [Internet]. United Kingdom, Palgrave MacMillan. [E-book Accessed 20 February 2017 York St John University Library], pp. 97 – 118.

Wearing, B. (1998) *Leisure and feminist theory*. London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Wegner, C.E., Ridinger, L.L., Jordan, J.S., Funk, D.C. (2015) Get serious: Gender constraints to long-distance running. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 47 (3), pp. 305 – 321.

Weil, E. (2005) Babes on belay. *Outside Online*. [Internet] Available from https://www.outsideonline.com/1823471/babes-belay [Accessed 16 July 2017].

Wetherell, M. (2015) Trends in the turn to affect: A social psychological critique*. Body & Society*, 21 (2), pp. 139 – 166.

Wheaton, B. (2010) Introducing the consumption and representation of lifestyle sports. *Sport in Society*, 13 (7/8), pp. 1057 – 1081.

Wheaton, B. (2007) After sport culture: Rethinking sport and post-subcultural theory. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 31 (3), pp. 283 – 307.

Wheaton, B. (2000) "New Lads"? Masculinities and the "New Sport" participation. *Men and Masculinities* 2 (4), pp. 434 – 456.

Whymper, E. (1872) *Scrambles amongst the Alps*. Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co.

Williams, C. (1973) *Women on the rope*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Willsher, K. (2017). Mont Blanc: Mayor tries to stop Ill-equipped 'hotheads' tackling peak. *The Guardian* [Internet], 21st August. Available from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/21/mont-blanc-mayor-tries-to-stop-ill-equipped-hotheads-tackling-peak [Accessed 10 July 2018].

Winthrop Young, G. (1920) *Mountain craft*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

Wittmer, C.R. (2001). Leadership and gender-role congruency: A guide for wilderness and outdoor practitioners. *The Journal of Experiential Education*, 24 (3), pp. 173 – 178.

Womens Adventure Expo (2017). *MMIEEP Managing Menstruation in Extreme Environments Project.* [Internet]. Available from https://womensadventureexpo.co.uk/managing-menstruation-in-extreme-environments-project-mmieep/ [Accessed 13 June2017].

Wright, M., Gray, T. (2013) The hidden turmoil: Females achieving longevity in the outdoor learning profession. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education*, 16 (2), pp. 12 – 23.

Wylie, J. (2010) Non-representational subjects. In: Anderson, B., Harrison, P., eds. *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories in Geography*. Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 99 – 116.

World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (2015) *UNWTO tourism highlights 2015 edition.* [Internet]. Available from http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284416899 [Accessed 10 May 2016].

Zembylas, M. Michaelides, P., E. (2004) The sound of silence in pedagogy. *Educational Theory* 54 (2), pp. 193 – 210.

APPENDIX ONE

Table 4. List of Main Nodes and Sub Nodes

	Main Nodes		
	Affect	**Embodiment/Kinaesthetics**	**Enskilment**
	(Theory)	**(Emotion/Sensoria)**	**(Mountaincraft)**
S			
U	Behaviour	Emotion	Formal Training
B	Change	Absence/Escape	Lifestyle
	Cultural	Enjoyment/Adventure	Professionalism
N	Dreaming	Fear/Risk	Serious Tourism
O	Economic	Pain	Skills
D	Historical	Responsibility	
E	Influences	Self-esteem/Confidence	
S	Politics	Physical Aesthetics	
	Masculine/Feminine	Fatigue/Rest	
	Social	Movement/Flow	
		Sensoria – Sight/Sound/Smell/Taste/Touch	
		Thrill/Excitement	

APPENDIX TWO

Research Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Please read and complete this form carefully. If you are willing to participate in this study, ring the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask. If you have concerns or questions I can be contacted via the details below.

- I have had the research satisfactorily explained to me in verbal and / or written form by the researcher. YES/NO

- I understand that the research will involve: an individual day out in the mountains and a joint day out with the researcher that will be filmed and followed by a short discussion, which will be audio recorded. YES/NO

- I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time without having to give an explanation. YES/NO
- I understand that all the information about me will be treated in strict confidence and that I will not be named in any written work arising from this study. YES/NO
- I understand that any film or audiotape material of me will be used solely for research purposes and will be kept on a secure password protected computer. YES/NO
- I understand that you will be discussing the progress of your research with others at York St John University. YES/NO

I freely give my consent to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Participant

Signature……

Date……

Researcher

Signature……..

Date……

Contact: Jenny Hall

j.hall@yorksj.ac.uk

07505 360032

Ethical Approval Code: 161017_Hall_129114112_BS

APPENDIX THREE

Ethical Consent Form

Research Ethical Considerations

This form is intended to help students and members of staff ensure that they are aware of ethical matters that might arise in their research. It combines the various forms needed for ethical review, and very few researchers will need to complete all four parts.

Everyone who does research in the faculty is required to compete ethical screening. If the results indicate that the proposed research could raise ethical issues it must be approved before it can begin. Evidence will be required to show how ethical issues will be dealt with, which may be either be a mitigation of ethical concerns form, or a full ethics proposal.

Before completing this form, please refer to the Expectations for Research, Teaching and Consultancy Activities at the University. All research activity must adhere to the University's Equality, Diversity and Human Rights Policy.

This form must be completed before the research begins. It is in four parts:

Part One: **The Initial Screening.** Everyone complete this.

Part Two: **Decision tree.** This is completed if part one indicates that there are ethical issues with the proposed research, but they may not require a full proposal.

Part Three: **Mitigation of Ethical Concerns**. This is completed if there are some ethical issues which can be dealt with by following standard procedures.

Part Four: **Ethics Proposal.** This is completed if there are substantial ethical issues in the proposed research that require vetting by the faculty ethics committee.

The principal investigator or, where the principal investigator is a student, the identified supervisor, is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review.

Title of research:	Mapping Women in Mountaineering: A study of affect, sensoria and emotion in serious tourism
Name of researcher:	Jenny Hall
Status:	Postgraduate research programme (e.g. PhD) Staff:

Email address:	J.hall@yorksj.ac.uk
Telephone number:	07505360032
Student / staff ID:	129114112

For Students Only

Module name and number:	PHBUSFT
Supervisor or module leader:	Dai O'Brien

PART ONE: The Initial Screening Checklist

Please complete the initial screening checklist by deleting either 'Yes' or 'No' in row:

Subject area

If the research involves matters of social, political or personal sensitivity you need to be aware of the boundary between legitimate academic enquiry and unnecessarily offensive or illegal behaviour.

1. **Will the research require the collection of primary source material that might possibly be seen as offensive or considered illegal to access or hold on a computer?** *Examples might be studies related to state security, pornography, abuse or terrorism.*
2. **Will the study involve discussion of or the disclosure of information about sensitive topics?**

   This may involve legal issues that are nonetheless sensitive (e.g. sexual orientation, or states of health), or topics where illegal behaviour could be revealed (e.g. abuse, criminal activity, under-age drinking or sexual activity).

Participants: recruiting and consent

If the research involves collecting data from people you need to be aware of issues related to ensuring that they are able to give informed consent to participate where appropriate. This means being aware of how people are recruited, and whether they understand what information is being collected and why. In some cases data collection has to be covert, or informed consent is not possible from the participants themselves. These require particular attention.

3. **Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper to give access to, or to help recruit, participants?**

   Examples include headteachers giving access to schools, ministers giving access to congregations, group leaders publicising your research.

4. **Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge or consent at the time?**

   Examples might be studies of group behaviour or the use of data that was not intentionally collected for research.

5. **Will the study involve recruitment of patients through the NHS?**

   There are particular issues and procedures required if the research will involve NHS users. See

6. **Will inducements be offered to participants?**

   This could include direct payments, the offer of being entered in a prize draw, or, for students, the offer of course credit for participation. It does not include they payment of legitimate expenses.

7. **Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent?**

   You must answer 'yes' if any participants are under 18. Adults with learning disabilities, the frail elderly, or anyone who may be easily coerced due to lack of capacity is

considered vulnerable. If you teach and you wish to research your own students, they should be classed as potentially vulnerable.

Data collection

Where the collection of data involves more than trivial risk to participants researchers must weigh carefully the necessity of the procedure, the level of possible harm, and the benefits of the research.

8. **Will the study require participants to commit extensive time to the study?**
   Single-session interviews or completing questionnaires once or twice would not be considered excessive, but long-term studies with multiple sampling, intensive data gathering over a day or more, or long interviews and questionnaires that take some hours to complete might fall into this category.
9. **Are drugs, placebos or any other substances to be administered to participants, or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?**
   Even simple procedures such as tasting sessions might be dangerous if participants have allergies, so tick yes if the research involves any substance trials.
10. **If there are experimental and control groups, will being in one group disadvantage participants?**
    Examples might be testing new teaching methods where pupils without the trial procedure may be disadvantaged, or trying a new procedure where the outcomes are uncertain.
11. **Is an extensive degree of exercise or physical exertion involved?**
    If participants are unused to such exercise it could put them at risk, so it is important for researchers to be aware of this and communicate it to volunteers.
12. **Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?**
    These procedures require specialist training and are covered by particular ethical codes. See :
13. **Is pain or more than mild physical discomfort likely to result from the study?**
14. **Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?**
    This might be because the subject area is sensitive, the nature of task (e.g. decision-making under pressure),or the participants are particularly vulnerable to stress or anxiety (e.g. those with a history of poor mental health).

Yes

Date: ……4.7.16…….....

If all your answers are 'No', sign below and keep a copy of this form.

Researcher signature: *Jenny Hall*

Supervisor signature: (if applicable): _____

If you answered 'Yes' to <u>any</u> questions you need to complete another part of this form:

*If any Yes answers are **red** you will need to complete a full ethics proposal and submit it to the ethics committee, so go straight to PART FOUR*

*If all your Yes answers are **black** you need complete PART TWO on the next page to see if you have to complete a full ethics proposal.*

*If any answers are YES in the decision tree, you need to complete a full proposal. If all are NO, continue to the next pages and complete the mitigation sections **of the relevant questions.***

PART TWO: The Decision Tree

Delete rows *where you answered* ***NO in the initial checklist*** *in Part One. Then decide if a full ethics proposal might still be required by looking at the criteria and deleting the Yes or No response in the remaining rows as appropriate.*

	If you answered **YES** response to this Question:	**A Full Ethics Proposal is required if:**	**Full Ethics proposal require**	
1	Will the research require the collection of primary source material that might possibly be seen as offensive or considered illegal to access or hold on a computer?	Accessing or holding primary material could be considered illegal.	Yes	No
2	Will the study involve discussion of, or the potential disclosure of, information about sensitive topics?	Participants include children. Subject matter relates to illegal activities.	Yes	No
3	Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper to give access to, or to help recruit, participants?	Gatekeepers are overseas.	Yes	No
4	Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge or consent at the time?	Required under all circumstances	Yes	No
5	Will the study involve recruitment of patients through the NHS?	Required under all circumstances	Yes	
6	Will inducements be offered to participants?	Payments of more than £5 per person or prizes of more than £100. Any reward related to students gaining credit or marks for participation.	Yes	No
7	Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent?	Any adults are unable to give their own consent.	Yes	No
8	Will the study require participants to commit extensive time to the study?	Participants will be under observation for more than 8 hours in any session or required to give over 24 hours in total.	Yes	No
9	Are drugs, placebos or any other substances to be administered to participants, or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?	Any drug or invasive procedure such as injection.	Yes	No

10	If there are experimental and control groups, will being in one group disadvantage participants?	There is no evidence to show how experimental group will fare, or there any evidence that they may be disadvantaged. Any procedure where untreated group would remain at risk of significant harm or disadvantage compared with experimental group.	Yes	No
11	Is an extensive degree of exercise or physical exertion involved?	Participants include likely vulnerable groups (e.g. those with history of heart problems, stokes, obesity etc.)	Yes	No
12	Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?	Required under all circumstances	Yes	No
13	Is pain or more than mild physical discomfort likely to result from the study?	Required under all circumstances	Yes	No
14	Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	Required under all circumstances	Yes	

*If you have answer YES to any questions, a full ethics proposal is required. Skip part three and complete **PART FOUR**.*

*If you have answered NO to all the questions, a full ethics proposal is NOT required. Complete **PART THREE** to show how you will mitigate the ethical issues identified in the checklist.*

PART THREE: Research Ethical Considerations Mitigation Form

You need to complete this if you answered YES to any question in the initial screening checklist, but you do not require a full ethics proposal.

Please describe your research project in less than 200 words. What are the main research questions, who will be participating, what data will be collected?

Use the following pages to show how you will deal with ethical issues.

First, delete any rows where the answer was 'No' in the initial screening checklist.

For your remaining 'Yes' answers, show how you will address the ethical issues that may arise.

Q#	**Question:** *(delete row if 'no' answer in initial checklist)*	**What you need to show:**	**Your response :**
1	Will the research require the collection of primary source material that might possibly be seen as offensive or considered illegal to access or hold on a computer?	Show why collection of data is necessary to the research, how material will be handled and stored, and how offense will be mitigated as far as possible in final outcomes.	
2	Will the study involve discussion of, or the potential disclosure of, information about sensitive topics?	Show how anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained. Ensure there are clear procedures for the event of disclosure of illegal activity, and these are made clear to participants before consent is given. Show how will data be held and how offense will be mitigated as far as possible in final outcomes	
3	Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper to give access to, or to help recruit, participants?	Show how gatekeepers will be instructed and that undue coercion will be avoided. Demonstrate that informed consent and rights to withdraw will be made clear to all participants.	
6	Will inducements be offered to participants?	Show how recruitment will be advertised, and how payment / prize draws will be made and gifts distributed. Show how will anonymity and confidentiality be maintained if participants need to give contact details to receive rewards.	
7	Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent?	If children, show how parental consent will be obtained, or why it may not be needed (e.g. for some older teenagers). For other vulnerable adults if they can give consent show how will this be obtained to ensure that it is informed	.

8	Will the study require participants to commit extensive time to the study?	Justify the required commitment in terms of research outcomes. Show how participants will be fully informed of what will be required to participate.	
9	Are drugs, placebos or any other substances to be administered to participants, or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?	Show how participants will be warned about allergies or other risks from the treatment. Show procedures in the case of sudden medical problems.	
10	If there are experimental and control groups, will being in one group disadvantage participants?	Show that the test is necessary for long term or wider benefits to all potential users. Show that risk to experimental group in minimal.	
11	Is an extensive degree of exercise or physical exertion involved?	Show how participants will be screened to reduce likelihood of problems. Show how participants will be warned of risks. Show procedures in the case of sudden medical problems.	

Date: ……..

Researcher signature: _____

Students: *Keep this form safe and submit it with your research assignment.*

Supervisors: *Sign this form if you are content that the student has adequately addresses the ethical issues raised in the screening checklist. You may want to consult with colleagues, or if you are still unsure send this to the faculty ethics committee*

Supervisor signature: (if applicable): _____

Staff research: *Sign this form and send it to the Faculty Research Administrator. It needs the approval of the research ethics committee.*

PART FOUR: Research Ethics Proposal

You must complete this proposal if either:

- *You answered a 'red' **YES** in the Initial Screening Checklist in Part One of this form. OR*
- *You gave one or more non-red YES answers in the Initial Screening Checklist and the Decision Tree indicated that a full proposal was required.*

You have to complete this form because what you propose to do raises substantial ethical issues. This proposal will be seen by a committee who will want to know clearly and precisely what you intend to do and how you will ensure that you follow best ethical practice.

Name of researcher(s)	Jenny Hall
Title of research	Mapping Women in Mountaineering: A study of affect, sensoria and emotion in serious tourism
Objectives: *A few bullet points to indicate what questions you want to answer.*	
- To understand how women experience mountaineering sensorially and emotionally - To understand how women professionalise their mountaineering practices - To understand if women use both feminine and masculine strategies whilst mountaineering	
Please give a brief justification of your proposed research project: *How it relates to previous research, why the questions are important, and what benefits might it offer. This helps to show that the research is worthwhile, even if it raises some ethical questions.*	
Very little research exists in the field of tourism geography that explores mountaineering through sensoria and emotion and even less research has been conducted from a female perspective. Mountaineering is a highly masculinised environment and this perhaps suggestive of the declining numbers of women taking up the activity. The British Mountaineering Council (BMC) is currently engaged in partnership with Mountain Training to increase participation in mountaineering by women and girls. As a result the BMC has joined the Sports Councils *This Girl Can* initiative to encourage participation. The research implications are therefore opening up a social and political voice and to contribute to tourism geography by creating a	

new conceptual framework of kin-aesthetics through the applying Derridean theories of responsibility. Thereby developing an understanding women's motivations to engage in mountaineering could enable better ways to recruit and engage women in the activity and achieve a greater gender equality in mountaineering.

Please outline the proposed sample group or research material:

Is this a random sample, or will you be recruiting only certain sorts of people or accessing certain sorts of material. If the sample may be vulnerable people, or the material particularly sensitive, show how you will deal with the ethical issues this raises.

I intent to target women who have considerable mountaineering experience both in an amateur capacity and professional capacity. They will be from Westernised backgrounds and be living and working, predominantly in the UK, aged 20 – 65yrs + (I anticipate I will need 8 to 10 participants). I expect that the participants with be within the 30 – 55 age range and have or are working towards national mountaineering qualifications

These qualifications are nationally and internationally recognised and require the candidates to attend a training programme based in the mountains of 5 days or above and then a mountain based assessment where competencies are observed and assessed. Candidates have to successfully complete all tasks and demonstrate their skills meeting the national criteria to achieve a pass and become an award holder. Those do not pass are referred and need to attend further training and assessment.

Mountain Training (MT) is the national award making body for mountaineering and outdoor qualifications in the UK. MT also monitor participation and regulate the industry.

Describe how the proposed sample will be recruited:

Indicate if you will be recruiting directly, or if you will use a 'gatekeeper'. If the latter, how will they be trained and instructed?

I intend to recruit through personal contacts and their connections that have expressed an interest in the research and share a feeling that the sector needs to change. Although I do not want to put pressure on these individuals through a personal sense of responsibility they may feel towards me, I will endeavor to work through them to connect with women that are not known to me, but are identified through my contacts networks. I will also recruit through:

Women in Climbing and Mountaineering Facebook page, I am a current member and responses will be through private response to my YSJU email. Women can message via facebook privately, but any further communication will be conducted through private communication.

I have also been offered support with identifying potential candidates via Mountain Training (MT) who have offered to identify individuals who have completed or are in the process of completing relevant qualifications. These records are publically

available also, so MT are not acting as gatekeepers as such, they are just assisting with signposting me to potential candidates.

I will produce a letter of introduction and invitation to participate clearly setting out what is involved and over how long the project will take place, the commitment required and of course the confidentiality and level of consent required. As well as how the material will be used and disseminated.

What will your participants be required to do:

Include an indication of the time they will need to give to the study, and whether or not the activities required might be physically or psychologically stressful. How will you deal with this if it is likely to happen?

Participants will be asked to participate in 2 semi structured interviews these will take place before and directly after leading an activity in the mountains. Activities will be limited to walks on non-technical ground (ground that does not require the use of a rope). Activities are not led by me, these will be led by the women who, in the normal course of their work, lead groups in the mountains. As such these activities will already have been risk assessed by the leader, as part of their job, and the group undertaking the activity will be wholly managed by the leader. All leaders hold their own public and professional indemnity insurance. I anticipate undertaking the pre and post interviews at a location convenient to the leader so this will either be in a local café or at their home. I will identify a neutral location quiet enough to ensure I can record as well as provide confidential space for discussions to take place.

I will ask participants to make one solo journey and one journey with myself into the mountains in either summer or winter conditions. These will be an industry standard quality mountain day of 7hours+ (although this is dependent on weather conditions and maybe only 4/5hrs). An overnight camp or snow hole may be part of the mountain journey so this may exceed 20hrs, breaks, such as sleeping will mean continuous observation is broken up for the benefit of both participants and myself. The participants are very experienced in doing this, as the mainstay of their work and living, many also use their leisure time to conduct their own 'mountain projects'. Both the leader and I will keep field notes collected in situ through technology such as go-pro's etc. The method used will be to co-produce as a 'go-along' one day where the leader conducts their everyday working activities and the second day they will be asked to take a solo journey and record their experiences. This aims to provide the contrast between a working mountain day and a leisure mountain day. I will operate as an 'insider' having extensive knowledge and experiences of mountaineering and therefore have the ability to empathise more readily with the emotions and feelings being experienced. Both journey's will be agreed and discussed beforehand.

Photographs and videos will show how movement occurs and how weather conditions and terrain impact on the journey made and will be means of exploring kin-aesthetics as they occur, these may be used in second interviews as prompts for discussion.

The most likely stressful situation to be encountered is if, during the interviews, the topic of loss is touched upon. Many mountaineers have either been involved in major accidents or lost friends and colleagues in accidents during participating in mountaineering. The topics to be discussed will be agreed on the first meeting where topic boundaries are agreed before any interview takes place. Every effort will be made to ensure that participants are comfortable with the topics discussed and it will

be made clear to participants that if they are not comfortable with talking about certain issues then the interview can either cease or move away from that topic if they are happy to continue. I am part of the mountaineering community and therefore an insider, and as a result I am able to empathize and in most instances able to pre-empt, through knowledge of incidents within the sector, any occurrences the participants might be distressed by. Should a difficult situation arise I would explain that I am not a professional counsellor and therefore would advise any participant who experienced distress to seek professional advice and support through their GP, Samaritans and charities that offer counselling services such as Gingerbread, Sue Ryder etc.

Specify how the consent of participants will be obtained. Please include within this a description of any information which you intend to provide the participants:

If the participants fall into the 'vulnerable' category, or there is a question whether informed consent is possible, you need to justify why you should be doing research on such participants, and show that what you want them to do is in their best interests, or the best interests of society.

Prior to agreeing and signing consent forms I intend to either discuss via skype/phone or meet in person potential participants on a one to one basis to discuss the research, what I aim to achieve and what the potential outcomes and impacts might be. I will discuss how their contribution will be confidential and how this is managed and the commitment required from them in taking part. Consent forms will be signed by researcher and participant to cover: the contact time required in terms of face to face interviews, and what the observed sessions will involve in terms of taking photographs and video. A process of 'consent in practice' will be used whereby the participant can ask not to continue with a question or the interview or ask for photographs of video not to be taken whilst observing in the field.

Transcripts of the interviews and my reflexive observations of the field activities will be sent to the participants to check they are happy with the content and that it is an accurate reflection of what has been said and has happened. It will also be an opportunity for them to decide what material is acceptable for use in the thesis.

Any material to be used will be shared and approved by participants before being used and disseminated through the thesis. It will be agreed at this point that any future publication or use of material is permissible.

The right to withdraw at any time will also be made clear. It will be agreed with the participant what material (if any) is acceptable for use prior to withdrawal from the project. Material that is viewed by the participant as being unacceptable will be destroyed.

Indicate any potential risks to participants and how you propose to minimize these:

Prior to conducting any observations in the field I will produce a risk assessment to cover my activities in the field, which observe and are compliant with YSJU policies and procedures. The leader, as a matter of professional conduct and I will, have discussed the health and safety matters and conducted a risk assessment prior to the activity and employ a process of rolling risk assessment during the activity (this

is standard practice). The rolling risk assessment is based on changing weather conditions, conditions underfoot, conditions of the team, potential hazards that would difficult to predict i.e. landslides etc. Route choice is altered if any of the above factors change considerably to warrant concern. I will be an equal and in most cases a less experienced mountaineer but as standard practice will share information that I consider to be of importance and contribute to decision making with regard to route choice as part of the rolling risk assessment. Weather conditions will predict whether footage is possible or safe as winter conditions in the Scottish Highlands are often harsh. All mountain leaders hold professional insurance cover and undertake their own risk assessments before venturing into the mountains.

I hold national mountaineering qualifications and will conduct my own risk assessment to cover me as part of a group activity that involves walking in the mountains (generally this means going above 600m above sea level). I am very experienced as an independent mountaineer and as a group leader and as such, will assess when it is safe/appropriate to take photographs or video footage. I am fully aware that footage may not be possible due to weather conditions or group/leaders not wishing to participate in this particular aspect of the observation. It will therefore be an added bonus if I am able to collect this data. The data required is not therefore, wholly reliant on being able to collect visual imagery and will be predominantly collected via field notes written after participation.

Describe the procedures you intend to follow in order to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants:

You may not be able to collect data anonymously (e.g. in longitudinal studies) and in some cases participants may not wish what they contribute to be either anonymous or confidential. You need to show you are aware of these issues and have thought how to deal with them.

The mountaineering community is small even on a global scale, women within this community form a minority therefore, and memorable incidents are easily attributable. Participants will be given the choice to use a pseudonym and incidents that could be attributed will not be used unless the participant has agreed. However, it will be made clear that anonymity cannot be guaranteed due to the nature and small size of the mountaineering community.

How will the data be handled and stored:

This is particularly important if there is a possibility of individuals being identified from the records you keep. Paper questionnaires must be kept locked away and online data must be in password protected folders.

Electronic data will be kept on a hard drive that is encrypted as will any digital files such as photographs, video material, recordings and transcripts. All images will be approved by participants before they are used. Storage of data will be managed through consultation with ILS before collection and an appropriate method will be used using tools such as Datasure. Storage will be held for no more than 6 years in compliance with the data protection act. All storage will comply with the Data Protection Act and participants will be made aware of this through the consent process and be supplied with this information regarding their rights and what they are

signing up to. First and second interviews where pseudonyms will require actual names to be assigned and retained in a password (encrypted) file to ensure that data does not become confused. Where photographs or video is taken that could compromised anonymity agreement on their use will be sought prior to use.

If you are staff, or if you are a student who has completed Part Four please submit the completed form to the Faculty Research Administrator

GLOSSARY

Abseil	Descend a rope using a natural feature of the rock or piece of protection to make an anchor, also known as 'Rappel'.
Aid climbing	Climbing a rock, ice or snow feature using equipment like cord to create an improvised ladder to overcome an unclimbable feature.
Alpine climbing	Style of climbing developed in Europe that involves carrying lightweight equipment and moving quickly up technical rock, snow and ice climbs.
Anchor	The use of protection placed in rock features such as cracks to secure a climber to the mountain, which is able to take the weight of a rope and climber.
Belay	To protect a roped climber from falling by passing the rope through a device that creates an automatic lock if a climber should fall. A belay also refers to a stance where an anchor has been established on the rock face to secure the ascent of a second climber.
Benightment	Unscheduled overnight bivouac on a route or mountain.
Bergschrund	A crevasse that forms between the snow and rock face due to the heat of the rock, creating a difficulty for climbers to negotiate at the start of a climb.

Beta	Advice on how to protect and complete a climb, usually acquired through networking with other climbers.
Big wall climbing	An ascent requiring climbers to spend several days on a route, often sleeping in suspended platforms anchored to the rock face.
Bold	A route that has little natural protection in the rock and produces a high level of exposure.
Bolt	Protection permanently installed and attached to the rock face.
Bouldering	Climbing large boulders without any form of protection other than mats or spotters (other climbers) to catch a ground fall.
Buttress	A prominent feature that juts out from the rock or mountain.
Climbing area	A geographic location where a concentration of climbing routes exists and which have been coded and classified in climbing guides.
Climbing cleanly	To place and then remove equipment en route; to complete a climb without falling or resting on the rope; to not use aid or beta of any kind. 'In a "sport" which has no rules, and where death is always a distinct possibility, it's hard to say that cheating as such exists while on a route. Pulling on protection, falling off, escaping to another, easier route or simply retreating can all be wise in the event. These only become "cheating" if you deny them afterwards and inflate your claims, perhaps saying you flashed a route when in fact you fell, or rested on the gear. Even this can be irrelevant ... nobody cares if you made it up that HVS cleanly except, apparently, you ... unless such claims could endanger others.

	Honesty is thus highly prized among climbers, and the suggestion that someone did not climb a route cleanly or never reached the top is a great insult. With no rules, climbing relies on a web of ethics; without trust, the enjoyment goes. OK?' (Bate and Arthur 2006).
Coire	A geographical feature or cirque created by glaciation in the high mountains.
Col	A mountain pass or saddle in the high mountains.
Cornice	An overhanging edge of snow deposited on ridges or over couloirs/coires/gullies/cwms.
Couloir	The top of a coire/gully or depression in the mountainside.
Crack climbing	Ascending a mountain through wedging hands/feet/body parts in fissures in the rock to make upward progress.
Crag	A small geographical area with climbing routes on it.
Crampons	Metal spiked framework that attaches to boots, used for climbing ice and snow routes.
Crimp	A very small hold that only the finger-tips can access.
Crux	The most difficult section of a route.
Death zone	Being at high altitude, above 8000m, where there is not enough oxygen to keep the body alive.

Dyno	A process of movement that requires a leap of the whole body in order that an out of reach hold can be accessed.
Eight-thousander	A mountain higher than 8000m above sea-level.
Epic	When climbers undertake a route where they encounter either adverse weather, rock or snow conditions that render it highly dangerous or venture onto a route they are not experienced enough to climb.
Exposure	Empty space below a climber producing a sense of vertigo that is psychologically challenging.
Fall	Unintentionally fall whilst climbing a route, 'to take a fall'.
Feature	A particular geographical rock feature that presents climbing problems or challenges.
First ascensionist	A climber who performs the first ascent or 'puts the route up'.
First female ascent (FFA)	The first woman to climb a route following its first ascent by a man.
Free climbing	To climb without aid or trad. climbing.
Glacier travel	Climbing over a glacier on a rope to protect against a fall into crevasses.
Grade	A grade given to the difficulty and seriousness of a climb in the UK ranging from moderate to extreme grades, using letters and

	numbers. Designed to be objective but often highly subjective in nature.
Guidebook	A printed guidebook that lists all the climbs in a particular geographical location. Providing the grade and a description of the routes along with information about the style of ascent, history and clues about features to look out for. Often written in an idiosyncratic style.
Hand jam	To make a fist or shape with the hand to form protection in a rock fissure to make upward progress.
Ice axe	A technical piece of equipment that has a long saw-like pick and adze on its head and a spike on its bottom. Forming an essential tool for climbing ice or snow.
'In the now'	To be in the perfect mental state for climbing, or 'in the zone'.
Jug	A hold that is easily held and produces a sense of safety.
Karabiner	An oval-shaped piece of metal with a screw gate opening used as a connector between protection and ropes.
Layback(ing)	A particular climbing movement that involves holding a vertical edge with outstretched arms and legs pulling sideways to walk up a feature.
Lead climber/leading	The climber who leads a route on a rope placing protection as they ascend.

Mantle	A climbing movement that requires pressing down on outstretched arms on a ledge to raise the body upwards.
Move	To make a climbing movement using particular techniques.
Multi-pitch Climbing	Climbing routes that require multiple belays on the rock face, similar to big wall climbing.
Névé	Hard snow that has been formed by multiple freeze-thaw cycles. Usually secure and require ice axe and crampons to ascend.
Nut	A metal wedge attached to a wire loop that is inserted into cracks for protection.
On-sight	To climb cleanly without prior practice or beta.
Overhang	A section of rock or ice that is at right angles to the vertical rock face and requires a climber to hang underneath to overcome this feature.
Pitch	Climbing routes longer than one rope length (maximum usually 60m) are divided into pitches with multiply belays. Pitches can vary in length depending on the features a climber has to negotiate and the availability of suitable belay stances.
Placement	An opening in the rock in which a piece of protection fits. Also the act of inserting a piece of protection.
Polish	Where the rock has been ascended by so many climbers that the rock has become polished and the friction is vastly reduced.

Problem	A particular difficulty a climber has to negotiate on a route.
Project	A new route or a particularly hard route a climber wishes to ascend.
Protection	Metal shapes such as nuts, cams, hexes that can be placed by the lead climber into rock weaknesses such as cracks to create temporary protection whilst climbing.
Psychological protection	A piece of protection that the leader knows will not hold a fall but helps them to make a particularly hard move.
Route	The vertical path of a particular climb.
Sandbag/Sandbagging	A route which is under-graded or over-graded providing either too much or too little exposure. Usually referred to as producing an epic when experienced as the former.
Scrambling	A low-grade form of climbing that requires hands and feet to make progress, usually conducted through soloing or without protection.
Second	The climber who acts as support and belayer for the lead climber on a roped climb.
Sherpa/Sherpani	A member of a Himalayan ethnic group from Nepal who acts as guides and porters assisting Western climbers to ascend high altitude peaks.
Sling	A rated sling of webbing that can hold considerable weight or a fall.

Solo climbing	To climb without protection such as a rope or removable rock protection.
Sport climbing	A style of climbing rock routes that has in situ bolted protection and anchors.
Step cutting	Using an ice axe to create steps in steep ice or snow.
Summit	The highest point of a mountain or to climb to the highest point of a peak.
Technical climbing	Refers to the specialist, often gymnastic movements required to ascend rock or ice.
Technique	Specialist names attributed to types of movement required to assist a climber to ascend a route e.g. ‘layback up the crack’ or ‘make a long reach’ (dyno).
Test-piece	A climb representative of the hardest of its day or geographic area.
Top-out	To complete a route and reach the top of the feature climbed.
Traditional (trad.) climbing	An adventurous form of climbing where a lead climber will place their own protection in the rock, which is removed as the second climber ascends to the belay.
Traverse	To climb horizontally across a rock face to overcome a feature.

Wind slab	Snow that has been deposited on old compacted snow forming an unstable weak layer, and which is the most common cause of avalanches in Scotland.
Zawn	In the UK, a deep narrow inlet in a sea-cliff that is tidal.