

Juggling Balls and Roles, Working Mother-Coaches in Youth Sport: Beyond the Dualistic Worker-Mother Identity

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Despite the ubiquitous presence of mothers in sport contexts, mothers' voices are often absent in the sport literature, particularly at the youth sport level. A phenomenological approach was used to explore the experiences of working mother volunteer youth sport coaches. A role-triad model based on the work-family enrichment and role enhancement literature provided the theoretical framework. The purpose was to understand how and why working mother-coaches manage this role triad and to identify mother-worker skills which may transfer to youth coaching and vice versa. Semistructured interviews were conducted with eight working mother-coaches and analyzed for themes. Findings suggest that notions of being a good mother and reasons for coaching are very similar, including spending time together, developing life skills and role modeling. Participants negotiated multiple roles using cognitive tools, such as reframing and separation of roles. The reciprocal benefits of motherhood, working and coaching for themselves and others were highlighted.

Recent recognition by the International Olympic Committee of the role mothers have in promoting women's participation in sport (International Olympic Committee, 2008) places mothers in the spotlight, after years of under-representation. Until recently, mothers were often hidden within organizational policies, cultural practices, and media representations. Topical media stories, such as Paula Radcliffe winning the New York City Marathon nine months after giving birth (Borzilleri, 2008), and suggestions that motherhood and Olympic aspirations are no longer mutually exclusive (Farber, 2008), have created the impression that mothers as elite athletes is an emerging social phenomenon (Palmer & Leberman, 2009; Pedersen, 2001). With the exception of recent work by a few scholars at the elite level (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007; Leberman & Palmer, 2009; Pedersen, 2001), mothers' voices are generally absent and the broad array of roles that many women fulfill in multiple contexts outside of sport (i.e., work, family, community) is under-examined in sport research, particularly at the other end of the sport spectrum—recreational youth sport.

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Youth sport is an important social institution in the United States (Coakley, 2007) powered largely by adult volunteers, most of whom are parent-coaches (Hedstrom & Gould, 2004), yet little is known about youth sport mother-coaches. A small number of studies have documented the under-representation of female coaches at the youth sport level over the last 25 years (Fredericks & Eccles, 2005; Weiss & Sisley, 1984). Dating back to the mid-1980s, the typical youth sport coach was characterized as: mid-30s male who coached his own children for an average of 5.5 years (Weiss & Sisley, 1984). More recent evidence suggests this profile remains largely unchanged. Some data indicate that 654,000 of the approximately 4.1 million youth sport coaches (16%) in the United States are women (de Lench, 2006) and that less than 20% of youth sport coaches are female, depending upon the sport (Busser & Carruthers, 2010; LaVoi, 2009; Messner, 2009). Data clearly highlight that most youth sport coaches are male, and that logistical support (i.e., transportation, providing snacks, registering children) is typically delivered by the "team mom" (Chafetz & Kotarba, 1995; Davison, Cutting, & Birch, 2003; Messner, 2009; Thompson, 1999).

Youth sport offers a rich, but often lost, opportunity for creating social change and challenging stereotypical beliefs of children and their families pertaining to gender, power, and leadership (LaVoi, 2009). In order for youth sport to fulfill this potential, the number of female coaches

in youth sport must increase to levels equal to their male counterparts. The importance of this is exemplified by the Canadian 'We are Coaches' program which was specifically designed to attract mothers into coaching at the community level (Demers, 2009). One starting place is to explore and understand the perceptions and lived experiences of current mother-coaches involved in youth sport. Understanding why mothers coach can assist sport organizations in facilitating opportunities for mothers to start coaching and retain them in these roles. This paper specifically focuses on the reasons why mothers become youth sport coaches and how they negotiate multiple roles, as workers outside the home, mothers, and volunteer coaches. Our investigation is framed within the work-family enrichment and role enhancement literature (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001; Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009) and presents a role-triad model as the theoretical framework.

Literature Review

Women balance many social roles across the contexts in which they work, live, and play. Challenges exist in part due to what Hochschild (1989) calls the second shift, meaning, even when both partners work outside the home, the mother is still primarily responsible for child care and domestic duties. For example, many full-time employed mothers reported a constant state of disequilibrium between working and mothering (Johnston & Swanson, 2007) and data indicated that women spent twice as much time with children than men (Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). The socially constructed notion of "the good mother" is dependent upon work status (i.e., full-time, part-time, 'stay at home'), but unequivocally requires women to juggle and perform cognitive acrobatics to maintain conflicting demands between employment and dominant mothering ideology (Golden, 2001; Johnston & Swanson, 2006, 2007). In the context of modernity, role expectations, structural forces, and spousal interdependency intersect (Golden, 2001), requiring women, especially those who work full-time outside the home, to possess what is described above as circus-like skills to succeed and negotiate the complexities.

Scholars have documented the benefits women may accrue and challenges women face as the mother-worker role duality is negotiated in general (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Kamenou, 2008) and in the sport context specifically (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007; Leberman & Palmer, 2009). As women entered the workforce in great numbers following the equal rights movement, the literature largely focused on the theory of role scarcity, suggesting that by holding multiple roles, particularly work and family, achievement in one role came at the expense of the other role (e.g., Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), leading to role conflict.

For women the potential of work-family conflict may be amplified, in that men often sequence roles (e.g., work then family). Women, in contrast, often perceive and juggle the demands of work *and* family simultaneously, because of the societal expectations they face (Eagly & Carli, 2007). However, a meta-analysis of work-family conflict purported it is "dysfunctional and socially costly" on individual work, home life, well-being, and health (Allen et al., 2000). In the last 10 years, researchers have increasingly focused attention on the meaningful and enriching aspects of dual roles, suggesting that multiple roles increase life satisfaction and self-esteem, and create positive affect in the worker role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001; Ruderman, et al., 2002; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009).

Greenhaus and Powell (2006) concluded that work-family enrichment is best represented by "the extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role" (p. 73) and presented a theoretical model of work-family enrichment. Similarly, Warner and Hausdorf (2009) advocate a theoretical work-life enrichment model, including a self-determination theoretical component, which highlights the importance of psychological resources, which are also signaled in Greenhaus and Powell's model. Both Ruderman et al. (2002) and Greenhaus and Powell (2006) suggested that personal roles—such as for the purpose of this study coaching and motherhood—may provide learning experiences which are transferable to managerial roles and vice versa, and will contribute enrichment across the multiple roles women negotiate, which is explored in this research.

Theoretical Framework—Role-Triad

A majority of previous research on the work-family intersection lacks empirical evidence and fails to address the questions of *how* individuals negotiate the work-family interface (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009) and *how and why* participation in multiple roles can lead to enrichment. A clearer understanding of the processes involved assists individuals and organizations "to make informed choices about practical problems and to implement solutions to them effectively" (Cummings & Jones, 2003, p. 2). Existing theoretical frameworks focus on two roles—work and family. Discussion of subroles within the broad categories of work and family (e.g., voluntary work) is absent, as is mention of a third (or more) role. An exception is the empirical study by Grady and McCarthy (2008) in Ireland which, using Chalofsky's (2003) concept of 'meaningful work' explored how working mothers found meaning across multiple roles including work, family, and self. Grady and McCarthy findings supported the research of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), but they suggested a broadening the work-life discourse would be worthy area of future inquiry. With this in mind, it is our contention that youth sport coaching is a *third role* that working mothers fulfill. Therefore, using the notion of a role-triad may provide a more reflective, evidenced-based model of work-life enrichment.

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of working, volunteer youth sport mother-coaches, and to extend the research on work-life enrichment to the context of youth sport. For most female coaches at the elite levels (i.e., intercollegiate, professional) coaching is a career and pay is commensurate. For this specific group of women, the work-life dual role framework is appropriate (i.e., mother-coach). However, for working, volunteer youth sport coaches who are also mothers, coaching is an additional role. Therefore, we propose a work-family-volunteer role *triad*, representing a broader, more complete, and nuanced conceptual framework for thinking about the experiences of female youth sport coaches as they balance many social roles—worker-mother-coach. This triad draws on the previous research in the area of work-life enrichment, in particular the theoretical models developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006) and Warner and Hausdorf (2009).

Key concepts in developing this role-triad framework are the salience between roles, the perceived relevance and consistency of resources between roles, and the transfer of resources between roles (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). Examples of resources include, skills (e.g., multitasking) and perspectives (e.g., respecting individual differences), psychological assets (e.g., self-esteem) and physical assets (e.g., physical health), social-capital (i.e., influence and information), flexibility (e.g., how and when work is done), and material (i.e., money and gifts). Greenhaus and Powell (2006) argued that resources generated in one role can lead to high performance and positive affect in another. Equally important to the proposed triad model are Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) two different pathways to enrichment—instrumental and affective. The instrumental path focuses on the transfer of resources from one role to another, where resources from one role have a direct effect on another role. The affective path emphasizes the importance of emotional responses to situations. They posit that positive moods and emotions (positive affect) gained from one role will lead to high performance in that role and spill over to another role—meaning resources in one role have an indirect effect on performance in another role because of positive affect in the first role.

Salience Between Roles

Both Greenhaus and Powell (2006) and Warner and Hausdorf (2009) noted that the salience or relatedness, perceived relevance, and consistency of resource requirements of the respective roles mediate work-family enrichment. The salience of the second role was seen as a moderator for both the instrumental and affective path and as such appears to be important in any form of role enrichment. Researchers exploring the experiences of working mothers' work-life integration in Ireland suggested the notion of meaningful work (including positive affect) extended to community involvement (e.g., work with charitable organizations and sport), not just work and home (Grady & McCarthy, 2008). In our research, the

salient connections between the roles of mother, worker, and coach are therefore important to consider. Greenhaus and Powell indicated that "when work and family role identities are similar, individuals can express themselves in similar ways across roles and can see the connections between the skill or perspective acquired in one role and the requirements of the other role" (2006, p. 84). This suggests that when there is a synergy between roles, the likelihood of work-life enrichment is increased.

Transfer of Resources Between Roles

Greenhaus and Powell (2006) regarded the transfer of resources instrumental in creating work-life enrichment. Most individuals transfer knowledge and skills on a daily basis in the fulfillment of different roles. In this research, we were interested in transfer as it pertains to mothers and coaching, given that much of the existing research suggested women do not become involved in coaching due in part to a lack of knowledge, skills, and confidence (Kilty, 2006; LaVoi & Becker, 2007; Weiss, Barber, Sisley, & Ebbeck, 1991). However, the skills required of a coach particularly at the participation level, can be seen as a process involving planning, delivery, and management (Lyle, 2002)—skills arguably required of every mother. The connection is particularly clear when skills such as communication, organization, teaching, scheduling, and interpersonal skills are included under planning and management processes in Lyle's model (2002).

Negotiating Tensions

Despite the increasing research on work-life enrichment, research has also highlighted that tensions still exist between women's work and family role. For example Johnston and Swanson (2006, 2007), drawing on Baxter's (1990) research, suggested women use a variety of strategies to negotiate the tensions between work-family role duality including: 1) select one identity, ignore other; 2) separate identities in time and space; 3) neutralize both roles so neither role is satisfied; or 4) reframe the tension.

In the sport context, the work-family role duality for women has been explored to a limited extent, despite a large body of existing literature on the position of women in sport. Pertinent to our research are studies focusing on issues of access, representation, and constraints associated with participation in sport (e.g., Brown, Brown, Miller, & Hansen, 2001; Miller & Brown, 2005; Thompson, 1999), and barriers faced by female coaches (Kilty, 2006; Sagas, Cunningham, & Teed, 2006; Stahura & Greenwood, 2001; Stangle & Kane, 1991; Weiss, et al., 1991). Dixon and Bruening (2005) provided an overview of the work-family conflict literature, arguing for an integrated approach in sport including individual, structural, and social perspectives, so that existing connections and patterns at the individual and organizational levels can be illuminated and understood. Recent research by Shaw and Allen (2009) and Allen and Shaw (2009)

from New Zealand explored the experiences of female high performance coaches in two regional sport organizations. Shaw and Allen concluded that coaches and managers coconstruct organizational values and female coaches can play a crucial part in creating the environment in which they work. Using self-determination theory as a theoretical lens, Allen and Shaw found that the social context is important to the needs of female high performance coaches, and that while autonomy and competence were experienced by all participants, their sense of organizational relatedness varied. Clearly, the individual perspective is important and in this study, we sought to highlight the individual experiences of working mother youth sport coaches, to challenge and disrupt the existing norm of men as youth sport coaches.

Bruening and Dixon's work (Bruening & Dixon, 2007, 2008; Dixon & Bruening, 2005, 2007) explored the experiences of full-time paid NCAA Division I head females coaches. Their research, using both work-family conflict and balance frameworks, highlighted how mother-coach personal agency is mediated by social and structural forces. Similarly, in New Zealand, Leberman and Palmer's (2009) elite mother-coaches discussed ways coaching involvement and home life were mutually enhancing, providing support for the increasing body of knowledge that suggests work and family enrich one another, rather than cause conflict (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001; Ruderman, et al., 2002; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009).

In our research, we seek to understand how and why working mother youth sport coaches manage the role-triad of mother-worker-coach, to challenge and disrupt the existing norm of men as youth sport coaches. Using the role-triad framework as the theoretical framework the following three research questions guided the inquiry.

1. Are there tensions in the mother-worker-coach role-triad?
2. Does the added role of youth sport coach, to the mother-worker roles enrich life?
3. Do mother-worker skills transfer to the youth sport coach role and vice versa?

Method

A phenomenological paradigm using semistructured interviews was adopted (Cresswell, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), focusing on the experiences of a group of mothers whose common experience was that their children played youth soccer. Seng (1998) suggested that qualitative researchers "do not really discover 'truth' ... rather we glean facts ... that contribute to socially situated, tentative, temporary understandings" (p. 45). Therefore the aim was to understand the participants experience through analyzing their articulation of that experience verbally via an interview (Van Manen, 1990). This followed a social constructivist approach (Crotty, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2000) where meanings are

constructed by the participants as they engaged with their children in youth soccer. This research provided a unique interpretation (Seng, 1998) of these women's experiences. Rather than producing generalizations, this research helps readers understand more about mothers' experiences as coaches in youth soccer. It is recognized that the research findings were situated within the particular sociocultural context of the midwestern United States and reflected the socioeconomic background of the participants.

Recruitment

After receiving authorization from the University Institutional Ethics Review Board, a call for 'soccer moms' was placed on the public news feeds of two websites—a University Research Center which is dedicated in part to the study of youth sports, and the state-level Youth Soccer Association (YSA). The YSA also placed the recruitment announcement in their monthly e-mail, which goes out to all coaches and club administrators registered in the YSA. Recruitment announcements stated that interested participants initiate contact with the research team by telephone or through electronic mail. Ninety women responded to the call for participation. Upon initial contact, participants were asked to complete a consent form, and fill out a demographic questionnaire with questions pertaining to race, level of education, sport participation, significant other's sport participation, and coaching background (the questionnaire is available from the authors on request). This assisted the researchers in identifying the diversity of mothers involved in youth soccer.

Data Collection

A purposive sample (Merriam, 2002) of mothers whose children were involved in youth soccer was elicited for this research. Sixteen participants were randomly selected from the 90 women who responded to the recruitment efforts to reflect the potential range of mothers' experiences in youth soccer, providing more than one view of the experience (Polkinghorne, 2005). For the purposes of this article, the focus was on mothers who coached and worked outside the home ($n = 8$). These eight participants were initially contacted via electronic mail to explain in more detail the purpose of the study and to request an interview. The open-ended semistructured interview guide focused on five main areas; motives for coaching, costs and benefits of coaching, parent-coaches, mother-worker-coach identity, and gender disparities in youth sport coaching. Interviews were conducted by two members of the research team during November and December 2007. A conversational approach (Kvale, 1996), where the interviewers engaged with participants in a "give-and-take dialectic" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 142) was used. All eight interviews were conducted over the telephone. Interviews lasted between 30 and 90 min and were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. Pseudonyms are used in the findings to maintain participant confidentiality.

Participants

The age of the eight mothers ranged from 39 to 51 years of age with an average age of 43.1. All participants were White/Caucasian. Seven worked outside the home full-time and one worked part-time. They were all in heterosexual marriages and all had two or more children—two children ($N = 5$), three children ($N = 2$), and four children ($N = 1$). Six mothers had both boys and girls and two of the mothers only had boys. Children ranged in age from 5 to 8 years old ($N = 3$), 9–12 years old ($N = 9$) bracket, 13–16 years old ($N = 6$), and ≥ 17 years old ($N = 2$). The highest educational degree held by participants included a graduate degree ($N = 3$), bachelor's degree ($N = 4$), and some college credit ($N = 1$). (See Table 1 for participant details.)

Data Analysis

A three step process was used to analyze the data—familiarization with the data, open coding, and axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). All interviews were transcribed verbatim into a word document using Dragon Naturally Speaking (v.9.0) leading to familiarization with the data. Transcripts were then imported into QRS NVIVO (v.7.0), a qualitative data management and analysis software package. The two primary researchers independently used open coding on the same two interviews using NVIVO to identify descriptive codes. These descriptive codes were subsequently discussed and refined, and two additional interviews were coded together by the primary researchers to ensure consistency in the coding schematic. The remaining interviews were then coded by one of the authors using the 87 descriptive codes as a guideline. During the coding of the remaining interviews, an additional five descriptive codes were identified.

Axial coding focused on identifying patterns from the descriptive codes to ensure the meanings of the participants were being accurately reflected. Through discussion and consensus by the primary researchers, the 92 descriptive codes were then combined into 18 lower-order themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morrow, 2005; Patton, 1990). The lower-order themes relevant to this article included: Ideal mother, Home responsibilities, Role in running the house, Tensions, Benefits/Enrichments, and Transference from mother to coach. Findings and analysis encompassing other themes from mother-coach interviews are in progress and will be reported elsewhere.

Findings and Discussion

The overall objective of the research was to gain insights into the experiences of mothers who coached and worked, and how these experiences might apply to a nuanced version of Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) model of work-family enrichment—the role-triad. This section discusses the findings pertinent to the role-triad. 1) Participants' experiences of being a mother and the roles they played in running the house—the mother role, 2) the benefits of coaching—the coach role, 3) the worker role, and 4) experiences of balancing multiple roles. The resources gained from one role and applied in other roles are highlighted. Similarly, where appropriate the salience of roles, perceived relevance of resources, and consistency of resources with the different roles is discussed. By considering these elements collectively, we are able to better understand why and how these women juggle their multiple roles as mothers, workers, and youth coaches, and potential work-family enrichment.

Table 1 Demographic Information of Participants

	Athlete Coach	Non-Athlete Coach	Work Full-Time	Work Part-Time	Two Children	Three Children	Four Children
Abi	x			x	girl boy		
Beth	x		x		boys		
Claire	x		x		girl boy		
Dale	x		x				2 girls 2 boys
Erin		x	x		girl boy		
Fran		x	x			boys	
Gail		x	x		girl boy		
Hannah		x	x			girl 2 boys	

The Mother Role

We asked participants how they would define the ideal mother because we were interested in exploring their cultural and personal mothering expectations, as this influences their decision making around the roles they fulfill, and is in keeping with previous research in the area (e.g., Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001; Hays, 1996; Johnston & Swanson, 2006, 2007). This elicited much laughter and a range of responses. Judging by reactions to the question, it appeared this group of women had not previously articulated this idea, although they were all familiar with and could describe the concept. Beth's initial response was "oh geez, ideal good mother, oh wow. Can I pass?" Hannah's was "That's a myth. Sorry no such thing. Don't even try!" Five women discussed an ideal good mother being committed and connected to the lives of her children.

That's very funny. Okay, the ideal good mother is a mom who's up with her kids, helps them get out the door, tells them she loves them unconditionally, gives them lots of support, helps them with their homework, is home after school to meet them at the door, and to make them snacks, and to help them with homework again. And then make dinner for everybody in the evening, and always look good, and is an inspiration to her children. Is good at mediating sibling fights, generally stays on top of all the school responsibilities. Participates in school activities, organizes stuff for the school, gets on committees. The ideal good mother doesn't work, doesn't have a work life. The ideal mother's work is being a mom. (Fran)

You know, needs to be involved. You can't just drop them off and walk away and call that being a mom. You have to be involved. You have to know what's going on. (Erin)

For me, an ideal mother is one who listens to, talks with, enjoys activities, enjoy spending time either actively or passively, meaning you know either reading a book or actively doing physical activities like sports with their children. (Beth)

Fran, Erin, and Beth all alluded to the other roles a mother has which involve her children, such as organizing things at school, being on committees, and doing sports with them, suggesting other type of voluntary roles are considered highly salient and relevant to the mother role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). Six of the mothers in this study seemed to reflect, to some extent, the traditional notion of a good mother as one who conforms to intensive mothering intentions. All mothers suggested it was important to be totally committed, connected, and involved in one's children's activities, and none mentioned working or having time to oneself, similar to Johnston and Swanson's (2007) findings. Interestingly, the mothers in our study were demographically

very similar to those of Johnston and Swanson, which may explain the similarities in narratives. Despite this dominant notion, participants highlighted other qualities of the ideal good mother.

Three women indicated good mothers should allow children to make choices and learn from their mistakes. Gail explained, "You have to allow them to make some choices. I know guys who allow them to make some of the choices for themselves and I think that's one key to being a good mother." The importance of role modeling was emphasized by two participants in describing a good mother. Abi, while referring to herself included her husband as well, by talking about 'us' in her response to the question, and as such challenges the notion that mothers are the sole source of child guidance, nurturing, and education (Hays, 1996).

I think the children see us living an active, healthy lifestyle, they see me involved, volunteering at school, they see me on several committees in evenings, so they know that I do that, they saw me complete my master's degree, and they were at my graduation. So I think, I hope, that they are seeing what we feel is important is not only what we say, but what we do. I am hoping that that's providing a strong foundation to be respectful, positive, and good people.

The role of mother was therefore interpreted in different ways and provides insights into how this role is perceived and executed. The value of role modeling by mothers is advocated in the literature as important to girls (Sabo & Veliz, 2008), and is supported by Abi's comment, as well as Fran when she discussed 'being an inspiration' to her children.

Johnston and Swanson (2007) suggested that full-time working mothers used balance as a form of reprieve to the mother-worker dialectic. Dale stressed the importance of being balanced as an aspect of the ideal good mother:

Well, first of all, it would be kind of a guru of balance. To me an ideal mother has good balance in her life. She spends great quality time with her kids, but also knows how to get out with her husband once in a while for some couple time. [She] takes care of herself as well ... goes for a work-out or some quiet time for herself.

The way Dale expressed balance seemed to be different; she was emphasizing the importance of balancing all aspects of her life and making sure she had time for herself, among all the other roles she fulfills. The importance of having time for oneself was also highlighted in Grady and McCarthy's (2008) findings.

Although none of the women mentioned work in association with being an ideal mother, all of the participants worked and coached, and their husbands all worked full-time. Many of the husbands also coached youth sport. For these women, in particular, coaching was encouraged

and supported by their husbands, household duties were shared or given less importance in the family, and the family spent a majority of time together in sport contexts. As Dale explained “our kids are surrounded by that coaching kind of lifestyle” and many mother-coaches indicated that “sport is what we do” as a family. This suggests two key points: 1) resources generated as a mother lead to high performance as a coach for these women. That is these women perceived that the skills and knowledge gained from being a mother enabled them to be good coaches and 2) perceived relevance and the resource requirements of the roles are fundamental to the way these women chose to lead their lives. For these women, the instrumental and affective paths of enrichment were evident (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009).

Five women indicated that the role of running the house was shared equally, two suggested it was not equal, and Erin explained running the house just did not happen, but they were able to hire cleaners to assist, suggesting an ability to pay which is not an option for all people.

You know we probably really didn't. It was more of on game days I'm responsible for Jenna, he is responsible for Andrew. I've gotta get her fed, he's gotta get him fed, you know what I mean. It's just survive and conquer, but the actual running of the house suffered. You know it wasn't neat and tidy and clean. We hired cleaners, because we're like this isn't going to happen.

Hannah exemplified the sharing of roles by noting:

When I'm gone, my husband takes over cooking. He's an excellent cook. Nobody cleans, we don't care. We just don't. It's just bad. Well, it gets to the point, and then we clean. But it's kind of a mutual 50-50, somebody will go to the store, somebody will get gas. If I don't do it, he will. So there is a lot of shared duties there.

Dale also discussed the shared household role:

I am probably the number one scheduler. I've got a family calendar on the refrigerator with everybody's whereabouts and where they need to be. I don't do all the cooking, but I make the menu so everybody can put in their own pitch and I'm kind of the organizer of that. But we both do, we both take care of the running around that needs to be done, getting homework done and tucking kids in and all that stuff is pretty well shared.

The experiences of women in this study were contrary to most of the published work, which suggested working women usually do not experience shared household duties and therefore work a second shift, or in the case of our workers-mothers-coaches, a third shift, upon arriving home (e.g., Bianci, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Blair-Loy, 2001). Seven of the husbands also coached, as well as worked, with the remaining husband very involved in music outside of his work. In essence

following the role-triad model, seven of the eight husbands of our participants were father-worker-coaches. Our data suggested that when both parents are involved in sport, more teamwork and equality is needed at home to provide both parents the opportunity to be involved with coaching their children. For this group of women, second shift work was shared equally by both mother and father, which allowed for successful negotiation of the third shift (i.e., coaching youth sport). Sharing household duties provided an example of how our participants managed the interface between myriad roles. It may well be that given the supportive home environment of these women that they required less support from the sport organizations for which they coached. Given this finding, future research should involve interviews with both parents to explore this suggestion more fully.

The Coach Role

To gain a better understanding of what motivated these mothers to coach youth sport, we asked them about the benefits of coaching. With this question, we wanted to know how worker-mothers perceived the additional role of “coach” enriched their lives. Three key themes emerged from this question, time together ($n = 8$), life skills ($n = 7$), and role modeling ($n = 4$). Taken together these three themes emphasize both social capital resources and skills and perspectives (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Interestingly, these three themes are very similar to the characteristics of an ideal mother, suggesting that when mothers coach, they see it not only as enriching, but also as highly salient, supporting Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) and Warner and Hausdorf's (2009) contention that relevance, relatedness, and salience between roles are important aspects of role enrichment. These findings are similar to Rothbard (2001), who concluded that family engagement, because of the positive emotions it generated, rather than detracting from work, actually enhanced work for women and, for men, did not have a negative effect. Organizations are therefore encouraged to facilitate family engagement, rather than limit it. The notion of positive affect between the mother and coach roles is therefore highlighted here (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

Time Together

Six of the eight women specifically mentioned that coaching enabled them to spend time with their children. As Hannah indicated “you get to be involved with your child. You get to spend some time with them, rather than being separated you are a part of what goes on.” For Erin, it seemed that the deeper understanding she has about her daughter is an important resource she developed through her role as coach, and is subsequently applied to her role as mother.

You know girls they are really into their relationship side of things and I think having a relationship you know with the coach and then knowing what's going

on, I was there in every practice, at every training. You know instead of getting dropped off, I was there. Once I got into it of course my daughter loved that I coached.

These points also apply to the five women who discussed getting to know other kids better and their children's friends. Abi felt that coaching gave her a deeper understanding of the friends her children were making.

I get to know some children who are obviously in the same grade and are going to be around my child, and the instant my children started school I started to understand what a major influence their peers are on them, positively and negatively. And so to me I really appreciate and enjoy the fact that I can get to know these children better. You hear what they say, you hear how they talk, how they treat other people, and it just gives you additional insights into these children and where they are coming from and then when my daughter says I want to go to so-and-so's house or can so-and-so come over I've seen the parents and have gotten to know just a little bit about their personality.

For Gail "it was a way for me to get to know other children and parents and for the future you know just looking at, okay, who might she want to spend time with or who am I okay with her spending time with?" Abi and Gail's comments are examples of developing different perspectives and social capital resources through their role as coach, which in turn have a positive effect on their role as mother (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

Life Skills

The role of coaching in facilitating positive development for both their own and other children on the team was important and highlighted by four of the eight mothers. Coaching was perceived as being more than just teaching sport skills, it was about developing self-esteem and challenging perceptions about women in positions of power and leadership. Fran encapsulated the notions of developing social skills and self-esteem when she stated:

I love seeing the kids interact and having friends at the end of the season who they didn't even know at the beginning of the season, and to see those friendships emerge as a result of the team playing as a team. This self-esteem that you see in the success that the kids get when they do well, I find that really rewarding.

Erin indicated that she had "the ability to help influence kids attitudes about sportsmanship, about teamwork...that type of thing." For Abi, it was also about enabling the children to gain a lifelong love of sport and the value of exercise. She coached because:

the benefits to the children of continuing in any sport ... just understanding teamwork, reaching your potential and friendly rivalries ... and get a positive

thought process going that is really fun, exercise is not always work and keep that healthy aspect in their life, that makes me feel good.

Fran and Abi highlighted not only what the children gained, but also the psychological resources it gave them in terms of coaching (i.e., 'being rewarding' and 'making them feel good'), resources generated by virtue of their coaching role, which have the potential to transfer to both their mother and work roles. Based on the data, coaching is seen as enriching and in a holistic way being beneficial to both the mothers and the children (Robertson, 2010). Being a coach also appears to go some way toward addressing the potential disequilibrium between being a mother and working (Johnston & Swanson, 2007), by providing a link between the two roles.

Role Modeling

Four women mentioned the importance of seeing mom in a leadership position, and felt this was particularly important for their sons. Fran who has three boys explained, "they think that's pretty cool. And I'm not a boy, and they've learned to respect the girls and athletics because I'm a girl and I'm athletic." Similarly, Beth indicated that being seen in a different light was important:

Because most of the coaches tend to be male parents, I think that females can be good role models for sports for boys as well as for girls and also they see that mom has some skill sets beyond just, the normal mothering side of thing.

Abi, a mother of twins, emphasized how early on gendered expectations develop and why it was important for her son to see her in a leadership role.

But I think for my son the thing that's important to me and why I like to be out there helping, is to show him, ... I like to be out there and I like him to know that I'm coaching and that I have played and that yes, girls can do exactly what they want in terms of their ability to participate in sports and be good and that you know gender isn't a defining factor in whether or not you are able to participate in sports and be good. He'll blanketly say, "Well girls can't run as fast. Girls can't kick as hard. Girls can't this, that, and the other." So that's an important part for me of being visible for my son as a coach.

Being able to model female leadership within youth sport creates social capital resources in terms of the influence this can have not only on the athletes and the family, but also the organizations, a point argued by Messner (2009). Similarly, highlighting these perspectives to other women may encourage them to take up coaching roles. For our sample of women, the saliency and consistency between the norms of the coach and mother roles are reinforced (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). Through fulfillment of a coach role, the mothers in our study felt they were moving toward influencing the

perceptions of the players about the coaching role and seeing women in leadership positions (Fasting & Pfister, 2000). Research suggests that seeing females in leadership roles is good for girls, due to the fact women are under-represented in positions of power in society and sport in particular. Girls view their mothers as important role models (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2006; Sabo & Veliz, 2008), but little research has documented the effects on boys. Ironically, all the women who mentioned the value of role-modeling through coaching were discussing the perceived impact on their sons. This is a fertile ground for future research.

However, despite the apparent salience between the mother and coach role, some participants struggled at times to balance the two roles. For example, Beth discussed the challenges of being a coach and mother at home after a game:

Bringing the games home though is a more difficult thing not to do. What we try to do is have a discussion not immediately after the game, well clearly if the game has gone particularly well and my children have played particularly well, they will want to talk about it endlessly. If things haven't gone particularly well then, from a development perspective, we may talk a little bit in the car on the way home. And then we try to leave it at least for several hours and then constructively talk about it. So, particularly as a coach I'm not continuing to take that into the home environment. That's a struggle though. That's a struggle for me not to do that.

This supports the findings of previous researchers who found mothers often juggle multiple roles, both in and outside the sport context (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007; Grady & McCarthy, 2008; Johnston & Swanson, 2007; Leberman & Palmer, 2009). The work of (Kreiner, et al., 2009) explored four tactics used to bridge work and home boundaries of parish priests—behavioral, temporal, physical, and communicative. If these were applied to the current research, Beth would be using behavioral and communicative tactics to bridge the coach mother interface. The findings of our research also suggest that developing strategies to deal with the interface between different roles is something that needs to be further considered.

The Worker Role

Based on the data, most women found a natural synergy between their mother and coaching roles. Through discussing work, it became apparent how the “juggling” and balancing act of multiple roles was negotiated, suggesting the work role is perceived as quite different to the coaching role, in terms of enrichment. Three women indicated that they felt no tensions between worker-mother-coach roles. Gail summarized it best when she explained the importance of being able to follow her passion, in spite of the different amounts of time she spent with her children. She highlighted the value of having multiple roles, which

she perceived made her a more well-rounded person, and lends support to the benefits of role accumulation as advocated by Ruderman et al. (2002) and Greenhaus and Powell (2006). Implicit in this is the notion that the resources generated in one role enhance performance and lead to a positive affect in her other roles, and enhance performance in all roles.

I think it's healthy that children need to see that their parents can be more than just a mom or a dad or a firefighter or whatever they need to be. There are all different aspects to life and the things that you do, the things that you volunteer for, the things that you want to be active in. But we all have different passions and we should be able to explore those. I think that it kind of gives them a well-rounded view that you don't have to wear one hat, you can be many things.

Most did not explicitly mention role tensions, but did describe various role negotiation strategies including reframing and separating identities (Baxter, 1990). Baxter's (1990) framework suggested four negotiation strategies are commonly employed by women to manage the tensions between roles: 1) select one, ignore other; 2) separate roles in time and space; 3) neutralize both roles so neither role is satisfied; or 4) reframe the tension. For women, in this study, it appeared as if ignoring one or more roles, or neutralizing roles were not viable or preferable solutions, and were not mentioned. However, reframing and separating roles were strategies discussed; with some women experiencing no role tensions.

Reframing: Flexibility and Balance

Five women reframed role tensions by relying on the concept of “flexibility.” Flexibility was highlighted by Greenhaus and Powell (2006) as one of the resources generated in a particular role. In the case of our research, this flexibility tended to be associated with the women's work role. Abi, who worked part-time from home, felt she had some role flexibility:

Well, for my part since during the day I do have some flexibility in terms of what activities I'm doing when that helps me a little bit in that I can make up a plan, I can do research for some new ideas for drills, I can do some of that, and I can do all my communication to parents. So some of that kind of thing I can fit in somewhat easily during the day and that alleviates some of the, I guess, tension on time later on in the afternoon. And I also think that because I am not drawn to somebody else's timeframe for my work schedule, it allows me to you know be a little early for practice to be set up and ready when people get there.

The value of having a flexible and understanding employer was emphasized by Beth.

I do work out of the home in the evenings and on the weekends - bring the laptop home. So with the

advent of having that type of technology it's more difficult to obliterate those lines, especially the work ones. I am very fortunate in that I have a great deal of flexibility with my employer. ... Get home at normal end of the day time, and then do a little bit of work at night. So, that's worked out well. The soccer compared to work really hasn't been too much of a problem, because that's typically evenings and weekends it's not a day job. So again, with some of the flexibility I have in my level of management at my company, if I leave early to go to a game or to a practice or to a tournament or whatever, I just know I have work to do and make up.

Beth's work flexibility had a positive influence on her mother role, but had little impact on her coach role, as coaching did not take place during the day. For Dale, intentionally choosing a low stress, flexible job helped her balance the demands of her various roles:

I am more purposeful in choosing the work that I do because I've never really wanted a [full-time] job because of all the stress because I get enough of that at home, you know, trying to balance everything. I let my husband have the paying job with the most stress and then I have a low stress job that just keeps me busy, helping out a little bit with bills. Yeah, and the rest just kind of happens, I mean some days I just have to take a deep breath and know that we're not going to stop until nine o'clock that night. Try, try to keep light of it and have a good time even though it's kind of crazy sometimes.

In Dale's case, being able to choose a low stress job, demonstrated that material resources needed for her family were provided by her husband's job. The perceived demands of her mother role, have therefore influenced the work role she has chosen. However, the psychological resources and flexibility provided by her work role, enabled her to take on the coach role, which enhanced her mother role (Grady & McCarthy, 2008; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Johnston & Swanson, 2007; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). Flexibility, a functional and common strategy to reframe role tensions, was not completely unproblematic. Despite a flexible work environment and spending time with her children through coaching, Erin, felt the constant tension between what she should be spending her time on:

You know I would not have been able to make it work without my flexible work environment. But there is always that pull, you know because at night you're sitting there laying out the lesson plan for practice at the time that you are not spending with your family, and then you know and then you prep for it, you have to go early, right. You have to be the last one to leave the field. Somebody might not get picked up or you know whatever and then you drive home and you're still thinking about it. It's very hard, very hard to balance all of that. I think it's very difficult to be a mom, work, and coach.

Despite the overall enriching experience, Erin discussed the constant 'pull' between roles particularly when it meant time away from her family. This feeling of being conflicted is often linked to the 'ethic of care' notion, where mothers put the needs of their children before themselves, and/or work commitments (Henderson, 1991; Miller & Brown, 2005). Through seeking work-life balance and flexibility in the workplace, these workers-mothers-coaches described how some careers afford women the opportunity to fulfill all three roles simultaneously, suggesting that care giving and career goals are not always mutually exclusive, but can be enriching (Evans & Diekmann, 2009). The importance of a flexible workplace was also highlighted by elite level females coaches for whom coaching is a career (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007), and by working mothers (Grady & McCarthy, 2008; Johnston & Swanson, 2007).

Separation of Roles

Some women were 'separators' (Nippert-Eng, 1996). For example, Fran discussed a specific role separation mechanism relating to work and coaching, when she stated "yeah, compartmentalize them. I have my bag of athletic director stuff that's my little office, which is where I do my work and the field is where I coach, so yeah I compartmentalize, partly physically."

Research indicates that women will rarely use role separation because they view their roles as integrated and simultaneous, rather than linear (Eagly & Carli, 2007). This situation is amplified by the reality most women do not have the luxury of sequencing due to the obligations of the second shift, which makes fulfilling the worker-mother-coach roles and the third shift work of coaching more difficult.

The women in this study described varying degrees of effectiveness in how the worker-mother-coach roles were negotiated and, for some, it resulted in feelings of inadequacy, guilt, and stress. Beth summarized this clearly "I feel I don't give enough time and an appropriate level of dedication to any of the three." Fran stated "it can be very hard because then you aren't available maybe always when you need to be, especially for my son. You know a lot of guilt that I'm not with him as much as I am with [my daughter]." What this suggests is even though roles are generally salient, and strategies exist for dealing with the role interface, for some women, the feeling of not giving enough to one of their roles often resulted in feelings of guilt. Findings for this group of youth sport females coaches are similar to those of elite-level coaches in the Dixon and Bruening (2007) and Leberman and Palmer (2009) studies. The mothers in both studies mentioned tensions and experienced feelings of guilt, and used two strategies—primarily reframing, and less commonly separation—to negotiate their roles as workers (paid coaches) and mothers. Given the tensions described by our participants, what resources existed or were transferred from one role to another, as suggested by the instrumental path of work-family enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006)?

The Instrumental Path— Transference of Skills Between Roles

Given the multiple skill sets needed to fulfill mother-worker roles, we were interested if participants believed mother and worker skills transferred to the coach role. This is particularly pertinent to mothers and coaching, given the existing research suggest women do not become involved in coaching in part due to a lack of knowledge, skills, and confidence (Demers, 2009; Kilty, 2006; LaVoi & Becker, 2007). Three key themes emerged, interpersonal skills ($n = 7$), care and compassion ($n = 6$), and organization ($n = 5$), supporting in particular the instrumental path described by Greenhaus and Powell (2006). All the women believed mother skills transferred into coaching and three women discussed how work skills also benefited their coaching. Interestingly, according to Lyle (2002), the coach skills required at the recreational youth level are a process involving planning, delivery, and management with communication, organization, teaching, scheduling, and interpersonal skills being highlighted.

Interpersonal Skills

The importance of patience and humor was highlighted by Dale. She also emphasized that girls, in particular, needed to have fun if they were to continue in the sport.

Being patient, that's probably the biggest one. Having a good sense of humor. We like to laugh at our house and have a good time and I try to bring that to the field. I just think that life is too short and if you can't enjoy it, it's not really worth living, and I think that's really important in sport as well. And especially with girls if they are not having a good time they're not going to come back.

This finding is related to research suggesting that having fun is a key criterion for children taking part and staying in sport (Gill, Gross, & Huddleston, 1983). At the same time, fun and enjoyment are also key reasons for being involved in coaching (Lyle, 2002). Erin emphasized being able to show empathy and the value of having been through similar experiences herself. She explained "girls get into the relationship thing, they get very catty at U13 real quick, and you know as a woman you've experienced it, you've learned it, you know what's going on." This is supported by Marshall, Demers, and Sharp (2010, p. 184–185) who stated that "women have typically had different experiences in sport than men, women can relate better to the experiences of female athletes." Motherhood and coaching were linked to training by Abi.

As a mother, especially when you make that your job, you are constantly training, everything that you do is training. So I think there's certainly a natural flow into coaching, you are just teaching people different skills, a very specific set of skills rather than the generic everything that you teach your children.

All these examples are particular skills and psychological resources that were generated in the role of mother and then applied to the coach role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009).

Care and Compassion

The relevance of psychological resources was further emphasized. Specifically, the ability to nurture and have sympathy were qualities linked with motherhood and coaching by Beth and Claire.

I think as a mother I tend to be more empathetic and sympathetic perhaps when things don't go particularly well for a particular person. When a player is having an off day, as they do, it's easy, I find it easier to pull them aside and do the, you know, a motherly type of talk. It's okay. We've all had down days, keep your chin up type of thing, whereas male coaches I don't think act quite that way. So I think there's the measure of empathy and sympathy is there. (Beth)

I think that you are naturally a nurturer, and I think that's been a very positive thing. I think just the general watching kids succeed or learn or teach them that's a normal mom characteristic and that's a good thing to come and enjoy when you coach, because it's not, you know the winning is wonderful, but it's not what really motivates me. (Claire)

Werthner, Culver, and Mercier (2010) suggested that sport needs to become a more caring and inclusive environment for young people and girls in particular, where for example, care and compassion are the norm rather than the exception, lending support to these qualities were highlighted by Beth and Claire. Based on the data, therefore, a salient connection exists between the mother and coach roles, with personal qualities transferring from one to the other (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009).

Organization and Leadership

The value of being organized was seen as critical to being both a good mother and coach, as was also the case of the working mothers in Grady and McCarthy's (2008) research. As Fran highlighted:

You have to be organized. I can multitask, really easily, really simple for me to do that. It's a no-brainer for me. So that's really as a mom I learned that as a mom, especially after I had my second child. So as teachers say, you have eyes in the back of your head, because you're looking out for so many at one time.

The women in our research clearly indicated that mother skills transfer to coaching. In addition, three women also mentioned how their work skills enhanced their ability to coach. Claire, a teacher, drew on her management skills learned in the school context, and Abi, designed training programs for a large corporation.

I became a better coach as I got into the teaching, for sure. Just to be able to prep and manage, a lot of management skills you learn, able to manage parents, manage players, manage coaches, and just how to put a practice together, how to research, educate yourself I guess. (Claire)

Well, I think absolutely it did because, yes, you have to come up with an outline for the day for the curriculum that's going to be taught, you write the training program, you have a daily schedule, I mean all those sorts of planning and organizational skills most definitely transfer to me planning and organizing a practice and trying to associate this amount of time at this and how fast do we need a change and how can I tell that they are understanding my instructions and explanations I think a lot of that absolutely builds on me standing up in front of a classroom and judging from their eyes do they get it, or you know we are losing people, so yes. (Abi)

Rothbard (2001) and Ruderman et al. (2002) suggested that role accumulation for women enhanced managerial roles with the benefits flowing primarily from the home environment to the workplace. The findings from our study indicate that the enhancement may well flow in the work to home direction as well, particularly to the youth coaching role. This suggests that having multiple roles enhances the overall life satisfaction of the women in our research. These women may also feel that their mother role is enhanced by coaching their children and in some way makes up for working, because they can spend more time with the child in a context that is important to the child and them. These findings are similar to Leberman and Palmer's (2009) at the elite level, where a number of the participants indicated that skills transfer from mothering to coaching and from teacher (work) to coach. Grady and McCarthy's (2008) professional working mothers also highlighted the benefits of having multiple roles.

Conclusion

This research extends and highlights the experiences of mothers who work and volunteer as youth coaches in two important ways. First, based on the data, a role-triad of mother-worker-volunteer, is a more appropriate framework for exploring work-life roles. Second, the role-triad model draws attention to the existence of a "third shift" for some women which has yet to be addressed adequately, if at all, by researchers. The findings provide some empirical support for Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) work-life model, with evidence of both the instrumental and affective pathways. The participants indicated that the transfer of skills from one role to another had taken place, and the passion the women exhibited for coaching and being involved with their children and young people lends support to the suggestion that the affective path enhances performance in roles outside of youth sport. Similarly, there is some support for Ruderman et al. (2002) and

Rothbard (2001) with respect to the benefits of role accumulation. This was particularly evident in the mother to coach direction, with some evidence for the work to coach role. There was little apparent conflict between the three roles, but certainly tensions, particularly around the emotional side of coaching and when they had more than one child. This meant that the women in our study were juggling more than motherhood and work identities, but also the role of youth coach. Contrary to the women in Johnston and Swanson's (2007) research, many of the women chose to reframe their roles by integrating roles in various ways, including choosing how to work and how to be a mother.

Interestingly, the characteristics of an ideal mother identified by the participants were very similar to the reasons why they chose to be youth coaches. It may well be that either consciously or subconsciously, these women see coaching as a way of fulfilling their mother role as it is seen as inherently rewarding and provides opportunity to fulfill important needs (Evans & Diekmann, 2009; Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). It appears that the enrichment derived from coaching is most salient to the mother role, whereas the enrichment derived from the worker role, may be more central for the mother's individual identity. However, skills from work also transfer to coaching. Based on our data, work and coaching roles seem to enrich the mother role.

Irrespective of this, the experiences of women in this study demonstrate that the mother-worker duality is limited and many women fulfill more than two social roles, in this study specifically the worker-mother-coach triad. It was clear coaching youth athletes was enjoyable and provided an opportunity for acknowledgment and positive feedback, which may not always be the case at work.

The challenges of the worker-mother-coach are similar to those of volunteer elite level coaches in New Zealand (Leberman & Palmer, 2009). All the women experienced tensions between their varying roles and at times felt guilty. However, the passion for sport these women feel enables them to manage the tensions and justify why they are involved in coaching. This research also contributes to the limited knowledge available about female youth sport coaches. Contrary to Messner (2009), Davison et al. (2003), and Fredericks and Eccles (2004) who found that it was fathers who primarily took on leadership roles in sport, the mothers in our research were not only in leadership positions, but also emphasized the importance of being role models—particularly to their sons.

Focusing on the mother-worker duality is limiting and provides an incomplete picture of women's social roles. However, our research is limited to the socioeconomic context within which it was conducted. Further research should focus on mothers from different socioeconomic groups and within different countries. For example, it would be interesting to explore the link between work, family, and coaching for mothers who are part of the Coachcorp program in New Zealand. This program encourages businesses to enable staff to coach youth sport during work time, as a means of contributing

to the community. The implication is that this will have positive spin-offs for the organization, as well.

These findings can assist sport organizations in recruiting and retaining female coaches and, in particular, mothers at the youth sport level. By highlighting why these mothers coach and how they manage their different roles, as well as the transferable skills that mothers are able to bring to coaching and the enrichment that coaching can bring to mothers' lives, the prevalent focus on a lack of skills and knowledge can be redressed. Sport organizations can readily provide sport specific skills and drills, but it is much harder to develop the interpersonal qualities required for effective coaching, which many mothers already possess. By attracting more mothers into youth coaching, young players are being exposed to women in leadership positions, which in time may pave the way for coaching to be seen as the preserve of both women and men.

Future Directions

Warner and Hausdorf (2009) advocate a similar work-family enrichment model to Greenhaus and Powell (2006) with the addition of a self-determination theoretical (SDT) component (Deci & Ryan, 1983). Self-determination theorists posit that the degree to which psychological need satisfaction of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are fulfilled, leads to engagement, psychological well-being, growth, and development (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Although this framework was not employed in our research, throughout our conversations participants described how multiple roles fulfilled or detracted from need satisfaction for autonomy, competence, and relatedness. This could build on the research by Allen and Shaw (2009) with female high performance coaches. We suggest that future research should consider integrating Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) work-life framework with Warner and Hausdorf's (2009) specific psychological benefits of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, which may assist in our understanding of work-life enrichment of mothers-coaches. It may also help link performance and affect between work and family roles to well being and quality of life for mothers-coaches.

Similarly, while the women in our sample were currently coaching, we did not ascertain if they were, as Messner (2009) purports *Stoppers* (coach for 1–2 years and stop), *Cyclers* (coach 1–2 years and cycle back to coach younger children), or *Gamers* (women who persist in coaching and might move up levels as their children move up). This is a critical distinction as women in this sample may be coaching, but may be coaching at levels which are typically relegated to "women's work," teams that are less prestigious, less competitive, younger age groups, or girls' teams (LaVoi, 2009; Messner, 2009). Future research should follow mothers-workers-coaches through their "coaching careers" and examine how long and at what levels they coach, and reasons they attribute for ceasing coaching. This in part would help understanding of the complex negotiations that occur as women fulfill the mother-worker-coach roles.

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