

Cyber Labour: Birth Stories on Mommyblogs as Narrative Gateways into Maternal Thinking

This article deals with birth stories on mommyblogs as a narrative genre through which writers become participators in maternal thinking and practices. Grounded in the feminist new materialism, feminist literary studies and social media studies, this article investigates the positions of writing and reading birth stories as well as their effects and connectedness to discourses on mothering, difference, agency and digital subjectivity. Through examples from birth-story posts this article shows how birth stories construct mothering both online and offline. As I sketch out birth stories as gateways into mommyblogging and reading, I weave in an autoethnographical narrative of encountering birth stories while I was pregnant. In my close reading of birth story examples from mommyblogs, I focus on the concepts of relationality, the cyborg, as well as maternal agency, thinking and practice. I analyze norms, narration of difference, and the reflexive relationality these maternal narratives create. What I discover is a digital (m)other: a shifting maternal subjectivity of a cyber mother, who appears liminally in both digital and material condensations.

In this article, I discuss the role of birth stories on mommyblogs as gateways into thinking and writing about mothering while experiencing it. I show how birth stories construct mothering with the help of the concepts of relationality, the cyborg, maternal practice, and maternal thinking (Friedman; Ruddick). I suggest that the proliferation of birth stories on mommyblogs highlights the need for discourse on mothering: to question normative ideals and to make sense of the material transformations of becoming a mother. As I sketch out birth stories as gateways into mommyblogging and reading, I weave in an autoethnographical narrative encountering birth stories while pregnant (Jones et al.). In my close reading of birth-story examples from mommyblogs, I analyze norms, narration of difference, and the reflexive relationality these maternal narratives create.

In mommyblogging, digital representation, community, and communication all convene to meet the lived material mothering (Podnieks and O'Reilly) and maternal practice (Ruddick 2003). Sara Ruddick's maternal practice points to mothering not as a sticky or stable subjectivity (essentialism), but as the practices of preservation, nurturing for growth and enabling social acceptability (Ruddick 220). This understanding of mothering underlines its qualities as repeated action and work, and unties mothering from womanhood and subjectivity. In addition to Ruddick's conception of mothering as practice, I borrow her concept of "maternal thinking." She argues that practices necessitate a thoughtfulness, which leads to "a discipline of maternal thought" (Ruddick 225). This discipline is then shared and discussed with (m)others in the same situation—sharing "an identification and a discourse about the strengths required by their ongoing commitments to protect, nurture and train" (226). Ruddick states that critical dialogue becomes meaningful within the framework of shared discourse leading to discussion among those who "practice maternal work or living closely and sympathetically with those who do" (226). I will show that in the context of mommyblogs, Ruddick's maternal practice and thinking resonate.

Although within this article, I discuss birth stories as distinct narratives on mommyblogs, my project is steeped in a larger quest for grasping visions of how influences flow between digital mothering and the embodied, experiencing reader. I assume that the material and digital are separated through difference in temporality, but they are also entangled in a messy manner. This article is part of a developing argument for reading mommyblogs as maternal narratives that contribute to the creation of a "digital (m)other"—a shifting and changing maternal presence liminally existing in the digital and material. Theoretically, I ground my research in the framework of new materialism. Since embodied experiences, lived life, and their expressions as maternal narratives on mommyblogs—as well as our feminist understandings of them—are transforming, I contribute to the feminist body of work analyzing the slippages between subjectivity, materiality, and technology. Therefore, I am cautiously traipsing on the path opened by Donna Haraway's cyborg. I construe the nuances of slipping between digital, material, and narrated mother. May Friedman has argued that the "mamasphere" is a manifestation of being cyborg (Friedman 77). Therefore, without fully acknowledging the magnitude of the change, we are already living—and mothering—as cyborgs: interweaving material, biological, and affective embodiment with technology of communication and enhancement. Similarly, Diane Coole and Samantha Frost have argued that the emergent posthuman context is already transforming what it means to be human in our everyday lives (23).

Mommyblogs are a culturally defined digital and material border-crossing phenomenon, defined by the stylistic conventions of mommyblogging as a

genre (see Friedman). In 2014 there were 4.4 million mommyblogs in the USA alone (“How Many?”). I identify birth stories as a stylistic category of posts in this genre. Through the convergence of new mother’s needs and the possibilities afforded by development of the Internet, a “mamasphere” has been born. It is a digital network of loosely linked life writing on mothering and motherhood (Friedman 9). Previous research has identified mommyblogs as empowering, community building, agency encouraging, rebellious, and as affective labour (Friedman, Cleaf). Blog researchers have delineated mommyblogs as a genre with shared characteristics (Friedman; Petersen). I follow May Friedman’s suggestion to view the emergent mamasphere as relationality (81-84). She reads mommyblogs as a relational place where motherhood is contextualized and debated, not fixed and stable (81). Friedman underscores this relationality through the importance of sharing with others in “a networked intimacy” (77), while not arriving to fixed definitions and resisting sameness in celebration of differences (74-75). This understanding of mommyblogs allows for their inspection as complex, relational, unfinished, multidirectional negotiations. In the light of this relational approach, mothering appears as actions or practices and as maternal thinking processes, to evoke Sara Ruddick’s terms (2003). This understanding counters the narration of mothering as an identity project or as something stable governed by medicine, law, and patriarchy.

Finally, before I delve into the birth stories on mommyblogs, I wish to refer to the title “Cyber Labour” by explaining that blogging is a form of affective work, just as mothering is. This notion points toward the awareness that although blogging and mothering are practiced from the intimacy of the home, they are interconnected with capitalism and the transformations of work. Mommyblogging, therefore, becomes a doubly layered case of affective work: both maternal care work and blogging are such practices (Cleaf 13-14).

Mothering While Reading Birth Narratives

In the late spring of 2011, I was in my body with a heightened awareness and a sense of pain, panic, curious expectation, and confusion. Where would I find answers? Nothing in my life had prepared me for pregnancy, so I turned to the Internet, searched, and found mommyblogs. To fill the silence, the gaps, and the holes, I poured over birth stories and their detailed laments and celebrations of time were yet unknown to me. What I navigated toward was narratives discussing more than the practicalities of parenting or the products necessary for survival. I was looking for the mirroring of a consuming ambivalence—feelings that did not match the expected motherhood narratives. By going from one blog to another, spending time reading, following links and discovering more, I found different women negotiating their pasts, their

passions, and futures, as well as their professional identities, feminism, expectations, disappointments, mental health, illness, loss, and more. Although some passages echoed the commercial representations of proper mothering, others were ripping things up word by word—saying what had not been said before. During the months of pregnancy, mommyblogs became my companions. They were a source of hope, information, communication, ideas, fear, ideals, and more.

Narratives about mothering have proliferated exponentially in the last twenty years (Podnieks and O'Reilly 205). In the literature, this phenomenon has been termed “mommy lit,” and it is part of “intensive mothering” or “new momism”—concepts that illustrate the turn into de-privatizing motherhood and the intense idealization of the role of the mother (Podnieks and O'Reilly 205). Hallie Palladino and Kim Owens see the proliferation of birth stories online as a sign that women want to regain authority on their birth giving bodies to become active agents in motherhood (Palladino 117; Owens 354). Certainly, mommyblogs have intensified and facilitated sharing publically what was previously a matter of the domestic private sphere (Rich 13), thus breaking the cultural boundaries. Mothers writing about motherhood has certainly become a phenomenon, but this also entails that there is a readership and a yearning for dialogue: mothers reading about motherhood while mothering. The proliferation of birth stories online means it is possible to find different kinds of narratives reflecting different experiences and circumstances of mothering. Another effect of reading online is that each reader views the content differently, depending on the technologies used (computers, browsers, and Internet service) and the practices of posting and reading. Because of the digital style of organizing stories on blogs and the unfinished quality of the subject (mothering), an encounter with a mommyblog is always “limited and incomplete” (Friedman 74). This quality leads to birth stories on mommyblogs appearing as reflexive, in flux, and open for interpretation and dialogue.

Kim Owens has studied online birth stories through interviewing women who have published online. She views birth stories online as remediations: “in writing their stories, women mediate their experiences, enabling an intercession between memory and expression. Beyond mediation on the emotional level, however, these stories also qualify as remediations in that they are reformulations of birth itself and of birth stories told in other forms, through other media” (353). Whereas Owens manages to approach the layeredness of narration online with the concept of remediation, I try to view birth stories on mommyblogs as even more cyclical and multidirectional. If remediation suggests transference of an experience into a story on another medium, I want to reflect on birth stories on mommyblogs as their own performances and creative narratives capable of influencing material practices and their interpretations. Therefore, the interplay between material and digital may be more complex.

My feelings toward giving birth were disappointed, fearful and endangered. I was in pain, in awe and thankful for Western medicine all at the same time. I had to come to terms with the chasm between my own expectations and the very different unfolding of events. Mine was not a home birth in NYC or a natural birth in a pool. Mine did not resemble anything I had planned, let alone the narratives on the mommyblogs I was reading. Narrative had been a saviour in my personal and professional life prior to becoming a mother and through pregnancy and labour in its aftermath. Still, after giving birth, I experienced time and space as something that was not aligning linearly. Despite this shift in experiencing reality (or maybe because of it), I yearned to know what was happening in other mothers' lives. I returned to reading mommyblogs soon after going from expectancy to mothering a newborn. I found expressions of the silences that often surrounded my intense sense of living. I found a sense of belonging, even when I was merely reading while swaddling a sleeping baby.

Becoming a Mother While Narrating

If considered from the perspective of maternal agency (O'Reilly 697-99), birth stories are a narrative gateway into becoming a (cyborg) mother and into the practices of mothering. With the concept of maternal agency, it is possible to work with the feminist ideas of agency underlining maternal particularities as empowering, rather than treating them as examples of institutional motherhood overpowering the agency of a mother. Regarding birth stories online, Kim Owens has argued that sharing birth stories publically has an agency strengthening effect (355). Although there is plenty of important criticism about the uses of agency, subjectivity, and autonomy in feminist theory and in conjunction with mothering (Diquinzio; Smith and Watson; Podnieks and O'Reilly), in this article, I am reading the mommyblog narratives with the concept of empowered maternal agency.

Much of the cultural narrative on birth focuses on the newborn child as the main outcome, but mommyblogs make a case for the birth of a mother. Birth stories describe a function of the body that is simultaneously presumed typical (biology and notions of naturalness) yet continues to appear miraculous—such as a stretching of the boundaries of knowledge (both everyday knowledge and ontology). Usually, they also describe various levels of interference with medical tools, technology, knowledge, and beliefs. Maternal agency becomes the focus of these narratives, as mommyblogger Bella Savransky shows in her post “On Self-Love”:

In giving birth to my children, I, in a way, gave birth to myself, and it has reshaped my life and empowered me as a woman in ways I never expected. When you experience your own body wax and wane, stretch, ache, and toil through pregnancy and childbirth, you can't help but realize what an incredibly magical creature you are.

Savransky says birth stories are about the transformation into a mother. They are a narration of a material and psychological change so substantial that subjectivity is totally renewed, questioned, and re-experienced. The mother-in-becoming has the power to narrate this transformation, yet, until recently, these narratives have not been present in literature or elsewhere in the public. Savransky's words also highlight the material embeddedness of birth narratives. The story recounts an intense embodied moment. The attraction is in the details: the kind of writing, the kind of birthing method, and the style of conveying emotion and elements of danger and/or surprise. Birth stories are written in a semistructured style, and they usually construct a linear narrative signposted by the events of birth. Narratives that describe a successful birth of a child usually start with early labour, and explain when, how, and where first contractions started; they narrate false starts and stops and then the full labour. *Cup of Jo* blogger Joanna Goddard's birth story "Our Birth Story" from September 2010 recounts the events of the evening and night when she gave birth to her first son. The post incorporates text and images. Mommyblog birth stories nearly always incorporate photographs as part of their narration, and the published photographs of the birth narrative are a crucial element in the mommyblog narration. Visual story telling often foregrounds ideals in the contemporary mommyblogging narration, creating juxtaposition and tension between text and image. Judith Lakämper identifies the visual material of social media and mommyblogs as part of the processes of "new individualism." This kind of individualism relies on the new identity technologies in which one has to constantly recreate the self "physically, psychologically and professionally" through image making in order to exist (Lakämper 82).

The photographs on Joanne's birth story have been taken with a nonprofessional camera by Alex, her partner, and include unfocused shots and selfies. The photographs show Joanne, Alex, and the newborn in different locations as the birthing progresses. The narrative remains humorous in tone, and details early labour, focusing on the pragmatics of getting from home to hospital in NYC in the middle of the night. Joanne explains how they make their way:

Alex grabbed our hospital suitcase, and we headed downstairs to catch a cab. We laughed at how obvious the scene must have looked to passersby: It was 2 in the morning, and a harried guy holding one

small suitcase was flagging a cab, while his enormously pregnant wife clutched her belly beside him. What else would we possibly be doing? (“Our Birth Story”)

The author keeps thinking about how the couple’s experience appears to outsiders; it makes points about interactions interspersed with jokes. There is a limited amount of pain or fear imagery. As labour progresses, the narrative turns into a more urgent account:

“No,” I insisted, “I have to push now. Like really, really have to push. Like, I have this crazy huge urge to push and I just have to do it. Would you mind getting the doctor right away?”

I could tell that the nurse didn’t really believe me, but after some convincing, she called the doctor. When the doctor arrived, she also doubted that I could have dilated so quickly. (After all, they were expecting me to labour all day, and it was only noon.) But when she checked me, her eyes popped.

“Oh, Joanna, you’re fully dilated!” she said. “It’s go time!” (“Our Birth Story”)

The post ends with tears and with the overwhelming surprise, happiness, and relief of labour gone right and finally meeting the baby. *Cup of Jo*’s birth story is easy to follow and easily relatable. The writer addresses her audience directly. Thousands of comments follow the post, which have accumulated over the years. They are mostly written by mothers waiting to give birth or remembering their own experiences.

I begin with the *Cup of Jo* birth story to show how certain aspects can easily turn into normative narratives. In its form faithfulness, this kind of narrative may contribute to narrowing the experiencing and expression of birth and to the style of telling a birth story, as it is also a post on a very popular blog. Hallie Palladino suggests that birth stories “reflect the extent of their author’s acceptance of, resistance to, or ambivalence towards mainstream social norms.” (109). Still, I propose this birth story is valuable for its informative and encouraging tone. The post is vulnerable and in tune with its audience. It is well written, and it conveys both analytical sentences and descriptions of the author’s emotional responses to her experiences. Birth stories can create pressure, expectations, and unrealistic hopes. Yet they may also broaden understanding of the material limitations, challenges, and surprises relating to labour and the narratives of birth. Next I expand on what a mommyblog birth story can be by bringing forward narratives that question norms and negotiate difference.

Birth Stories against the Grain

Mommyblogs engage in a discourse that resists norms by narrating trauma, fear, disability, loss, illness, and death. May Friedman argues the following: “Mothers write mommyblogs in the context of dominant discourses of motherhood, but also in constant conversation with one another and with commenters. As a result, the mamasphere can be viewed as a dynamic organism, bound by discourses of motherhood yet constantly emerging to both obey and resist these discourses in dialogue” (81). Birth stories on mommyblogs are, therefore, also the narratives of miscarriages, birthing of stillborn babies, failing expectations, and encountering unexpected difficulties. These kinds of narratives further complicate claims that birth stories narrate the birth of a baby and mother. By refusing to remain silent, these narratives counter normative constructions of mothering.

While birth stories on mommyblogs can have a normalizing effect on birth practices via stylistic repetition, dissenting narratives of giving birth disrupt this kind of development. They crack the norm through stylistic conventions and most of all through the kinds of births they describe. These counter narratives proliferate because there is a heightened awareness among writers about norms and a written negotiation is a useful, and often the only possible way to argue against them and to make sense of different experiences. Friedman argues that “one of the key functions of the cyborg mamasphere is the capacity for non-normative mothers to find connections and to shed light on aspects of identity or parenting practice that are generally ignored” (87). Also, the relationality of mommyblogs—their discursive and unending qualities—contribute to the potentiality of counter narratives. The mamasphere allows for (and thrives through) the different stories. Through these differences and variations, mothers write themselves into active agents in various positions and argue against prescriptions narrating labour or a birth story.

Mothers write birth stories against the expectation of a natural birth—a popular term for giving birth without medicated pain relief at home instead of hospital (see, for example, *Ina May's Guide to Childbirth*, 2003)—but they also write countering and questioning the norms of ablebodiedness, whiteness, heterosexuality, and healthiness. Crucially, these narratives are also examples of maternal practice and thinking. Birth stories have also been written while in mourning for loss (for example, “March 7, 2016.” *Blog a la Cart*) and against the idea that a birth story has new life as its outcome. These narratives counter the construction of labour as a story without loss, death, and disability. They also expand the concept of maternal thinking. Narratives of stillbirth for example call for the recognition of the loss of a child; they show that carrying and birthing are meaningful experiences of mothering worth telling (see for example “Noah’s Birth Story”).

My next example comes from *Wheelchair Mommy*. The blog's narration follows the mommyblog style through posting conventions and breaking norms by describing birthing with disability. The blog's author, Priscilla, is a mother of three, and lives in Austin, Texas. She has been a paraplegic since a spinal cord injury in 1999 and has been blogging since 2000. She started blogging to make sense of her accident and the sudden change of direction in her young life. Priscilla has written two birth stories on her blog. In "Will's Birth Story," Priscilla recounts her evening before a scheduled C-section. There are no images; paragraphs are short, and the text has some spelling mistakes, making it difficult to follow. Priscilla is writing at home, a week after delivery. She recounts hospital procedures such as a failed spinal injection, and describes how she had to deliver while under anesthesia. Her narrative is not very emotional, and its details are scarce. In "My 'Birth' Story," she narrates the difficult birth of her second child:

Apparently my uterus ruptured and i had placenta previa. Which means I probably won't be having any more babies of my own. It seperated [sic] from ... the area where my first scar was. But that explains the SEVERE pain I was in.

I haven't talked to MY OB about it but his partner who started my section told DH that. We'll see. It's probably not worth it though, especially since we are very open to adoption if we go with #3.

The post is very short in comparison to usual birth stories. Priscilla writes from the hospital, while still feeling unwell. The writing is fragmented and, at times, incoherent, which makes it impossible to understand what has taken place. The immediacy of the events weighs on the narration and the lack of. The birth story of her third child does not appear on the blog, although the children continue to be a large part of the blog.

Wheelchair Mommy's narration shows two things: how birth stories appear as genre necessities on mommyblogs and how they can go against norms while simultaneously adhering to them. Birth story narratives appear on Priscilla's blog twice, as if almost an expected part of the kind of blog she is writing. She publishes so close to the difficult birth (the second time) that her health appears to affect the construction of the narrative. These birth stories do not actively negotiate with norms, nor are they artful literary creations. Instead, they lay bare traumatic events about medical and emotional entanglements; they appear almost as monologues (rather than an invitation for dialogue) addressing issues such as possible childlessness in the future. Still, these birth stories transmit the voice of a mother steeped in maternal thinking, who through her presence and openness about disability and difficult birth becomes empowered through using her voice.

To Tell or Not to Tell? Renegotiating Cyber Labour

The last two example posts critically reflect on the meaning of birth stories in relation to blogging and mothering. Sometimes, the reflexive qualities and relationality of mommyblogs manifest in posts that explain why a birth story is not going to be published, or how the affective relations to blogs as self-defined spaces change both in sharing and in the style of writing. In these examples, the double meaning of cyber labour becomes evident. Latonya Yvette and Savransky are bloggers who have written extensively over many years. They have taken different stances on blog sharing, communities, narrating birth stories, or talking about racism, class, or fear of illness.

Shortly after giving birth to her third child, Latonya Yvette posted “Home Again: Thoughts on blogging.” She reflects on the stages between sharing about her previous pregnancy and miscarriage, then needing space and having concerns about overexposing her children while choosing to continue as a commercial blogger:

And there we were, at my sister in-laws wedding, where we all catch up and all of my supportive and astonishingly loving family that I inherited met me with love about this space. My honesty, and how it truly is *my* space, and how seeing bits of River and my life through fashion was a favorite topic. Our natural birth and wether [sic] or not I would share more about how awesome it was to birth without fear also came up quite a few times as well. I felt myself talking with confidence and yearning for that feeling I once had when I shared here when it was just River, when I ignored the negativity. I found myself eating my words in reference to no longer sharing parts of my kid’s lives on here (I mentioned completely cutting them out of the blog on Instagram and it became a comment frenzy. The picture was later deleted.) I truly felt bad for those of you who followed along with my loss and subsequent pregnancy, and the amazing birth of Oak. In that moment I felt as if I cheated you all. As if I was dishonest. I let you in and then shut you out once I got what I wanted, my baby. For that I’m sorry, that was never my intention. (emphasis in original).

In this post, Latonya redefines her relationship to her readers through discursive border making, conversation, and memoir, which Friedman has identified as “cyborg mamasphere techniques” (87). Latonya acknowledges the negotiating and becoming qualities of mommyblogging and social media presence, which threaten any possibility of a stable subjectivity and generate new positions for the narrator and readers. She engages the reading community directly, and mentions the bad feelings she feels regarding her choices about sharing about baby loss and then not sharing. Her post is relational and

regenerating: she negotiates the ties to the reading audience, her relatives at the wedding, and her children and partner at home. She is regenerative toward her subjectivity as the mommyblogger governing her space and her narrative. Still, while relying on and negotiating her maternal agency throughout the post, she refuses to give the audience the expected birth story.

If Latonya Yvette's post shows how the self is reconstructed through cyborg negotiation, then Savransky underlines the interplay between "mother/other and conversation/memoir" (Friedman 87). Bella Savransky has been an advocate for home birthing and the empowering aspects of becoming a mother. During the years of blogging, Bella's activity on the blog has varied, as have her takes on monetizing. Savransky's fluctuating online presence brings to light just how complicated a mommyblogger's relationship to blogging can be. She has written extensively on the identity work of being a mommyblogger. Still, the *Petite Biet* blog seems to serve the purpose of building a community and allowing for thinking through writing and developing professional skills, while the tensions remain unresolved.

In January 2016, Savransky returned to posting after a break. She reflects on the evolution of her blog since she started by sharing her first birth story in 2010:

I shared my birth story and for the first time, I was met with reactions that were empowering and accepting rather than judgmental or sceptical. Instead of giving me a look of bewilderment or taking two steps back when they heard that we'd birthed our baby at home, women were emailing me and asking "What was it like?" or chiming in, "Me too!" It was the very beginning of an online community. MY online community. It was a glittery little lifeboat filled with new friends, and it was raw and honest and uplifting. I became passionate about telling my stories, and motherhood began to make sense.

The words flowed and the blog grew. Online friends became real life friends. With the birth of my son, I became a mother of two. My world, and my days, became more and more full. Then came sponsorships and social media, and the blogging fortress that I'd built and which rested so near and dear to my heart became my actual job. I was so grateful. But I watched as the online worlds of many writers slowly became bigger and more powerful than their real-life worlds. I watched as online personas and branding overtook individuality and authenticity. ("Impassioned: A Story of Becoming")

This fragment shows how birth stories have acted as a gateway into blogging, mothering, and finding a likeminded community; it makes explicit claims for using narrative as a tool to make sense of new life experiences as a mother. The post also speaks to the continual crossing of material and digital, and shows

how through various stages, mommyblogging has become problematic labour for the author and how she has grown critical of the mamasphere.

Cyber Notes

In this article, I have presented birth stories on mommyblogs as a threshold into cyborg mothering, narrating while mothering, and reading while mothering. I have done this with the concepts of maternal agency, maternal thinking, and practice, and by close reading blog posts. Through my personal narrative as a reading mother, I approached the reading of birth stories as another facet of becoming a cyborg mother who exists in liminal crossings between the digital and material expressions of mothering. Through autoethnography, I discovered the yearning and loneliness accompanying the expectant mother; these embodied affects are some of the layers leading toward mommyblogs.

Birth stories act as gateways into mothering and mommyblogging both for writers and readers. Although popular mommyblog birth stories are often normative and restricting, counter narratives and alternative birth stories are proliferating. These narratives resist and counter the following norms: ablebodiedness, health, heterosexuality and ideas of nuclear family, whiteness, and class. Birth stories show how the narration on mommyblogs is always taking place with awareness about existing expectations, medical lines of thought, norms, and their deviant interpretations. They are examples of maternal practice and the maternal thinking behind it (Ruddick).

Finally, online birth stories are an unprecedented source of data about giving birth from the labouring person's perspective. Hallie Palladino proposes that they offer an insight into not only practices, expectations, and lived experiences, but also social and cultural expectations (109). I add that these same forces influence the narration of the birth story. Therefore, I suggest a strong connection between the agency making power of life writing (Smith and Watson) and the proliferation of birth stories. To conclude, mommyblog birth stories are interwoven in multiple ongoing discourses on maternal subjectivity, digital agency, and relationality. These aspects require further research, as their significance is only beginning to be recognized.

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