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Comments	Section
	<p>Title and Abstract Title to include: A concise indication of the research question/problem. Abstract to include: A concise summary of the empirical study undertaken.</p>
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CARDIFF METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
Prifysgol Fetropolitan Caerdydd

CARDIFF SCHOOL OF SPORT

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE
(HONOURS)

SPORTS COACHING

**Title: The Relationship between Sport Subculture and the Coach in the
Strength and Conditioning Environment: An Examination from a
Bourdieuian Perspective**

**(Dissertation submitted under the discipline of)
Coaching**

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CONTENTS PAGE:

<u>ABSTRACT</u>	i
<u>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</u>	1
AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	3
RATIONAL	3
<u>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</u>	4
SPORT CULTURES AND SUBCULTURES	5
JOCK CLUTURE	7
STRENGTH AND CONDITIONING CULTURE	8
ENTHOGRAPHY	9
<u>CHAPERTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</u>	11
CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS	12
PROCEDURE	12
ETHNOGRAPHIC METHOD	13
DATA ANAYLSIS AND REPRESENTATION	15
ETHICS	16
<u>CHAPTER FOUR: THORETICAL FRAMING</u>	18
<u>CHAPTER FIVE: NARRATIVES</u>	24
MEN'S RUGBY-'Training for the battle: Life or death'	25
MEN'S HOCKEY-'Hockey drills and drinking skills'	26
WOMEN'S RUGBY-'Motivation to do 'man's work'	28
WOMEN'S HOCKEY-'Core and caring'	30

<u>CHAPER SIX: CONCLUSION</u>	32
LIMITATIONS	33
FINDINGS	34
<u>REFERENCES:</u>	3

ABSTRACT

This paper explores my 'sense making' of the strength and conditioning (S&C) culture at Reading Recreational Centre (RRC: a pseudonym) through an ethnographic framework. It examines the coaches' actions and interactions between different subcultures and the consequential athlete reactions. The ethnographic framework used allowed data collection over a prolonged period. It also permitted an interpretation period which generated a deeper understanding of the given subcultures. The data is represented in narratives. These invite the reader to interpret them using a Bourdieusian perspective. The findings of this study conclude that one's capital within the field can consequently influence habitus and consequently affect the effectiveness of interaction and performance. When coaches and athletes values match, it could be said to have a positive outcome.

Key Words: Sub-cultures, Strength and Conditioning, Ethnography, Capital, Habitus

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The concept of the habitus has been the focus of extensive academic attention and theoretical debate. As a consequence it has been reconceptualised by many empirical studies (Cushion & Jones., 2006; Dension., 2007. & King., 2005). Authors have often used Pierre Bourdieu's original concept of habitus in their research. Bourdieu & Passon (1977) describe habitus as a product of the internalisation of principles and culture, illustrating how individual's decisions regarding action are influenced. Social science has previously considered the consequences and the developments of capital within a particular field. Habitus is not a monolithic code, but a diverse and a complex pattern of perception and attributes (King, 2005).

Capital is a form of power (Purdy *et al.*, 2009) and can occur in a number of forms, the focus within this study is the notion of physical and social capital (Shilling, 1997). Social position is defined in relation to one's access to the relevant form of capital. Importantly, Bourdieu's appreciation of both social structures and agencies that deal with an individual's social position, has a consequence for those acting without conscious realisation of their habitus. This can result in a reconstruction of the preconceived structures that in turn, limit them (Hunter, 2004). Bourdieu (1985) suggests that humans follow particular routines, which are evident within their habitus behaviours. This raises the question; how does a coach's habitus effect their interactions with athletes?

Cushion *et al.* (2003) suggested that interactions are not limited to conversation, but involve a relationship between athlete and coach within the ambiguous social environment. Interactions become more effective when an element of care is present within the relationship (Noddings, 1996). When the individual or group values match the coach's, a power balance is evident. This encourages the athletes to fulfil their potential within the field (Buber, 1965).

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study was to, first, explore the role and action of the habitus evident within the S&C coaches at RRC and secondly examine the influence of the coach's habitus, within unique subcultures environments. With the objective to a) examine the unique subcultures in the S&C field, b) examine the coaches' role and actions within the subculture, c) explore how the coaches' role and actions influence or are influenced by the subcultures, and d) consider how a coach can create an S&C environment that is tailored to subcultures.

Rationale

Previous literature has looked at cultures through a Bourdieuen lens (Cushion & Jones., 2006; Wheaton's, 2000), however none to date has looked solely at the S&C culture and the subculture that work in its field. This study can provide an insight into the S&C culture and examines the behaviours of the coaches within it. Dorgo (2009) described coaching S&C as a relatively young and constantly growing profession; which therefore needs to be considered in literature. S&C training is an integral part of optimal athletic preparation in order to achieve adequate performance and to prevent injury (Dorgo, 2009). S&C coaching is incorporated within international, national and regional sports to ensure athletes have optimal chances for success. S&C coaches provide advice, guidance, fitness testing, recovery aid and rehabilitations programmes that are tailored each athlete's individual needs (Dorgo, 2009).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sport Culture and Sub-Cultures

Sports coaching literature has previously explored ideas relating to cultures and sub-cultures within sporting environments (Mackin & Wather, 2011). MacIver (1963) suggested that culture is an expression of human nature in modes of living, thinking and everyday activities. Recent research has identified that culture is made, not found, therefore it cannot be conceptualised as static (Hosta, 2009). Culture is dependent on individuals who share similar values through different forms of communication (Hall, 1997).

Rokeach (1973) defines values as the beliefs that certain goals or behaviours are acceptable in their social universe. Values serve the interest of the individuals or groups motives by giving direction and intensity to action. Schwartz (1994) suggested that behaviours are learned and evaluated by experiencing dominating values within a social group. Within sport culture, such values may include; winning, effective performance, fair play, sportsmanship and the quality of interaction during the activity (Lee *et al.*, 2000). Interconnections and inter-selections are made through the medium of communication in which cultural values are manifested (Mean & Halone, 2010). Each social system develops a unique cultural phenomenon (Nakornket, 2013), subsequently creating alternative cultures and subcultures.

Wheadon (2007) suggested that within sport culture many sub-cultures can develop. Further, Tonton (1997) suggested that using the term 'subculture' is problematic as it poses a number of questions:

What is a subculture? What distinguishes it from a community? And what differentiates these two social formations from the masses, the public, society, culture? These are obstinate questions to which there is no answer, but rather a debate. (p. 1)

'Subculture' as a theory, has been both critiqued and rejected by sociologists such as Muggleton (2000), along with Bennett (1999) who favours the phrase

'fluid boundaries' in areas such as youth, music and style. However, within sport sociology literature regarding 'subculture', specifically the work of Atkinson & Winston (2002) has been widely supported (Wheaton, 2007).

Wheaton's (2000) study was based on a three year ethnographic experience within windsurfing culture, which suggested that identities within cultures were stable and related to the participants' work, gender or ethnicity. As a consequence of the postmodern society movement, identities of individuals within cultures became self-reflective and challenged the collection of identities within the environment. Sport then became an overarching culture, undergoing a dynamic transformation, with many subcultures beneath it. Each sporting subculture remains connected to the mainstream culture of sport but provides a unique system, structure and language which defines it from another. Dunlap (1969) suggests individual subcultural unity is promoted through social intercourse and the building of relationships.

Thornton's (1995) study defined subculture unity as ideologies and specific cultural agenda that grounds a group together. Wheaton (2000) suggested identities of subculture manifested through social interactions, that reinforce roles and the sense of belonging within a culture. Subcultures can become unique from one another through symbolic markers such as clothes, equipment or less obvious markers like slang words that are used within that individual culture.

Each unique sport subculture hides under the larger umbrella term of sport. Brown (2007) states sport has created its own unique culture which he labels as 'Jock Culture'.

Jock Culture

McDonald & Kirk (1999) identify beliefs that are associated with the notion of jock culture, 'mesomorph, anti-intellectualism, sexism, homophobic, competitiveness and binge drinking' (p.2). Mean & Halone (2010) suggest sport provides a powerful site for identities where hyper-masculine male forms are often prevalent and categorised as jocks. Dewar's (1990) ethnographic study on students on a physical education university programme, developed a jock labelling system; 'super jock', 'woman jock', 'ordinary jock' and 'non jock'. He suggested that, for some individuals, being labelled a jock meant masculinity, but for others it meant being a highly skilled athlete.

Skelton's (1993) ethnographic study suggested that rituals and routines within the informal sporting environment for example 'getting drunk, fooling around' (p.296) promoted jock culture. Rituals of social practice are associated with celebrating mesomorph's, anti-interagency, sexism and competitiveness. These characteristics have morphed themselves into the identity of sport culture (Brown, 2005). Brown's (2005) ethnographic study observed the process of recognition and acceptance as individuals were evaluated by significant others on entry into university sport. Brown stated that individuals' behaviour was compared to rules that were deemed social acceptable on entry to a subculture. Negative references, such as 'gay' or 'girly', were assigned to individuals who were not deemed 'one of the boys', highlighting a male heterosexual dominance in sport culture. The hierarchal identity playground created In-groups, Out-groups and outcasts.

Sparkes *et al* (2007) conducted a three year ethnographic study looking at the rules of acceptance within hierarchal structures. Sparkes and colleagues created a set of rules for one to be accepted into the jock culture, categorising it as 'The Twelve Commandments'. The Twelve Commandments are: 1) play high level of university sport, 2) choose your sport wisely, some sport have greater status than others, 3) only exceptional fresher's are pick for first team, 4) be committed to social life, 5) excessive alcohol consumption, 6) respect the hierarchy, 7) stay established, 8) look like a jock, 9) attend regular socials, 10) attend post match drinking, 11) credit for time served and 12) gain positional power. The commandments are a series of structures and practices, which

idolise jock habitus. Sparkes *et al* (2007) suggest jock habitus are maintained though symbolic violence and physical capital.

Strength and Conditioning

Limited attention has been paid to the culture of S&C. Stone *et al* (2006) suggest that the S&C field can be compared to the weightlifting and bodybuilding environment. Therefore examination into the subsequent cultures may provide an insight into the parallel S&C environment. Wiegiers' (1998) study on the male bodybuilding culture suggests individuals have an increased sense of masculinity from participating within the environment, concluding that being larger and having greater physical strength commanded more respect. Bodybuilding values itself on muscular mesomorph, 'well developed chest and arms muscles wide shoulder tapering down to a narrow waist' (Mishkind *et al.*, 1987. p39). Individuals increase muscular mesomorph to make a statement about their identity within the culture.

Wiegiers (1998) suggests muscular mesomorph is linked to the cultural view of masculinity, that is being powerful, strong and in control of their environment. However, Klein (1993) described bodybuilders as being neurotically insecure, powerless and uncertain of themselves, always seeking the hyper-masculine body image (White & Gillet, 1994). Shilling (1993) suggested that 'the body' is a project which could be worked on to manipulate its size and shape, re-constructing it into the cultural idea of masculinity and creating an unnaturally large muscular body that provides individuals with a powerful statement about who they are, and how hard they have worked (Shilling, 1993).

The human body, presence within an environment has had much theoretical debate. Foucault (1979) suggests that the body is limited by social controls and intervention within its culture. Coaches are disciplinary bodies that change the means by which individuals are constructed (Foucault, 1979). Coaches control the message of certain cultural values and knowledge to the participants. Smith & Stewart (2012) suggest that coaches make the athletes and the athletes make

the environment. If the environment is hyper-masculine then the coaches must teach these values and create the consequent culture.

Ethnography

Garis (1999, p.71) suggests much of sport is sensual and can't solely be translated through sight and verbal communication, stating that 'sensual knowledge is extremely important, meaningful kind of data'. Stand (2002) suggests that experimental ethnography involves the researcher completely immersing themselves into the culture over a prolonged period of time. Tedlock (2000, p.456) stated that "by entering into close and relatively prolonged interaction with people in their everyday lives, ethnographers can better understand the beliefs, motivations, and behaviours of their subjects than they can by using any other approach".

Stroler (1989, p.8) suggests that ethnographers need to devote more time and attention to the use of all sensual aspects of the field, arguing that it would create more critically aware work, combining the strengths of science with the rewards of humanities. Similarly Bull & Back (2003) note that by just using visual observation, it can limit our ability to grasp the meaning attached to many of the social behaviours. Observation, on its own, is insufficient and leaves errors in its description and analysis of the social phenomenon. Mellor & Shilling (1997) suggest that culture is often expressed through senses and it is a fundamental reflection of the social order, values and practices within a field. Howes (2004, p.1) states that senses are shaped by culture and that through senses we learn social division of gender, class and race. Therefore all our senses deserve attention in ethnographic work (Sparkes, 2009).

Falk (1994) describes 'sensory body opening', touch, smell and taste and distance sense, such as sight and hearing. Ree (1999), notes that there has been neglect in research when it comes to hearing and listening to a culture. Rice (2003, p.4) supported Ree's notion and states 'a deaf ear has been turned to the acoustic properties of the environment' and that there is a significance of sound in human expression in terms of knowledge and imagination. Back (2003)

suggested that it is deep listening that makes us re-think the meaning, nature and significance of the social expression describing deep listening as a critical type of auditory attention that autotunes our ears to listen again to the multiple layers and meaning. Rice (2003) comments:

This carefully attuned listening becomes a powerful concept when activated by an informed consciousness which intends to understand how the world becomes present through its sounds. An auditory perspective forces us to rethink important dynamics of social life and experience, particularly with regard to the relational qualities of community, place, and power.
(p.199)

Rice (2003) suggests that we may initially just consider the voice as from the fields. However, Hockey & Collison (2007) note the importance of understanding and considering how sports people listen to their own bodies, actions and their breathing. Hockey & Collison's (2007) study looked at how runners listen to their breathing and footsteps as an audio evaluation of their physiological and social state. Similarly Back (2003), considered the sound created in the atmosphere of a football match and the meaning attached to the sounds, and the cultural environment in which it was created.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Context and Participants

The intention of the study was to examine the S&C environment at RRC. RRC is an elite training centre which provides for a multitude of sports within the community. Within the S&C team there were two coaches; Head coach Ian Marshal and assistant coach Andy Carter (both pseudonyms). Ian was a former competitive rugby player, achieving representational honours. Ian had been involved with S&C throughout his life. Assistant S&C Coach, Andy Carter, also had previous history of playing rugby. However he had worked in jobs in other fields of work and had completed sport related undergraduate and postgraduate

degrees. Throughout the period of the fieldwork Ian predominantly coached the rugby teams, while Andy coached the hockey teams. They did, however, both interact with all teams at different times.

For the purpose of this study, observation exclusively looked at the subcultures of rugby and hockey in both male and female teams. These subcultures were chosen as they are team invasion games, where both male and female teams received S&C support. All teams had similar contact hours within the context of the observed environment. In any given training session the number of participating athletes varied; however, the most athletes in any given training session were as follows: men's rugby, 35; women's rugby, 20; men's hockey, 15; and women's hockey, 15. Each session lasted around an hour. The athletes' ages ranged from 19-24.

Procedure

Observations were conducted over 1 hour sessions twice a week with each of the four subcultures. Emersion within the field lasted 10 weeks. Adopting a dual role of participant researcher, my role varied within the field. Jobs included, setting up equipment, assistant coaching, monitoring effective technique, providing advice and motivating athletes. The degree of participation increased over time (Patton, 1990) and the extent of interactions changed between groups. As a fellow member of the RRC I developed a rapport, or connection, with the members of the teams, as I saw them on a day to day basis both within sessions and around the community.

Following each session, observations, conversations and as much sensory detail as possible were recorded in field notes. Field notes were taken in the form which Emerson and colleagues (1995) called 'jottings'. The procedure of jotting was conducted following each session, as jotting in the field would draw attention to my position as a researcher and may influence participant's behaviours. Therefore notes were taken from memory.

Jotting corresponded to particular events that illuminate the themes of the study. In relation to this study, field notes attempted to describe the atmosphere, nature of the training sessions, the way the coaches' actions and behaviours influenced the subcultures environment, and athletes' responses to the coaches' actions. Thus data collected included the context of the session, location, participants, social interaction, senses, feelings and activities. This approach fits squarely within the ethnographic method. Use of the ethnographer's own corporeality as a research instrument has produced numerous rich and illuminating studies in the area of sport (e.g., Wacquant, 2004). Highly interpretive yet scientifically grounded, narratives were written from the extracted field notes. Narratives represented the theories in the field and are elaborated through short illuminating stories.

Ethnographic methods

A distinguishing feature of this research was the ethnographic methods adopted. Acceptance of qualitative research in applied science has steadily grown, with more attention to methodical diversity. The foundation of research shows an over-reliance on single qualitative perspective method, such as interviews. Interviews are more often seen as one-shot and highly structured (Culver *et al.* 2003), not providing a complex examination of the topic of interest. Ethnography, as an alternative research method, opens the possibility to increase knowledge and understanding through allowing more complex findings. Ethnographic methods sit under an umbrella term in qualitative research (Wolcott, 1990) and involve both the process of the research and the resulting textual product.

The process aims to understand the culture of a particular group from the perspective of the members (Tedlock, 2000), in this study the culture of S&C. According to Cresswell (1998), ethnography is a description and interpretation of a culture, social group or system, describing the researcher role as 'examining the groups' observable and learned pattern of behaviours' (p.58). Similarly Atkinson *et al.* (2001) noted that, in order to fully understand the cultural values of a group, the ethnographic study allows for first hand examination of the

cultural setting through observation. LeCompte & Schensul (1999) suggested that observation provides an insight into behaviours, values and emotions that are attached to a culture's every day activities. Through the extensive field work and intense familiarity with the setting (Baird, 2005) the researcher gains a deeper understanding of the cultural movements.

Stand (2002) states that ethnography involves the researcher completely immersing themselves into the culture over a prolonged period. This ethnographic study takes place over a period of 10 weeks. Tedlock (2000 p.456) suggests that, "by entering into close and relatively prolonged interaction with people, in their everyday lives, ethnographers can better understand the beliefs, motivations, and behaviours of their subjects". Literature acknowledges that by immersing oneself in the field, the ethnographer can draw on such tools and techniques as analysis of spoken discourse and interpretation of visual and oral accounts (Sparkes *et al.*, 2007).

Stoler (1989, p.8) states that collecting visual, oral and sensual information is essential as the senses of sounds, touch, taste and feel can't be overlooked in the field. Senses create more critically aware work that combine the strength of science with the rewards of humanities. Fielding (2001) noted that ethnographic research is not a way of 'just telling' an event though mirroring it, it is a consideration and interpretation of much more. Fielding (2001) suggested that seeing and feeling the senses from the perspective of those being studied meant stepping back and making a detached assessment. Stepping back allows for the meaning attached to action and events to be understood through deeper thought, looking outside the proximate picture at the meaning grounded in theory.

Data analysis and representation

Historically research was either written as literature or science (Richardson, 2000). However, more recently, social scientific writing has blurred fact and fiction. Ethnographers have begun to report social and cultural phenomena through creative analysis. Such analysis led to stories which illustrate a culture

though characters (Hurston, 1991). According to Richardson (2000), creative analytical practice is at the heart of ethnographic narratives. Ethnographers use their heads and consider the body, mind and much more. Richardson (2000) suggests the products of observation are mediated through body but can't be manifested without headwork. Grounding thoughts to theory in the analysis process we evoke the meaning behind action and behaviours (Sparkes, 2002). Sparkes (2002) suggested that, by reflecting on the material in the field notes, paying attention to the feeling and atmosphere, an ethnographer can create enlightening narratives. Narratives are created through fictional writing techniques.

Writing techniques allow the reader to emotionally relive the experience with the writer. Denison & Rinehart (2000) suggest that writing techniques rely on dramatic recall, strong imagination, fleshed out characters, unusual phrasing and puns, to map out a sequence of events. It creates self-imaginative readings that strive to honestly reflect the larger picture of the social cultural phenomenon (Denison & Rinehart, 2000). Forest (2001) suggests ethnographic drama helps shape the experience without losing the meaning, with the narrative being constructed through poetic representation. Lockridge (1998) stated that using imagination to express data within social science enhances the meaning attached to the cultural actions. The imaginative stories within the study, create and sustain a particular vision of what constitutes knowledge. The reported ethnographic narratives use an interpersonal third party voice to explain an observational phenomenon. Denison & Rinehart (2000) suggest that everything is said at once to everyone, creating a social voice for the culture. The creative narrative style allows us to reflectively understand a person from a particular position at a specific time. By objectively looking and subjectively engaging with the observation field notes, we increase our knowledge through themes underpinned by theory. This holds tremendous material and symbolic power over social science.

Ethics

If the researcher chooses to understand how people express themselves, they must recognise the reason for studying the field to protect individuals and themselves from harm (Lofland, 1995). In Mellick & Fleming's (2010) study, which looked at the ethics of narratives in research, they explain that one's social background, assumptions, position and behaviour influence the choice of phenomenon, how it is understood and ultimately reported.

Narratives have increased their presence in empirical research in sport (Jones, 2006). Public narratives of sport can create tensions, as the narrative accounts are central to the actors. Jones *et al.* (2006) explained that the coach is at the heart of one particular narrative and could be easily identified. Given that the coach is presented in very critical terms in the narratives, this would appear to be something of an issue. There is, therefore, concern that an actor may be put into the public domain through research as, if the researcher is known through the publication, the actors within may be obvious. Any topic comprising of the social world is deemed a sensitive topic (Sieber, 1993). It deals with the immediate privacy of real people. Lee (1993) considered whether individuals' identities should be included in published work and, if so, what should be done to protect them. The notions of 'hide the coach' and 'toning down' were put forward by Jones *et al.* (2006), where dates and places would be changed to be non-specific about certain events to protect the identities of individuals. Individuals' autonomy and privacy are to be protected and concealed with the narratives reducing the risk of harm to the participants and associated others (Yow, 1994). Furthermore, a voluntary informed consent (VIC) was sought, and care was taken to safeguard the interests of those involved or affected by the research and to report the findings accurately and truthfully.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL FRAMING

This chapter provides the theoretical lens through which the following narratives may be interpreted. Past scholars have let their story 'speak from themselves' (Jones, 2009) with no wish to blur stories beneath layers of imperial jargon (Silverman, 1998). Denzin (2003) claims that theory intrudes on personal accounts as, points could be seen as invalid, losing the importance of evoked shared emotions. A primal understanding puts the reader at risk, as inner engagement with stories though reflection and sense making is lost.

The aim of this theoretical structure is not just to explain people's behaviours but to be able to explain ourselves, our lives and our activities, making the experience more visibly apparent (Smith, 1999. p,8). It's more that 'just telling a

good story' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000 p, 738), it's a source of empowerment. Critical underpinning can create a series of questions to understand the events leading to future actions or change (O'Sullivan, 2005). There is concern that conventional story telling prevents further action and development and, as a consequence, limits its contribution to knowledge (Jones, 2009). Introducing theory to the narratives allows for clarity in understanding how individuals fit into the social world, highlighting why some actions are brought out of the story and brought to life in the imaginative tales, thus providing a release for the sociological imagination (Wright Mills, 1959).

Accordingly, the current researcher principally grounded the academic interpretation of the story in Pierre Bourdieu's work on habitus, field and capital. The notion of habitus was first developed to overcome issues with subjectivism and objectivism in original social sciences, highlighting the way that individuals' most personal actions are always influenced by the social domain (King, 2005). Habitus can be described as a product of internalisation of the principles of a culture, illustrating how individuals' decision making about action are influenced (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Here, habitus may be described as the human body's disposition to act in a certain way, as it not just manifested in behaviour but an integrated as part of the body (Jenkins, 1992. P.75). Habitus can be seen in our manners, how we carry ourselves and is often beyond conscious awareness. The body then acts as a social memory, accumulating basic cultures which are then imprinted into formal and informal manners of actions. Edward and Imrie (2003) suggested that behaviours linked with habitus may be learned, however it is hard to change them as often they are part of a culture passed on through generations (Hunter, 2004). Furthermore individuals may be acting without conscious realization and may be limited by structures within their social positions. Such a view suggests that subconscious behaviours are not only developed through experience but influenced by the social environment.

Bourdieu (1985) suggests that humans follow routines in their habitus behaviour. Whilst Denison (2007) did not use notions of habitus within his work, it could be interpreted that, through habitus, he highlighted his internalised, unconscious behaviours, which led him to unthinkingly follow 'taken-for-granted

coaching practices' (p.369). This led to negative consequences for at least one of the athletes he coached. A key point here is related to the way a coaches' habitus influences their interactions with others in the coaching context and the affect this may have on those they coach.

Jones *et. al* (2004) proposes coaching is about holding the respect of athletes to influence them and to get them to work hard for you, viewing it as a social process comprising of social interaction and building of relationships(Jones *et al.*, 2004). Interactions are not limited to isolated conversations but also involve a connection between coaches and athletes in the complex ever changing social environment in which it operates (Cushion *et al.*, 2003). Kilburg (1996), defines coaching as 'a helping relationship formed between a client who has managerial authority and responsibility in an organisation and a consultant who uses a variety of behavioural methods to assist the client to achieve sets of goals to improve his or her professional performance and personal' (p.142). Kilburg's definition incorporates three elements; coach, athletes and organisation, suggesting the importance of the dynamic relationship between the three. The dynamic relationship makes the coaching process and environment ambiguous as literature suggest it's not a linear rational process (Cote' *et al.*, 1995; Lyle, 2002; Jones *et. al.* 2005; & Cushion, 2007). Subconscious sets of interactions are developed as a consequence of exposure to a cultural norm leading to an interaction habitus, and ways of behaving that may limit or support the effectiveness of interactions of a coach and athlete.

If habitus is associated with the subjective, the objective is related to the field. Here, the social environment is described as a space, comprising of different dimensions. Individuals' positions within the field are established by the assets they hold in that social universe; therefore individuals and groups are defined by their relative positions in that space (Bourdieu, 1985). Social position is influenced by the capital an individual has within social space, with basic cultures imprinted into individual habitus that are influenced by ones occupation of social position. People who have the same social position tend to have similar habits (Ritzer, 1996). Individuals of higher social power develop unique patterns of behaviours. Consequently a coach, a figure with significant capital in the

social environment, takes on greater importance. A coach's coaching styles, methods, behaviours, philosophies and other dispositions may exert a powerful influence on the field (Green, 1998). This raises questions about the values and ethics of the behaviours and habitus of the coach and the subsequent affects on athletes. After all, social interaction lies at the heart of the coaching process (Jones, 2004).

This can therefore explain how jock culture has accumulated and is passed on as individuals develop habitus through the environment in which they participate. Norms of behaviour are repeated and manifested subconsciously and create the hyper-masculine environment of competitive sport. Ritual and routines of formal and informal sport promote evaluation of muscular physique; strength and hardiness allows for acceptance into a culture (Smith & Stewart., 2012). S&C culture is a playground in which athletes can highlight dominance over one another to fight for social recognition and acceptance as an individual or as a highly skilled athlete within the field, thereby creating hierarchal positions.

Thornton (1993) highlighted the importance of internal power hierarchies and different social statuses within or between subcultures. It is the power relationship between coach and athletes that makes structures apparent in the environment and the hierarchies prominent. It is, of course, recognised that power is not distributed evenly, with different positions having different levels of power related to them. Bourdieu (1990) identified recourse that individuals have to make them more powerful through the notion of capital. Capital can be portrayed in different forms: economic capital, power that is conveyed solely through the conversion of money; cultural capital, power through education or professional qualification; social capital, power through position within a structure; symbolic capital, power gained through previous achievements; and physical capital, power through development of a body that is recognised as worthy (Cushion, 2006). Individuals constantly strive to maximise their own capital within their field. Coaches are perceived to have and demonstrate more capital and therefore have the ability to produce, or to contribute outcomes by significantly affecting others.

In a sporting context particular reference is made to the notion of physical capital and symbolic capital (Shilling, 1991). The accumulation of capital by individuals makes a significant contribution to the range of choices that become available to them (Bourdieu, 1989). The coach will have greater social power through their position as coach. However, athletes are never totally powerless in any given situation (Purdy et al., 2009). As Potrac *et al*, (2002) suggest, power can be seen as dialectical 'in the hands of the person on whom power is being wielded, as much as in the hands of the presumed power wielder' (p.7). Therefore the exchange of power can be seen as problematic, for example athletes generally allow coaches to have power over them, however they still are obliged to resist, putting the power exchange relationship at risk (Cushion & Jones, 2006). The coaching/athlete relationship is therefore an integral part of the coaching process, with consideration for each individual's values, needs and wants.

Individual subcultures have a unique set of values, needs and wants. The coach's responsibility is to respect a subculture's values and, in doing so, show care (Noddings, 1996). Providing individuals with care incorporates talking, listening and responding, encouraging the best in others (Buber, 1965). Interaction may involve a smile or eye contact with another, which conveys a message that 'I'm interested in you', (Noddings, 1984) extending the care boundaries. Tarlow (1996) points out that dialogue can be either confrontational or empathetic to care, as both have the potential to foster a closer caring relationship. Armour & Jones (1998) suggest that rules about 'good care' are often misunderstood. A committed coach may seem to care, however care values may not match with athletes. One individual's agenda of care might value results, skill, or performance and another, caring about enjoyment, interactions or health (Jones, 2009). Negotiation of values is integral to create a caring environment in which coaching can operate.

These thoughts should lead into the narratives, to create thoughtful enlightening questions on the issues. As Goodall (1998) states, leading in to the ethnographic narratives 'should be dangerous...it should mess with your mind...and open locks' (p.5). This allows you to challenge and explore the

concepts of particular phenomena, taking you somewhere you would not otherwise be able to get to (Behar, 1997). Through the stories we should learn the previously unknown about a culture, the actors and agents within its structures (Jones, 2009).

CHAPTER FIVE

NARRATIVES

Men's Rugby: 'Training for the battle: Life or death'

Twenty hulking male bodies bound around the gym; their hugeness making the space feel claustrophobically small. The intensity is draining to watch they fight for time and space in the cage, they compete on every exercise for weight and technique. The atmosphere is hot and humid from their sweating bodies and the musky smell is over-powering. It's even hard on the ears with weights crashing hard to the floor as they're dropped from over-head. Vibrations travel through the floor charging up through the sole of ridged weightlifting shoes fuelling the boys and exciting them. Grunts and groans of pain and pleasure fight to be heard over the loud beating music. The gym is their temple, a place to worship the body and sculpt it into a rugby playing machine. The rituals, values and customs are embraced by all; rivalry, aggression and competitiveness are

embodied by players and praised by coaches. Players march though each session in unison.

Ian, the head strength and conditioning coach likes to 'get in to the boys'; to aggravate them, to show they are being evaluated. He constantly 'goes hard' on them, till they get it right. He repeats himself over and over, often heard like a mantra: 'No mercy boys! It's all or nothing on the pitch, why should it be different here?' Leaning towards the players, he bellows into their ears, so they can feel every breath and word as if they were being pounded into their bodies. 'Get down!... 360 Roll...FASTER... Get Down!... 360 Roll... Fucking get up boy.... That's not sprinting'. As they stumble wearily to their feet, pain is etched across their faces, and every leg drive brings a new grimace. 'Thump... Thump... Thump' as their feet crash into track, carrying their heavy bodies as fast as they can muster around the 200 metre track, to get away from the combat. However it's all performed under Ian's expectant gaze. Henry finished first, and Alex was next. This was the boy's last exercise, they'd given their all and their bodies collectively sagged to the floor, exhausted. They're no longer bright young athletes; they're the walking dead. But Ian wasn't finished.

Ian: *'Oi you boys, come do this sprint....Show us why you've been picked for the first team.'*

Henry: *'I just PB in my sprint... I'm knackered!'*

Alex: *'What do we have to do?'*

Ian: *'Come on you pussies....We have to see if you can beat the football boys.... What was their fastest time?'*

Myself: *'Ummmm, around 7.8'*

Ian: *'There's a challenge for you boys, don't want to get beaten by football pussies do ya?'*

Henry: *'Right. I'll do it...'* (Player put down his things and gets ready, then completes the test.)

Myself: *'8.6'*

Ian: *'That's not good enough... the girls could run faster than that..'* (Pointing at the netball girls watching)

Ian: *'I'll show you how it's done'(walks over to the start, taking of his jumper. As he takes his jumper off, his t-shirt raises up with it revealing his 'washboard' stomach)... 'Oh yeah!... you see that... that is a stomach of steel, a stomach of work and dedication and I'm an old man' ... (carries on preparing himself and completes the sprint)*

Myself: *'8.4'*

Ian: *'And I'm not even warmed up'*

Men's Hockey: 'Hockey drills and drinking skills'

Individuals scuttle around the gym, gathering weights. Movements are precise, skilful and sharp, yet the atmosphere is uninspiring; there is calmness to proceedings, as music sits quietly in the background. Some players move with grace, almost flowing between exercises. Alex and Steve are squatting more than the others, but it doesn't seem to matter. Up down, up down... smooth breaths in and out, in and out. 'Keep going, last push' Alex says, empathising and supporting Steve and with care, as he places the bar back on the rack. With the bar stable, more weight is put on; safety clips are secured at each side as Alex glides through his final set of reps, over and over with perfect technique. Sweat rolls down his cheek, towards his neck, where it gets soaked up, in the comfort of his ocean blue t-shirt. Others, less skilfully stutter and stumble through their exercises, grimacing at the prospect of more pointless lifting. Their pained and puzzled expressions silently asking, "In this game does this even matter? How is being able to lift more going to help?" After all, big or small they still have a place on the team.

Antony, grabs the attention of the room. One by one the team read the play and quickly turn their eyes and posture towards him. Questions are passed back and forth: 'What were you made to do at the GB (Great Britain) trial?'.... 'How many people trialled?'... 'Were the tests hard?' The players eyes light up, excited, admiring his undeniable hockey skills. Antony lapped up the time in the spotlight

and replied 'I had better skill than most of the other players... But the coaches said I wasn't fast enough'. Anthony obviously thought he'd scored a goal but Peter; 'the social secretary', went on the counter-attack. 'Well if only your drinking skills were as good as your hockey ones... then maybe you'd not be home by 12 o'clock every Wednesday night!' Making the whole room burst into laughter Anthony fades into the background as jokes outdo the skill and drinking wins again.

With a sharp whistle Andy has control of the room. The player's social exploits cut the mustard and Andy has control of the game as he gently reminds the boys of the rules and etiquette 'Don't drop weight, you drop reps'. The session comes to an end as the boys finish their final exercises. But the game hasn't ended for all, as Ian strides in, demanding everyone's attention.

Ian: *So guys what do you want out of these sessions... After this block we need to re-assess our goals...I get coaches coming in and telling me you want one thing....But the next minute I see you on the piss.*

Alex: *We don't drink that much*

Ian: *The rugby boys finish a game and recovery and nutrition is the first thing they think about.... Then after they may think about having a drink.*

Ian: *What do you do after a game?*

James: *Eat??*

Ian powerfully gazes over everyone; most look at their feet not connecting with strength of his words. Aggravation sweeps across the gym. They have unfairly lost a match; their skill and technique have been crushed by dominance. As Ian marches off, the boys gather their balls and unleash inner thoughts.

Team: *He can't compare us to the rugby boys... We only go out twice a week... He is never in our session, how does he know how hard we work..?*

Women's Rugby: 'Motivation to do 'man's work''

With their heads held low, the girls slowly drift into the gym, which still reeks of man sweat from the just finished session completed by the Men's first fifteen. The life seems to have been sucked out of them, drained and not focused , just going through the movements. 'It has to be done, we have to work hard'. But their female bodies reflect a differently story. With legs battered and bruised, every session they look like they have been battling against monsters... 'But in rugby it is a battle!' Physically they are there but mentally away with the fairies.

Ian: *Don't you have an important game tomorrow guys? (No one answers)... So you don't have a big game tomorrow?*

Natalie: *Yes... We do, we are playing Plymouth.*

Team: *Yes... (Under their voice)*

Ian: *Well with half hearted girly attitude you bring with you this morning, you are not going to win anything... So stop walking around with slapped asses for faces, with thoughts of boys and shopping or whatever you girls think about... get some music on and get working!!... Let's get our attitude right in here guys... what we do here reflects on the pitch!!*

A switch is flicked and they march around each station. Compete against each other in each exercise. Sweat drips off their foreheads. At any chance they get to rest they grab each grain of air and push in into their lungs. When the rest is up, they man up... and push through. Each station looking harder than the previous one. The hustle and bustle causes collision and confusion as players get tired. Female bodies seem to be disintegrating under the heavy weights,

under the constant gaze of the male coaches. Nothing is still, the room feels electric. Finally motionless, with the sound slow repetitive heavy breathing, Ian brings all the girls together. With arms wrapped around each other in a circle, the team's eyes look up to Ian

Ian: *Well done Girls... That is the best session you have had... You should be pleased; each and every one of you worked hard for another... I love to see all the encouragement and you all working together... So let's have every session like this. You have a big game tomorrow and I want to take this intensity we have had in here and take it to the game... Let's nail them right from the start... Let's show them what we are made of and all the hard work we have put in!*

As Ian talks, the girls nod approvingly. They have worked hard and they look proud. Manning up got the job done. Motivation to step into the man's shoes was all it needed. Heavy breathing slows and returns to soft whispers. Their bodies are exhausted, 'It wasn't that bad!'... 'I quite enjoyed it.'... 'He thinks we are the boys'. Each player accomplishing something they didn't think possible at the beginning.

Women's Hockey: 'Core of Caring'

The prospect of something different left the girls excitable and giddy. Smiles sweeps across their faces as the girls almost skipped to the bouncy gym, bouncing banter to one another as they went. Normal Monday mornings in the gym would not be seen with such enthusiasm however today was different. Today was something new. Something that was considered more relaxed, girly and would not involve lifting heavy weights from A to B, throwing things around aggressively. Core conditioning was on the cards. 'Core' 'Core' 'Core' the word

scattered around like leaves of a windy day. Core meant developing abs, the desired six packs and the flat stomach the girls worship. Core meant working the insides, so they would feel that warm fuzzy feeling for the next few days.

Exercises were done as a team in unison, slowly, with control and care. Andy, spoke clearly describing each new move. His voices seemed to echo in the silence of the room. Suddenly in a quick movement one of the girls, Alice, pulls away from the group sitting to the side. She starts to cry. Andy snaps into action and sits beside her. With the sight of Alice crying, Andy's face seemed to drop. His concerned was illuminating.

Alice: *It still hurts.... I can't do anything!!*

Andy: *What's wrong...What hurts?*

Alice: *I bruised my ribs a few weeks ago... and it's still hurts can't do any training!!*

Andy: *You should have said something at the beginning of the session.... Don't want anything getting worse! (Stern concerned voice)....*

Alice: *I thought it might be ok... but obviously not!*

Andy: *Don't worry about it... I was in hospital all weekend with my boy, tore his ACL didn't he? The silly boy.... (Alice looks up)... I understand it happens..... And it takes a while to recover. Whatever you do, don't rush it, you will end up a fitter and stronger athlete in the end... Trust me!*

Alice brings her hands up to her face, wipes her tear as she smiles. He nods a competent nod and sharply moves back to the session, telling the other girls what to do next. I work closely with Alice on the side of the circle, under the

trusting eye of Andy. We worked on different exercises than the other girls. I created exercises that were challenging but not painful, making her feel like she had accomplished something. She would no longer feel like a waste of space, walking wounded. Time was up and we had filled our time. Alice turned to me and smiled as she left with all the others.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Limitations

Taking a Bourdieuran stance, we don't claim to understand the S&C culture and the workings of the actors, or that we have all the answers (Purdy *et al*, 2009). Rather we understand that what is presented is an interoperated constructed account. Limitation can therefore be seen in the theoretical framing of the study. Theoretical framing could be seen as a weapon with habitus, field, capital and care as its bullets. Shaping the narratives, rather than using the theories, as lenses in which lessons can be learnt, openly exploring and understanding the social practice (Schubert, 2002).

The ethnographic approach has allowed for a deeper conceptualised understanding of the social practice of the S&C culture and subcultures. However, the approach solely looks at the field through the senses of the researcher. By not considering the actual in-depth feeling and emotions of the actors involved, we limit the findings to a single perspective, only relying on the researcher's evaluation and interpretation of the field. Do we really know how individuals and subculture react to the environment created by the coach,

without asking the athletes directly? How do we know the environment created by the coach creates best the results without testing the athletes to provided quantitative results of illustrating improvement? Finally, consideration must be made to the way in which jottings were taken, as they were written after the session. Although it would be problematic to write jottings within the fields, as my role as researcher would have been highlighted, there is debate over the reliability of writing field notes from memory. How accurate and reliable is the researcher's memory at recalling the actual event, without the impaction of personal interpretation before the facts are written?

Findings

Power hierocracy varied between subcultures and individuals within the field. Individuals who share the same values, related to their subculture, had greater capital with their fields. When values match between athletes and coach there was an equal power balance and coaching was effective. This can be seen in men's hockey culture, where the athletes valued hockey skills. Individuals with a higher skill level had greater capital and consequently gain 'the attention of the room'. As the 'Twelve Commandments' suggest, individuals who demonstrate a greater social capital though participating in post game drinking, had greater acceptance on the team. This was not dissimilar in the culture of hockey, where 'drunken' post game drinking illustrated it hierocracy by winning the power battle on multiple occasions. This demonstrated that, in the hockey culture, symbolic capital and social capital are of great significance. It could be said the hockey players and the coach's values didn't match therefore the coach did not have the power to create an effective coaching environment and to bring out the best in the athletes. As a consequence they disregarded his comments and almost mocked him.

To avoid harm to athlete and self, coaches need to be aware of concepts such as power, domination and the values of the subculture, which form an integral part of it (d'Ariippe-Longueville *et al.*, 1998; Jones *et al.*, 2004). Recognition of power issues and constraints will provide the coach with better developed competencies and strategies to deal with subcultures, consequently improving athlete development (Purdy *et al.*, 2009).

The coach does however share the same values as the men's and women's rugby. Both teams valued the notion of muscular mesomorphy, being stronger and more powerful than another. This creates the hyper-masculine competitive environment in which they work. Coaches and athletes constantly compare themselves against teammates. As the coach comes from a former competitive rugby background, he may share the same values as the rugby culture. His habitus can be seen as natural and coherent when coaching in this environment. Consequently it could be said that his habitus may seem unnatural and threatening to others, such as the hockey teams. In some respect this may also be seen in the women's rugby subculture, as they are seen to resist the hyper-masculine training method at the start. However with little motivation the subculture is pushed towards enjoying and appreciating the masculine environment.

Throughout the present study there were underlying notions of care. The coach/athlete relationship works well when both individuals share caring values. There is an ambiguity of such idealistic sentiment in the real world, as it is often challenged. Within the woman's hockey, caring seemed apparent as their values and wants were considered. The consequent behaviours and reaction illustrated a positive reaction to the environment and as a consequence there was a respect between the athletes and the coach. The coach was significant in the athletes' development. It could be said that the coach habitus has been affected by his previous job in other fields of work and his sports education background, making him more consciously aware of his own habitus. This allows him to engage in non-hypermasculine methods of coaching that, in the past, may have been deemed necessary to get results in an S&C culture.

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